R
942
An78
V.145
5/29/33

Arnold Bennett

DOMINICAN COLLEGE
LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL, CALIF.

NEW SERIES.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1803.



DOMINICAN COLLEGE
LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL, CALIF.

LONDON:

Printed for F. C. and J. RIVINGTON, N° 62, St. Paul's Church-Yard;

By Law and Gilbert, St. John's-Square, Clerkenwell.

R
942
An78
v.45

21846

PREFACE.

THE diſtinguiſhing event of the year 1803 was the termination of the peace, about the making of which ſuch ſtrenuous debates had been maintained, and ſuch oppoſite opinions held. The violence and injuſtice of the French Government were ſo undiſguiſed, that little hope could be entertained that the Britiſh nation could long acquieſce in them, and hope to retain the character, or even the name of Independence. Yet the time and manner in which reſiſtance ſhould be diſplayed were points of the utmoſt delicacy. The experience of the late conteſt, and the ſucceſsful efforts of party during its continuance, ſhewed the neceſſity of making the grounds of war, if poſſible, not only evident to the judicious, but popular among men of all claſſes. Had a ſyſtem of irritation been purſued by Great Britain, a large party in the nation would have declared vehemently againſt the war, as a continuance of that which they had decried as the ſyſtem of injuſtice adopted toward France ever ſince the Revolution. On the other hand, had meaſures of ſelf-defence been too long delayed, a ſentiment of indifference, or even deſpair, would have been

expreſſed; for where endurance had exceeded all limits of reaſon, reſiſtance would have been conſidered as unavailing and almoſt hopeleſs. It would be raſh to aſſert that the Engliſh Government ſelected exactly the time which alone was fit for exertion, but, if a judgment may be formed from the general feeling of all claſſes of men, they were as near it as poſſible. A party of inconſiderable number did, indeed, expreſs themſelves adverſe to the war, but, on the whole, it may be affirmed, that Hiſtory affords no inſtance where the people, with an impulſe ſo general, ruſhed to arms, and cheerfully prepared to make every exertion and every ſacrifice.

To trace the ſource and progreſs of this diſpute has been the principal object of the preſent Volume. The aggreſſions of France againſt Switzerland, and the final extinction of liberty in that unhappy country are diſtinctly noted. The inſidious war waged on the commerce, independence and conſtitution of Great Britain is carefully narrated. The meaſures of reſiſtance and the negotiations which led to the war are detailed; together with the firſt acts of hoſtility, the unprincipled invaſion and ſpoliation of the neutral and defenceleſs territory of Hanover, and the ſtill more groſs violation of all national faith, in the ſeizure and impriſonment of the ſubjects of Great Britain in France and Holland. To theſe are added the preparations of

the enemy to ſubjugate the Kingdom by invaſion, and the glorious exertions made to repel ſuch an attempt.

A copious publication of official documents by Government, and which, as an authentic and valuable record, has been preſerved in this Volume, has rendered the narrative of many of theſe tranſactions peculiarly certain and clear. The view of French proceedings in Saint Domingo has been continued, and in this, as in the former Volume, great reliance has been placed on a narrative publiſhed by a Britiſh Officer, who had means of ſeeing the events he has related. The debates are, according to the promiſe in the Preface to the preceding Volume, compreſſed, as much as could be conſiſtent with an intelligible detail, and, on the whole, no effort has been ſpared, to render this Volume worthy the patronage of the Public, and creditable to thoſe who are engaged in the publication.

the enemy to subjugate the Kingdom by invasion, and the glorious exertions made to repel such an attempt.

A copious publication of official documents by Government, and which, as an authentic and valuable record, has been preserved in this Volume, has rendered the narrative of many of these transactions peculiarly certain and clear. The view of French proceedings in Saint Domingo has been continued, and in this, as in the former Volume, great reliance has been placed on a narrative published by a British Officer, who had means of tracing the events he has related. The dedicatory, according to the promise in the Preface to the preceding Volume, comprehended, as much as could be combined with an intelligible detail, and, on the whole, no effort has been spared, to render this Volume worthy the patronage of the Public, and creditable to those who are engaged in the publication.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR 1803.

THE

HISTORY

OF

EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Causes of Diſſatisfaction between England and France; French reſtraints on Commerce. Correſpondence on the ſubject of the Fame packet. Further caſes of ſeizure, in which no ſatisfaction was obtained from the French government. Other ſubjects of diſagreement ariſe. Affairs of Switzerland. Conduct of France toward that Country during the war. French Troops withdrawn at the Peace. A Party ſent to Paris to ſolicit the Interference of Bonaparte, which he at firſt declines. Diet at Berne. They form the Outline of a Conſtitution. Decree of Amneſty. Oppoſition of the provi-ſional Government. The Deputies of the three ſmaller Cantons withdraw. Their addreſs to Bonaparte. His views on the Valais. Troops ſent there under General Thurreau. Ineffectual Oppoſition of late diet. General oppreſſion of Switzerland. New conſtitutional body at Berne. Oppoſed by a Diet at Schwitz. Remonſtrance of the latter to the French Miniſter. The conſtitutional body require French Troops. Their proclamations. Several cantons take up Arms in favour of Liberty. Their Succeſs. General Enthuſiaſm. The executive Council driven from Berne. Vigorous Pro-ceedings of the Patriots. Their Proclamation. They form a Plan of a Conſtitution. They diſpatch Miniſters to Paris. Apparent diſpoſition of the French government. Deluſive conduct of Talleyrand. Tyrannical Proclamation of Bonaparte. Ineffectual remonſtrance of the Swiſs Miniſter. Activity of the new government. Arrival of general Rapp with Bona-parte's Proclamation. General Ney enters the country with an Army. The Swiſs obliged to ſubmit. Contributions levied by the French troops. Many of the Patriots impriſoned.

WHILE many Engliſh gentlemen, allured by curioſity, or attracted by party, or other feelings, were ſpending the ſummer in France, diſputes and controverſies were gaining ground between that country and Great Britain, which portended a ſpeedy termination of the peace ſo recently eſtabliſhed.

Considering how dear to England, the pursuit and extension of commerce must ever be, while her government rightly consults her interests; the ruler of France could not but know that the first real pledge of returning amity to be expected from pacification, was the relaxation of some of the restrictions which had been imposed on trade during the most violent periods of the French revolution. It would indeed have been absurd to expect that the intercourse between the two countries should immediately be re-established as it stood in 1789; perhaps a revival of that system was never to be looked for; but if such an event would have been too great and too sudden a dereliction of the precautions which France might deem necessary for her own security, the too rigid maintenance of decrees of exclusion appeared to imply, that mutual friendship and confidence between the two countries was never to return.

1802. A correspondence on a subject arising out of these decrees of exclusion had been begun even before the definitive treaty of peace was signed, and before the end of the year, many other instances occurred, which it may not be useless to recapitulate, as proofs at once of the captiousness, harshness and meanness of the French government. The first case was that of a schooner, called the Fame Packet, which sailed on the 19th of December 1801, from the port of Southampton, bound for Jersey, laden with stores for the use of the garrison, and having on board twenty-five passengers, among whom were many women and children. The day after this vessel sailed, she was compelled by a violent tempest to put into the port of Cherbourg. The master immediately went on shore, and made his declaration at the custom house, hoping that, as the preliminaries of peace had been signed, the common rights of compassion would not have been withheld, especially as he could not trade in France; for his papers proved that he had given a bond in England to land his cargo at a British port. The French government however seized his ship, declaring her and her cargo to be confiscated, by virtue of a law passed during the most furious period of the domination of Robespierre, in March 1794, by which all ships, exceeding one hundred tons burthen, were forbidden to approach within four leagues of the coast of France. The captain appealed in vain to two superior tribunals, all he could obtain was a remission of a sentence to six months imprisonment, which had been pronounced on him by virtue of Robespierre's decree. The British minister, during many successive months, made fruitless applications to the French Government; after many evasions, he obtained as a final answer from the First Consul, that the law must take its course.

The rigour of this proceeding was the more inexcusable, as it took place just at the time when the British government, with unprecedented forbearance, permitted France, before a definitive treaty had been concluded, to send to the West Indies a very powerful armament. The law which Bonaparte on this occasion enforced, would in itself prevent all possibility of peace and amity between the two nations, since the navigation between

between Great Britain and Jerſey could not be carried on, unleſs veſſels were allowed to paſs within four leagues of the French coaſt.

Another caſe was that of a brig named the Jennies, which, after the definitive treaty, put into the port of Charente, with a cargo, compoſed partly of pit-coal, to be ſold in France, and partly of Engliſh manufactured goods, with which ſhe was afterward to proceed to Cadiz. On his arrival, the Captain declared of what his cargo conſiſted, and offered to depoſit that portion of it which was not meant to be diſpoſed of in France at the Cuſtom houſe, as a ſecurity againſt its being ſmuggled on ſhore. The government would not liſten to the propoſal, but ſeized and confiſcated the ſhip and cargo, by virtue of another revolutionary law, made in 1797. A third inſtance was that of a ſloop called the Nancy, which ſailed for Rotterdam, and was driven by a tempeſt, in which ſhe received great damage, into the harbour of Fluſhing. The cargo of this ſhip preſented not the ſlighteſt pretext for confiſcation, for it was compoſed intirely of foreign manufactured goods taken as prize during the war, and allowed to be ſold in England only on the expreſs condition of being exported. As ſoon as the Nancy arrived in port, ſhe was boarded by a detachment of French troops, and claimed on behalf of the Republic, nor could the captain learn the grounds of this proceeding. A fourth ſeizure, in which injuſtice and meanneſs were moſt ſtrongly combined was that of the brig George, which entered the port of Charente in ballaſt, for the purpoſe of taking in a cargo of Brandy for London. The French cuſtom houſe officers, diſappointed in their ſearch after ſome inſignificant article which might come under the denomination of cargo, and juſtify a ſeizure, at length diſcovered that the plates, knives, and forks, uſed by the maſter in his cabin were of Britiſh manufacture; and although their value did not exceed 4l. and they were evidently not intended as articles of commerce, the French government, on this moſt baſe and iniquitous pretence confiſcated the veſſel.

Againſt theſe and many more acts of injuſtice the Britiſh government preſented memorials, but they remained for the moſt part unanſwered, and apparently unheeded, for the ſhips were condemned, and the violences were continued.

Several other ſubjects of diſcuſſion between the two governments aroſe before the concluſion of the year 1802; among theſe were the countenance ſtill afforded by Great Britain, to the unfortunate adherents of the old government, and the ſtrictures iſſued from the preſs on many of the proceedings of the French government. Theſe it will be neceſſary to notice in a future page; but there was one great and conſpicuous topic of diſagreement, which intereſted the heart of every honourable and feeling man, not in England alone, but in the whole world, this was the unprincipled conduct of France toward Switzerland.

It will be remembered that in 1798, after a moſt atrocious invaſion of the cantons, accompanied with horrible circumſtances of oppreſſion, cruelty and inſult, Geneva, Mulhauſen, Bienne, and the biſhop-

ric of Baſle were given up and annexed to France, which obtained beſide, the right of carrying a military and commercial road through the country into the South of Germany. In return, France conferred on Switzerland the mockery of a temporary conſtitution, forming the country into a republic one and indiviſible, conſiſting of eighteen departments. The independence of the diſmembered republic, and its right to form a government for itſelf were diſtinctly acknowledged, both at the time, and by the treaty of Luneville, but till the general peace, Switzerland had no opportunity to exerciſe theſe rights, oppreſſed as ſhe was by the perpetual preſence of a French army.

On the concluſion of peace with Germany, the future fate of Switzerland excited no inconſiderable intereſt, and there were men in France, who, not foreſeeing the wicked ambition of their government, wrote on the ſufferings of the Helvetic republic in the language of honeſt ſympathy, and expreſſed undiſguiſed abhorrence of the infamous conduct of the directory.

The Swiſs, when the French troops had left them, began ſeriouſly to occupy themſelves on the taſk of framing ſuch a ſocial ſyſtem as would inſure the tranquility and independence of their country; a project in which the great majority moſt earneſtly concurred. Some men, however, who deſpaired of the good opinion of their countrymen, whom in the late diſaſtrous times, they had injured and betraved, and conſcious that their temporary authority and influence could be maintained only by French intervention and French aſcendancy, repaired to Paris, to ſolicit the interference of the Firſt Conſul in the affairs of their country.

Had the conduct at firſt adopted by Bonaparte on this occaſion been the baſis or the effect of a ſyſtem, it would have exalted him to the higheſt pitch of glory, and rendered the expreſſion of applauſe and gratitude for the good he had done, ſo loud and general, that the cries againſt many of his miſdeeds would have been drowned or diſregarded. "Helvetia" he ſaid in one of his official publications" has alſo been employed in forming for herſelf a definitive organization. Her proviſional government has thought proper to preſent to the Firſt Conſul various plans, in order to obtain his opinion which would be moſt fit. The Firſt Conſul contented himſelf with making to citizens Glaire and Steffler, the Helvetic deputies, this ſingle obſervation. The beſt conſtitution for Switzerland will be that of which the principal characteriſtic is, that it is adapted to Switzerland only; it ſhould diſplay a conſideration of the peculiar circumſtances of the territory, climate and manners of Helvetia, which do not reſemble thoſe of any other European ſtate: but, the French government will by no means influence their deliberations or direct their opinions. 9th June 1801.

This declaration was the more acceptable to the people of Switzerland, as a plan of a conſtitution had been previouſly drawn up, ſuppoſed to be agreeable to the views of the French government, but by no means calculated to produce the good effects here propoſed to the Swiſs.

Inſtructed by fatal experience the people

people had but one wish; that of returning to their ancient institutions, which late misfortune had rendered more dear to them than ever. The cantons formed themselves into constituent bodies, and twelve of the thirteen sent representatives to a Diet holden at Berne, in order there to organize a central power, which might be acceptSept. 26. able to the neighbouring states. They formed the outline of a new constitution, in which they endeavoured as much as possible to re-establish their ancient system, but in so doing they were not unmindful of rational and useful reformation; the aristocratical cantons offered to renounce their exclusive rights; the Pays de Vaud was left to form its own constitution, as well as Thurgovia, and the other new cantons.

18. Nov. A decree of amnesty was published to all persons accused of any political crimes committed since the 1st. of January 1798. This measure had often before been moved, but had always failed, was now carried to its fullest extent, comprizing all crimes political and military, which were to be forgotten and pardoned; all sentences were annulled, the parties condemned paying the costs of the prosecution; all emigrants were freely allowed to return, without excepting even those who had borne arms in emigrant regiments; and nothing more was required of them than to appear within a fortnight after their return, before the sub-prefect of their department.

These proceedings did not pass without opposition from the ambitious malcontents who formed the provisional government. They issued a decree against what they termed the incoherent labours of the Diet, and the manifest partiality which swayed its deliberations. They affirmed that the Diet had mistaken its duties, and exceeded its powers, by occupying itself on a plan of a constitution, and arrogating to itself the functions of a constituent assembly; and in opposition to the vote of the Diet, providing for its own future meetings, they pronounced it dissolved, and all its acts null and void; re-established the proposed constitution which had been so much disliked by the country, and virtually disapproved by Bonaparte himself; and they assumed the right of appointing members to form a senate, and what they termed a new constitutional diet. The representatives of the three cantons of Uri, Schwitz and Underwalten, indignant at these proceedings, withdrew 1st. Nov. from Berne, and addressed to Bonaparte an energetic statement of their grievances and their wishes. The envy and ambition of some individuals, unworthy of the name of Swiss, they observed, seemed unfortunately too much to influence the French government; they wished to follow the views of the First Consul, and re-unite themselves to Helvetia even with some sacrifices, but their deceitful brethren desired a restoration of powers which would degenerate into despotism. "The diversity of worship, manners, education, customs, wants and many other circumstances," they said, "render an uniformity of administration impossible, and the attempt could not fail totally to destroy us. It is absolutely necessary that our boundaries should be marked, and

that we ſhould have a particular adminiſtration, in order to maintain the purity of our religion and morals, and to re-eſtabliſh that economy which is ſo neceſſary to our political proſperity. This is the general wiſh of the people of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, who make it known to us in a requeſt, ſigned by 3600 citizens out of 3800 which this laſt canton contains. Citizen Firſt Conſul, one word from you would render impotent thoſe ambitious individuals, who have influence only in proportion as they impreſs the idea that they are ſupported by France. We requeſt this word with confidence, perſuaded that it can neither be your intention, nor for the intereſt of France, to increaſe the misfortunes of a people who have already ſuffered ſo much, and who deſire only tranquillity and repoſe."

But whether the moderation apparent in Bonaparte's former declaration was merely affected; whether it proceeded from the poſſible inſtability of his authority, or the apprehenſion that Switzerland, if goaded to reſiſtance before peace was concluded with England, might receive effectual aſſiſtance, not from Britain alone, but from ſome of the powers of the continent; or whether the general pacification, together with the recent addition to his power by the decree of the Italian Republic, opened to his mind new proſpects of ambition, and expelled the ſmall remains of moderation and juſtice; whether from the operation of all or any of the cauſes, the conduct of the Firſt Conſul toward the Swiſs was ſpeedily and totally changed. It was determined to unite the Valais with the French and Italian republics and as the Pays de Vaud was ſituated between them, an union was to be effected between the two diſtricts, that both at once might be at the diſpoſal of the ruler of France. To countenance the iniquitous proceeding about to be adopted, rumours were ſpread of commotions in Switzerland, which did not exiſt; intrigues were commenced to give an appearance of oppoſition and reſiſtance, and of a party diſſatisfied with the proceedings of the new government; and General Thurreau, who had ſignalized himſelf among the murderers of La Vendée, was ſent with a body of troops, to effect the deſired ſeparation of the Valais from Switzerland. Feb. 1802.

The government of Switzerland had refuſed its aſſent to the meaſure, and the Diet at Berne had made an article in their plan of a Conſtitution that the whole canton of Valais ſhould appertain to Helvetia, and not be ceded, unleſs France ſhould take poſſeſſion by force; but the reluctance of a weak power aided only by juſtice, was not calculated to produce any great effect on the ruler of France. Thurreau was joined by Lecourbe; the people of the Valais were treated with the moſt harſh and wanton indignities; the French troops under various pretences were augmented, and ſpread on every ſide, and proceeded even to the neighbourhood of Berne, the ſeat of the government, which Bonaparte, both by treaty and by promiſe had engaged to reſpect. The joy ſo lately felt throughout Switzerland was ſucceeded by gloom Mar. to June

gloom, apprehenſion and diſmay; the reports of diſturbances were increaſed, and ſome real inſurrections were fomented, in order to furniſh additional pretexts for the advance of French troops; the liberty of the preſs was reſtrained, or rather annihilated by a ſevere decree, and a new Conſtitution, now avowedly framed on a model approved by the French government, was to be forced on a people, who had been encouraged to hope that they might be allowed to reſume thoſe inſtitutions, which had for ages continued them free and happy.

13th July. As the Conſtitutional and Legiſlative body nominated by the old proviſional government had now begun their ſittings, the people of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwalden, ſeem to have conſidered the fate of the country irrevocably fixed, and to have had no hopes for themſelves but in a total ſeparation from the other cantons. They convoked a Diet at Schwitz, which, in order to attain this object, addreſſed a letter to Verninac, the French miniſter in Switzerland. They recapitulated their uſeleſs efforts during four years, to tear from themſelves a conſtitution, which from its origin, and ſtill more from the violence with which it was eſtabliſhed, could not fail to be odious and inſupportable; and declaring that they could never be attached to any but that of their fore-fathers, the only one truly ſuited to their countries, they earneſtly deprecated a compulſary union with the reſt of Helvetia, as the moſt cruel example of conſtraint that hiſtory could offer.

As general ſubmiſſion and partial ſeparation would not have anſwered the views of France, nor have offered any pretext for maintaining troops in Switzerland, advantage was taken of the unpopularity of the uſurping government to obain from them a requeſt that the French troops might remain

This requeſt Verninac refuſed in words, but the artizans of France knew it would be granted in effect, and that the forces, if removed for a ſhort period, would be poured in again whenever it ſhould be deemed expedient. 18th July

Their confidence that ſuch would be the caſe was expreſſed by the uſurping government, or as it titled itſelf, the executive council, in a proclamation to the people, wherein, after extolling the lerity, juſtice, and bounty of the Firſt Conſul, in propoſing to withdraw thoſe ſoldiers, without whom the country would have been expoſed to the horrors of anarchy, proceeds in theſe terms. "But know on what conditions you are to have the bleſſings of independence, and what duties the confidence of the French government, and the confidence of your own government, impoſe on you. They command you to obſerve peace and concord. They require of you a ſacrifice of all thoſe regrets, of all thoſe hopes and deſires, which are no longer compatible with the exiſting order of things. They call on you, in an imperious manner, to rally round the conſtitution, and the government which it eſtabliſhes: for it is only according to the conſtitution, and by the government, that liberty and independence can be preſerved. In ſupporting theſe, you will be able to 20th July

continue a nation; in abandoning them, you must perish. They wish that the author of every attempt against the actual state of things, may be punished in an exemplary manner. Such is the national will; such is the intention declared by the First Consul on withdrawing his troops."

1st Aug. The executive council, in a subsequent proclamation, more distinctly attacked the Diet of Schwitz, the members of which they designated as enemies of their country, eager to take advantage of the circumstances of the moment, to rend asunder the ties of concord and fraternity, and to produce new calamities and misfortunes. It decreed therefore that the three cantons which were considered as refractory should be governed, and send representatives, according to the forms of the offensive Constitution.

Sept. The smaller Cantons were not to be awed from their purpose by mere proclamations; they maintained the authority of their Diet, and so far as their exhausted means would permit, took up arms in favour of liberty. The flame soon spread through all the eastern part of the country, except Turgovia, and part of the Grisons. Besides the three small cantons, those of Glarus, Appenzel, Rheinthal, Zug and Baden, declared their resistance to the executive council, and formed a government of their own. A few men whom they could arm were placed under the command of General Aloys Reding, while those of the executive council were led by General Andermatt. At Basle, the armed citizens rose against the troops of the directory, overpowered and disarmed them. Andermatt concluded a treaty for suspension of arms with the inhabitants of Zurich, which he was besieging. The citizens however, terminated the armistice, made a sortie, and were driven back. Andermatt in revenge, bombarded the town, but Reding coming unexpectedly upon him, compelled him to raise the seige, and he retreated to Ergen.

These favourable events greatly strengthened the patriotic cause; subscriptions were raised, men inrolled themselves, and the soldiers of the executive council deserted in great numbers. The deputies of the cantons of Uri, Schwitz, Underwalden, Glarus and Appenzel, had previously declared to General Andermatt their sentiments and motives, in a letter written from Schwitz and signed by their General and president Aloys Reding. They denied that it was their 18th Sept. duty to acknowledge a government, springing originally from faction, and formed by the influence of a few individuals. They therefore invited him and his followers rather to join than oppose the insurgents, or at least, peaceably to return to their homes, and live as quiet citizens. This was written before the bombardment of Zurich; but after that event, the Diet of Schwitz issued a proclamation, strongly reprobating that measure, styling it, that most detestable of all crimes, with which the *foi disant* Helvetic government had closed its career, and ordaining the sending of deputies from the different cantons to the Diet of Schwitz, and the quota of

of men to be raiſed in each canton, making in the whole rather more than 20,000. Theſe efforts and declarations were fully warranted by ſucceſs. The executive council had been driven from the city of Berne, by an army of inſurgents, compoſed of peaſants from Argovia, Solure, Oberland, Petit Lac, Niddau and Arberg, headed by Generals Watteville, d'Erlach and Effingueur. Although almoſt unarmed, theſe forces obliged the government general Gaudarb, to execute a convention, by which the place, with the records, papers and other effects were yielded to the patriots; but their opponents had permiſſion to retire with twenty pieces of artillery to the Pays de Vaud and Fribourg; and general Andermatt was included in the treaty. The vanquiſhed intended proceeding to Lauſanne, but their reception there was doubtful, and the whole Pays de Vaud was in commotion.

21ſt Sept. The new government now proceeded with firmneſs, vigour and prudence to ſecure to the country the benefits for which they had been contending. They iſſued a mild and moderate proclamation, adviſing an oblivion of paſt injuries, and cautioning the people againſt ſullying the glorious triumph of the country by acts of individual vengeance. Berne was placed under a proviſional government. A majority had voted for the re-eſtabliſhment of the old ſyſtem, in all particulars, but had become convinced of the neceſſity of yielding to the ſpirit of the times. The excluſive rights of certain cities were put into a train of arrangement. The deputies from the leſſer cantons arrived, and ratified the ſcheme for raiſing 20,000 men, of whom General Bachman was to have the command. Other beneficial regulations were adopted, the ariſtocratical cantons engaged not to aſſent to the formation of a conſtitution which ſhould be diſagreeable to the people; and a ſhort project of a conſtitutional arrangement was preſented to the Swiſs, the principal feature of which was, that each canton ſhould within a month, form for itſelf a plan of government, adapted to its uſages, its local ſituation, and its actual wants, after which a general diet was to be aſſembled to form an extenſive and conſiſtent government for the whole country.

Anxious to conciliate if poſſible, the good will of France, the Swiſs diet beſought the good offices of the French miniſter to preſent their new conſtitution under a conciliating form, and they diſpatched miniſters to Paris and to other courts, to learn the reſolution of their governments, and particularly that of the Firſt Conſul. It was not difficult to foreſee that the conduct of the continental powers in general would be guided by that of France; and before matters had proceeded to their preſent criſis, ſome indications of the probable courſe of that conduct had appeared. It had been publicly announced that Pruſſia acknowledged the uſurping government of Switzerland only. The ſeparation of the Valais, and its formation into a republic under the joint protection and guaranty of the French and Italian Republics and the uſurping Swiſs government, had been effected by the troops under Thurreau, and the inſtallation of the new legiſlature had taken place with all the

pomp

pomp uſual on ſuch occaſions. The French papers which could only utter ſentiments which the Firſt Conſul either approved or directed, treated the inſurrection as the effect of popular deluſion, the ſtruggle of an ignorant mob for plunder, encouraged by a few demagogues who hoped to make it their paſſport to power. The principal perſon deputed to Paris was aware that he had to contend againſt the influence of an emiſſary from the rival party, M. Stapfer, but he was received by M. Talleyrand in ſuch a manner as encouraged him to hope for final ſucceſs. He was even taught to believe that Bonaparte would not put any obſtacle in the way of any arrangement which the Swiſs might agree upon among themſelves for the final ſettlement of their government.

30th Sept. Theſe flattering expectations were ſoon utterly deſtroyed. Bonaparte iſſued a proclamation the moſt peremptory and inſulting that ever iſſued from the cabinet of a tyrant. It was addreſſed to the inhabitants of Helvetia, and after ſtating that the Firſt Conſul had withdrawn from Switzerland, at the deſire of the people, the few French troops which had remained in that country, he ſaid, "you have been diſputing theſe three years, without underſtanding yourſelves; and you may go on for three years more, killing each other, without underſtanding yourſelves any better. Beſides, your hiſtory proves, that your inteſtine wars were never to be terminated but by the efficacious intervention of France. It is true, I had reſolved totally to abſtain from meddling in your affairs: I had conſtantly ſeen your different governments aſking my advice, and not following it, and ſometimes abuſing my name, according to their intereſts and their paſſions. But I cannot, neither ought I, to remain inſenſible to the misfortunes of which you are the prey; I retract my reſolution: I will be the mediator of your differences; but my mediation ſhall be efficacious, and becoming the great nation in whoſe name I ſpeak." He then proceeded to ordain the diſſolution of the exiſting, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the former government; the diſperſion of all armed meetings, and the diſbanding and diſarming of all military bodies which had not been on foot more than ſix months. "Inhabitants of Helvetia," he inſultingly added, "awake to Hope! your Country is on the brink of a precipice; ſhe ſhall be immediately reſcued; all honeſt men will aid the generous project. But if, which I cannot think, there ſhould be amongſt you a great number of individuals, who have ſo little virtue as not to ſacrifice their paſſions and their prejudices to the love of their country, people of Helvetia you muſt be much degenerated from your fathers."

In vain did the aſtoniſhed and confounded agent for Switzerland addreſs a letter to Bonaparte, ſtating that he muſt have been deceived by falſe repreſentations, that his interference in the affairs of Switzerland, was, as he was authorized to ſay, entirely unſolicited by the majority, and the beſt thinking part of the inhabitants; and entreating him, in the moſt earneſt manner, to ſuſpend the execution of his reſolution until thoſe explanations could take place, which he truſted might

might be the means of preventing the immenſe effuſion of blood which would otherwiſe inevitably enſue. He obtained no anſwer.

25th to 27th Before the laſt hope of Switzerland was thus tyrannically deſtroyed at St. Cloud, the new government was purſuing a ſeries of ſucceſsful operations which promiſed ſoon to annihilate all oppoſition to their authority. The fugitives from Berne to Lauſanne had uſed every effort to compel the whole population of the Pays de Vaud to riſe in their favour, but the new government with well timed activity, declared the ſuſpenſion of arms terminated, and after a ſhort reſiſtance made themſelves maſters of Fribourg. The expelled party treated this conduct as a ſhameful violation of faith, but their complaints would probably have met with no more reſpect from the world at large than from their own countrymen, had they not been aſſured of that which Bonaparte inſultingly termed "the efficaceous intervention of France."

29th The deputies ſent from Berne to the French miniſter at Lauſanne returned without effecting the object of their miſſion, Verninac having refuſed even to recognize them in the character which they preſented themſelves.

3rd Oct. The patriots under Bachman nevertheleſs purſued their efforts, and in an attack which they made on the whole line of their opponents near Lauſanne, they defeated them at every point, and compelled them to fall back upon Moudon.

4th In their conſternation the vanquiſhed were on the point of removing the ſeat of their pretended government to Geneva, when Rapp, one of Bonaparte's aid-de-camps ſuddenly arriving, repaired to the ſenate, accompanied by Verninac, and delivered Bonaparte's proclamation. This terrific miſſive, which announced the extinction of every ſemblance of liberty in Switzerland, was hailed by theſe ſelfiſh traitors to their country with every mark of joy; they were not aſhamed to proclaim that they received with the moſt lively gratitude this new teſtimony of the good wiſhes of the Firſt Conſul, and Rapp haſtened to Berne to convey to the government there his unwelcome intelligence.

The confederates received the determination of Bonaparte with indignation, and had they had the requiſite means to give effect to their feelings, Switzerland might again have decorated the pages of Hiſtory with the ſplendid narrative of a ſmall but free people, maintaining a ſucceſsful ſtruggle againſt mighty and lawleſs oppreſſors. The rapid movements of the French did not even give them time to deliberate. An army under General Ney occupied various parts of the country; troops were collecting in every direction on the frontiers; and the Swiſs, however valiant by nature, and fierce in the ſenſe of the indignity with which they were treated, had neither arms nor other military reſources ſufficient to cope with their too powerful enemy.

8th An armiſtice was concluded between the forces under Bachman and thoſe of the executive council; the Berneſe troops were diſbanded; and after ſome remonſtrances ineffectually addreſſed to Bonaparte, and a very ſlight ſtruggle, the particulars of which are

are too unimportant to repeat, the Diet of Schwitz was diſſolved, and the Swiſs, with ſullen reluctance, ſubmitted to the government impoſed on them by France. The troops of Bonaparte, under pretence of quelling inſurrections, traverſed the country at pleaſure, levied large contributions, according to their cuſtom, and in the moſt cruel and arbitrary manner arreſted and conveyed beyond the frontier, many who had oppoſed the views of their ruler. Among theſe was the brave General Aloys Reding, who was conducted to Lucerne, under an eſcort of fifty French Huſſars, all acceſs to him was prohibited, and finally, he was lodged in the caſtle of Chillon in Geneva, from which he was not liberated till the total ſubmiſſion of the country was inſured.

CHAP. II.

Ineffectual application of the Swiſs miniſter to embaſſadors at Paris; he applies alſo to the Engliſh miniſter; who tranſmits a ſtatement to London; Lord Hawkeſbury's remonſtrance; Mr. Moore diſpatched to Switzerland; which country is ſubdued before his arrival; anger of the French government on the occaſion. Severe animadverſions of the preſs on the conduct of France; correſpondence on that ſubject, and on that of emigrants; remonſtrance of Talleyrand; Lord Hawkeſbury's anſwer; publication of l'Ambigu; remonſtrance of M. Otto on the ſubject of that and other papers; Peltier proſecuted and his publication diſcontinued; farther remonſtrance of France; anſwer of Lord Hawkeſbury. Abuſe of England in French publications; Engliſh papers prohibited in France; publication of the Argus. Notice to Malta. Delay in reſtoring the Cape of Good Hope; ſenſation in Holland unfavourable to France; indignation of France againſt England, and avowed intention to exclude her from all interference with the Continent.

WHEN the perſon deputed by the government of Switzerland to Paris, found that Bonaparte was irrevocably determined to compel that country to ſubmit to the form of government deviſed by himſelf, he followed another of his inſtructions by applying to the Auſtrian and Spaniſh embaſſadors, and to the Ruſſian and Pruſſian miniſters in behalf of his oppreſſed countrymen; but he could not gain admiſſion. He alſo addreſſed himſelf to Mr. Merry, the Britiſh miniſter (for Lord Whitworth was not yet arrived) ſoliciting in the ſtrongeſt terms, that he would interfere, jointly with the other miniſters, if poſſible, with the French government, to avert the impending evil. Mr. Merry obſerved, that the preſent ſtate of political relations between the great powers of Europe afforded no proſpect of his perſuading their miniſters at Paris, to adopt a concerted meaſure in favour of the object which he had ſo much at heart, and that of courſe he could not take it individually upon himſelf, without expreſs inſtruction from his government. The

2d Oct.

fol-

3d. following day the agent informed Mr. Merry that he was not only as yet without a reply from any quarter, but had reason to fear that his prayers would not be listened to by the Austrian, Russian and Prussian ministers; he therefore conjured him to transmit them to his Majesty's government, from whom only his countrymen could have a hope of deriving assistance in the terrible conflict which he knew they were determined to stand, and which would only cease by the extermination of every virtuous and brave man in the country. He then put into his hand a note which he had hastily drawn up, hoping it would effectually plead the cause of his country to the British ministry.

This note briefly recapitulated the efforts made by the Swiss to give to their nation a free and beneficial constitution, and the prevailing unanimity on that important object; complained in terms of surprise and indignation of Bonaparte's decree, and concluded with this energetic, though gloomy appeal. "Should Bonaparte persist in his determination, and the other powers should not interpose in our favour, it only remains for us either to bury ourselves in the ruins of our houses, although without hope from resistance, exhausted as we are by the Colossus who is about to overwhelm us, or to debase ourselves in the eyes of the whole universe! Will the government of this generous nation, which has at all times afforded so many proofs of the interest it takes in the welfare of the Swiss, do nothing for us under circumstances which are to decide, whether we are still to be ranked amongst free people? —We have only men left us:— The Revolution, and spoliations without end, have exhausted our means: We are without arms, without ammunition, without stores, and without money to purchase them."

On receipt of this affecting address, Lord Hawkes- 10th wrote to M. Otto, stating the deep regret excited in the mind of his Majesty, by the proclamation of the First Consul, to the Swiss, and the representations made by that people. His Majesty considered their late exertions in no other light than as the lawful efforts of a brave and generous people to recover their ancient laws and government, and to procure the re-establishment of a system which experience had demonstrated, not only to be favourable to the maintenance of their domestic happiness, but to be perfectly consistent with the tranquility and security of other powers. He had no other desire than that the people of Switzerland, should be left at liberty to settle their own internal government without the interposition of any foreign powers; and with whatever regret he had perused the late proclamation of the french government, he was yet unwilling to believe that they would farther attempt to controul an independent nation in the exercise of their undoubted rights.

At the same time Mr. Francis Moore, brother of the general, was confidentially dispatched by the British ministry to Switzerland. He was directed to learn the residence of the government of the Swiss confederation, to obtain a confidential interview with the persons intrusted with the principal direction of affairs, on whom he was

was to impress the deep interest which his Majesty took in the success of their exertions. He was also authorized to state his Majesty's hopes, that his representation to the French government might have the effect of inducing the first Consul to abandon his intention of compelling the Swiss nation by force, to renounce that system of government under which they had so long prospered, and to which they appeared to be almost unanimously anxious to return. In this event his Majesty would feel himself bound to abstain from all interference on his part; it being his earnest desire that the Swiss nation should be left at liberty to regulate their own internal concerns, without the interposition of any foreign power. If however, contrary to his Majesty's expectations, France should persist in this system of coercion, Mr. Moore was to obtain correct information respecting the disposition and circumstances of the confederates, and if he found them generally determined to persevere in the maintenance of their independance, and of their right to return to their ancient system, and resolved at all hazards to resist the threatened attempt of France to interpose by force of arms, in the settlement of their internal concerns; he was then immediately to communicate, in confidence, to the Swiss government, that either in the event of a French army having entered, or advanced toward the country, his Majesty had authorized him to accede to their application for pecuniary succours.

The generous intentions of the British government were frustrated by the rapid movements of the French; and Mr. Moore on his arrival had the mortification to find that his intervention could be of no avail.

But the French government, not more resolute in exercising tyranny and oppression, than tremulously sensible of every effort to thwart or restrain their operations, saw with impatience and indignation the intended interference on the present occasion. Mr. Moore's mission was mentioned in their papers in terms of contempt and acrimony; the king's love of justice and anxiety to maintain social rights were held up to derision; and the right of England to interfere, in any manner, in the affairs of the continent was denied. Those affairs, said the French official paper, have been settled to the entire satisfaction of all the great powers; and, the voice of experience still speaks too loudly, and too decidedly, to leave a possibility, that any government should consent to the interference of the English in the new arrangements which have become necessary in consequence of the peace.—Switzerland drawn into the vortex of our revolution, which she once thought that she might view as an unconcerned spectator, can no longer return to that which was her condition in 1789. There are in politics, situations which cannot be restored. Were that country left to itself, it might exhaust and agitate the neighbouring powers, but could never renovate its former existence. The interposition of France had become indispensibly necessary.

It was not the interference of government alone that gave offence to France; the proceedings in Swit-

Switzerland occaſioned ſevere and bitter ſtrictures from the preſs; the daily papers teeming with poignant and juſt reflections againſt the oppreſſors, and ſtrong expreſſions of ſympathy in the cauſe of the ſuffering nation. The freedom of the Britiſh preſs had ever ſince the peace given great offence to Bonaparte, and he ſaw with und ſguiſed anger that although peace was made with the republic, the bounty of England was not withdrawn from thoſe nobles and prieſts whom the Revolution had ruined. On theſe two ſubjects a correſpondence was maintained, and the topics were ſo incorperated that they muſt be conſidered jointly.

In June, Mr. Merry officially ſtated a converſation which had taken place between him and Talleyrand, in which the French miniſter expreſſed with conſiderable warmth the diſpleaſure felt by his government at the protection and ſuppoſed encouragement afforded to certain emigrants, and the freedom uſed in ſome publications in deſcanting on the conduct and meaſures of the Republican government. Theſe circumſtances, Talleyrand ſaid, impeded the perfect reconciliation and good underſtanding which the Firſt Conſul wiſhed to ſee re-eſtabliſhed between the two countries. M. Otto had complained that French princes, and other French perſons frequented his Majeſty's court and other places, decorated with the inſignia of French orders which no longer exiſted, and that countenance and ſupport were given in England to *ci-devant* French Biſhops, and other perſons, particularly Georges, inimical to the French government. Talleyrand, therefore, expreſſed his wiſh, "that Miniſters might be diſpoſed to remove out of the Britiſh dominions all the French princes and their adherents, together with the French biſhops, and other French individuals, whoſe political principles and conduct muſt neceſſarily occaſion great jealouſy to the French government. The protection and favour ſhewn to ſuch perſons, in a country in ſuch cloſe vicinity to France, "he added," muſt alone be always conſidered as a great encouragement to the diſſaffected, even without thoſe perſons themſelves being guilty of any acts tending to foment freſh diſturbances in the Republic; but the French government poſſeſſed proofs that they had committed ſuch acts, and had intercepted printed papers, ſent by them, and circulated in France, which had for object to create an oppoſition to the government." In concluſion, Talleyrand obſerved that he thought the reſidence of Louis XVIII. was now the proper place for that of the reſt of the family.

To theſe extraordinary and arrogant propoſitions, Lord Hawkeſbury anſwered that his Majeſty would certainly conſider it inconſiſtent with both the letter and ſpirit of the treaty of peace between him and the French republic, to encourage or countenance any projects that might be hoſtile to the preſent government of France. He was ſincerely deſirous that the peace which had been concluded might be permanent, and lead to the eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem of good underſtanding and harmony between the two countries. He certainly expected that all foreigners in his dominions, ſhould not only

28th July

only hold a conduct conformable to the laws of the country, but should abstain from all acts which might be hostile to the government of any country with which his majesty was at peace. As long, however, as they conducted themselves according to these principles, he would feel it inconsistent with his dignity, with his honour, and with the common laws of hospitality, to deprive them of that protection which could only be forfeited by misconduct.

After this answer the subject remained at rest nearly a month, when a French royalist, named Peltier, afforded a new subject of contest, by commencing a publication avowedly hostile to Bonaparte, under the title of *L'Ambigu*. This paper, as might be expected, met the early notice of M. Otto; he made personal remonstrances to Mr. Hammond, and afterward, in a more formal manner, enforced that complaint, and extended it to the editor of the *Courier de Londres*, to Cobbet, and to other writers who resembled them. After declaring such malevolent publications openly contradictory to the principles of peace, he added; "If it could ever enter into the mind of the French government to permit retaliation, writers would doubtless be found France, willing to avenge their countrymen, by filling their pages with odious reflections on the most respectable persons, and on the dearest institutions of Great Britain."

In consequence of this demand, Peltier's publication was submitted to the consideration of the Attorney General, and the author, alarmed by a prosecution which was commenced against him and his publisher, discontinued the work.

In reply to Lord Hawkesbury's former letter, the French government ordered a note to be delivered, containing such doctrines and propositions as perhaps no state would seriously offer to another, without intending to make them the basis of a quarrel. It was laid down that "every nation is at liberty to sacrifice any advantage whatever in its interior, in order to obtain another, to which it attaches a higher value; but the government which does not repress the licentiousness of the press, when it may be injurious to the honour or the interests of foreign powers, affords an opportunity for libellists to endanger the public tranquility, or at least the good understanding that forms the basis of it. The particular laws and constitution of Great Britain are subordinate to the general principles of the law of nations, which supersede the laws of each individual state. If it be a right in England to allow the most extensive liberty of the press, it is a public right of polished nations, and the bounden duty of governments, to prevent, repress, and punish every attack which might by those means be made against the rights, the interests, and the honour of foreign powers. 17 Aug.

After many more assertions of the same kind, applied not only to English journalists, but to foreign calumniators; to a person named Georges, who had been a general in the Chouan army; to the French Bishops who resisted the concordat, to certain emigrants in Jersey, and to *other persons* attached by recollections never to be

be effaced, and by regrets too long foſtered, to an order of things which no longer exiſts in France, the following requiſitions were made:

1ſt. That His Majeſty's government would adopt the moſt effectual meaſures to put a ſtop to the unbecoming and ſeditious publications, with which the newſpapers and other writings printed in England, were filled.

2d. That the individuals mentioned in M. Otto's letter of the 23d July laſt, ſhould be ſent out of the iſland of Jerſey.

3d. That the former Biſhops of Arras and St. Pol de Léon, and all thoſe, who, like them, under the pretext of religion, were ſeeking to raiſe diſturbances in the interior of France, ſhould likewiſe be ſent away.

4th. That Georges and his adherents, ſhould be tranſported to Canada, according to the intention which M. Otto had been directed to tranſmit to his government, at the requeſt of Lord Hawkeſbury.

5th. That, in order to deprive the evil diſpoſed of every pretext for diſturbing the good underſtanding between the two governments, it ſhould be recommended to the princes of the houſe of Bourbon, who were in Great Britain, to repair to Warſaw, the reſidence of the head of their family.

6th. That ſuch of the French emigrants as ſhould think proper to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient government of France, ſhould be required to quit the territory of the Britiſh empire.

Theſe demands were declared to be founded on the treaty of Amiens, or on verbal aſſurances given to M. Otto in the courſe of the negotiation. If, it was ſaid, Engliſh writers were protected by the law of England, foreigners might be removed by virtue of the alien act; and, as the Britiſh miniſtry poſſeſſed a legal and ſufficient power, to reſtrain foreigners, without having recourſe to the courts of law, it was expected they would exerciſe it, the French government offering on this point a perfect reciprocity.

To this Letter Lord Hawkeſbury furniſhed Mr. Merry with a copious and irreſiſtible anſwer. He admitted that ſome very improper paragraphs had lately appeared in the Engliſh newſpapers againſt the government of France; and that publications of a ſtill more improper and indecent nature had made their appearance, with the names of foreigners affixed to them. Under theſe circumſtances, the French government would have been warranted in expecting every redreſs that the laws of this country could afford them; but as, inſtead of ſeeking it in the ordinary courſe, they had thought fit to reſort to recrimination themſelves, or at leaſt to authorize it in others, they could have no right to complain if their ſubſequent appeal to his Majeſty had failed to produce the effect that otherwiſe would have attended it. Whatever might have been the nature of the prior inquiry, they had in fact taken the law into their own hands. His Lordſhip alſo obſerved that the abuſive paragraphs in the London newſpapers were not directed or ſanctioned, nor could they be prevented by government; but thoſe of which he complained appeared in the French official paper,

for which that government was as much answerable, as the King was for the London Gazette.

Adverting then to the six demands in M. Otto's official note, Lord Hawkesbury divided them under two heads; the first relating to libels, the last to emigrants.

On the first he said, "His Majesty cannot, and never will, in consequence of any representation or menace from a foreign power, make any concession which can be in the smallest degree dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of this country. This liberty is justly dear to every British subject. The constitution admits of no previous restraint upon publications of any description; but there exist judicatures, wholly independent of the executive government, capable of taking cognizance of such publications as the law deems to be criminal, and which are bound to inflict the punishment the delinquents may deserved; these judicatures may take cognizance, not only of libels against the government and the magistracy of this kingdom, but, as has been repeatedly experienced, of publications defamatory of those in whose hands the administration of foreign government is placed. Our government neither has nor wants any other protection than what the laws of the country afford; and though they are willing and ready to give to every foreign government all the protection against offences of this nature, which the principles of the laws and constitution will admit, they can never consent to new model their laws, or to change their constitution to gratify the wishes of any foreign power."

"If the present French government are dissatisfied with our laws on the subject of libels, on entertain the opinion that the administration of justice in our courts is too tardy and lenient, they have it in their power to redress themselves by punishing the venders and distributors of such publications within their own territories, in any manner that they may think proper, and thereby preventing the circulation of them.

"If they think their present laws are not sufficient for this purpose, they may enact new ones; or if they think it expedient, they may exercise the right which they have of prohibiting the importation of any foreign newspapers, or periodical publications into the territories of the French republic. His Majesty will not complain of such a measure, as it is not his intention to interfere in the manner in which the people or territories of France should be governed; but he expects on the other hand, that the French government will not interfere in the manner in which the government of his dominions is conducted, or call for a change in those laws with which his people are perfectly satisfied."

Respecting the distinction made betwen Englishmen and aliens, Lord Hawkesbury observed, that the provisions in the alien act were made for the purpose of preventing the residence of foreigners, whose numbers and principles had a tendency to disturb the internal peace of the King's own dominions, and whom the safety of those dominions might require in many instances to be removed, even if their actual conduct had not exposed them to punishment by law. "It does not follow," he said, "that it would be

be a warrantable application of such a law to exert its powers in the cases of individuals, such as those of whom complaint is now made, and particularly as they are liable to be prosecuted under the law of the land, in like manner as others have been in similar cases, at the instance, and upon the complaint of foreign governments."

Proceeding then to the last five requisitions in M. Otto's note, referring to the princes and other emigrants, Lord Hawkesbury answers them in order.

1st. The emigrants in Jersey, many of whom had remained there solely on account of the cheapness of subsistence, had actually removed, or were removing, previous to the representation concerning them in M. Otto's note.

2d. If the facts alleged against the Bishops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, could be substantiated, his Majesty would think himself justified in taking all measures within his power for obliging them to leave the country; but some proof must be adduced of those facts; and such proof must not be that of their having in a single instance, viz. in reply to the Pope's mandate, published a vindication of their own conduct in refusing to conform to the new establishment, a proceeding in which they would be justifiable on every principle of toleration and justice; but it should show that they had since availed themselves of their situation in this country, to excite the people of France against the authority of that government, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

3d. On the subject of Georges and the persons described as his adherents, Lord Hawsbury repelled the assertion, that any verbal promise from him to M. Otto ever existed to ground the demand made on that head. "His Majesty is, however," he added, "very desirous to obviate any cause of complaint or uneasiness with respect to these persons; and measures are in contemplation, and will be taken, for the purpose of removing them out of his Majesty's European dominions."

4th. His Majesty had no desire that the Princes of the House of Bourbon should continue to reside in this country, if they were disposed, or could be induced to quit it; but he felt it to be inconsistent with his honour, and his sense of justice, to withdraw from them the rights of hospitality, as long as they conducted themselves peaceably and quietly; and unless some charge could be substantiated of their attempting to disturb the peace between the two governments.

5th. With respect to French emigrants wearing in this country the orders of their ancient government; there were few, if any persons of that description who did so. It might be more proper if they all abstained from it; but the French government could not persist in expecting, that, if even it were consistent with law, his Majesty could be induced to commit so harsh an act of authority as to send them out of the country on such an account.

The system of abuse of which Lord Hawkesbury complained, and which the French government styled Retaliation, had been begun before the slightest offence was given by the English papers; while all parties were loud in ex-

tolling the preliminaries of peace. The prudential fears expreſſed on the ſailing of the French Squadron for Saint Domingo afforded an early ſpecimen; the animadverſions of Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham on the peace produced a more ample flood of abuſe, and it was ſuffered afterward to pour in an uninterrupted ſtream, to blacken the Conſtitution, inſult the king, and vilify the government and people of this country. The Engliſh papers, except one, in which Bonaparte was laviſhly and ridiculouſly extolled, were prohibited in France; but a paper called the Argus was allowed to be printed in Paris in the Engliſh language. The editors and writers were Iriſh traitors and Engliſh fugitives, and their undiſguiſed plan was, to ſpread the moſt offenſive libels againſt the King, the government, the nobility, the church and conſtitution of Great Britain, and againſt every individual of that nation, both in London and Paris, who might be ſuppoſed tenacious of character, or ſenſible to aſſault.

Beſide theſe, other ſubjects of diſpute had ariſen. Mention had been made, although the point had not been ſtrenouſly enforced, of the evacuation of Malta, an article concerning which in the treaty of Amiens, the Britiſh government had not carried into effect.

While the diſpute with Switzerland was pending, the French, anticipating perhaps the intervention of Great Britain, tranſmitted to the Dutch government, a ſcurrilous and unfounded accuſation that England was plotting and arranging means for producing a new revolution in the republic, and cauſed a notice to that effect to be inſerted in the Dutch official paper. This intelligence was conveyed to government in a letter from Mr. Liſton, the reſident at the Hague, dated the 13th of October, and as it was clear that enforced obedience, if not ſpontaneous inclination, would make Holland party to any hoſtilities in which Great Britain might engage with France, the miniſtry prudently ſent inſtructions to General Francis Dundas to retain poſſeſſion of the Cape of Good Hope till further orders, but as a meaſure of prudence, he was directed to avoid every circumſtance which might be calculated to excite jealouſy in the Batavian government, or create an apprehenſion of its ariſing from an hoſtile motive.

A war with France, for the purpoſe of preventing the oppreſſion of Switzerland, would have intitled Great Britain to the admiration and applauſe of Europe; for, although principles of policy, or perhaps the ſuddenneſs of the application, prevented the miniſters of Ruſſia, Auſtria and Pruſſia from promiſing ſuccours, it cannot be imagined that either of their governments would have been indifferent to the event, when even the oppreſſed, plundered, and terrified people of Holland were ſuſceptible of ſtrong impreſſions from the attack of Bonaparte on the liberty and independence of the Swiſs Cantons, and began to expreſs anxiety at the protracted ſtay of thoſe troops with whom the French inundated and exhauſted their country, under the ſpecious character of auxiliaries. They even remonſtrated on the ſubject, though without effect, and were, not for the firſt time, compelled to perceive that the

the independence secured to them by treaties, was, while the performance of those treaties depended on Gallic faith, a mere illusion. The sudden surrender of the Swiss having, however, terminated all hopes which the British government had entertained, no time was lost in countermanding the order for the retention of the Cape; and as the utmost cordiality subsisted between his Majesty's government, and that of the Batavian republic, General Dundas was directed to observe the most conciliatory conduct in all his proceedings.

Thus when every thing seemed to portend sudden hostility, the prospect of a continuance of peace was unexpectedly restored, though unattended by any exhibition of good-will. The First Consul indignantly endured the intention of England to interfere. The treaty of Amiens was again and again referred to as excluding Great Britain from all connexion with the continent of Europe; libels against its government and political conduct during the late war, were copied from the other papers both French and English into the Moniteur, and on the 29th of October, the French official Journal contained a long article decrying the conduct and politics both domestic and foreign of Great Britain. The ruin brought on continental states by alliances with her, the claim to the sovereignty of the seas, were strongly descanted on, and many topics of discussion which had arisen during the late war were most petulantly and acrimoniously revived. "What title," said the government writer, "can an insular power have to intermiddle with the affairs of Germany? And to what a state of abjectness must Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Bavaria, and the houses of Wurtemberg, Baden, Hesse Cassel, &c. and the French republic be reduced, if they could not negotiate, conclude and arrange their interests with respect to boundaries, without the consent of a power as much a stranger to their interests as to our diplomatic law? A power who alone despises the maritime rights of independent nations. The relations of France and England are the treaty of Amiens, the whole treaty of Amiens, and nothing but the treaty of Amiens."

"The French people," he added "are not ignorant that a great mass of jealousy exists, and that dissentions both internal and external will long continue to be fomented; but France also constantly remains in the attitude given by the Athenians to Minerva, her helmet on her head, her lance in the rest. Nothing shall ever be obtained from her by menacing proceedings, for fear has no power over the hearts of the brave."

CHAP. II.

Meeting of Parliament. Mr. Abbott re-elected Speaker. The King's Speech. Debate on the address in the House of Lords—and in the House of Commons; Attack on ministers; Defence of them by Mr. Fox; Animadversions of Mr. Windham on the Conduct and principles of Mr. Fox. The subject renewed the following day.

16th Nov. SUCH was the general aspect of affairs when the new parliament commenced its session. Mr. Abbott was unanimously re-elected speaker, on the nomination of Sir William Scott, seconded by Mr. Lascelles, and after a week allowed for the new members to take the oaths and their seats, the commons were summoned to the bar of the House if Lords to hear the speech delivered by His Majesty from the throne.

23d The King declared to Parliament the gratification it afforded him to obtain their advice and assistance after the recent opportunity of collecting the sense of the people; expressed his gratitude to Divine Providence for the abundant harvest; and exulted in the prosperous state of manufactures and commerce, and the loyalty and attachment of the people "In my intercourse with foreign powers," he proceeded, "I have been actuated by a sincere disposition for the maintenance of peace. It is nevertheless impossible for me to lose sight of that established and wise system of policy by which the interests of other states are connected with our own; and I cannot therefor be indifferent to any material change in their relative condition and strength. My conduct will be invariably regulated by a due consideration of the actual situation of Europe, and by a watchful solicitude for the permanent welfare of my people. You will, I am persuaded, agree with me, in thinking that it is incumbent upon us to adopt those means of security which are best calculated to afford the prospect of preserving to my subjects the blessings of peace."

Then the King reminded the House of Commons of providing the necessary supplies, which he hoped might be fully accomplished without any considerable addition to the burthens on his people; he also spoke with satisfaction of the perceptible good effects of the Union with Ireland, as operating on the trade, public credit and maritime strength of the nation, and he exhorted parliament to concur with him in endeavouring to uphold the honour of the country, to encourage its industry, to improve its resources, and to maintain the true principles of the constitution in church and state.

In the upper house, the address on this speech was moved by Lord Arden, and seconded by Lord Nelson. No amendment was proposed, but several lords took occasion,

ſion, in the courſe of debate, to expreſs ſentiments hoſtile to adminiſtration. The noble Lord who ſeconded the addreſs commended the ſpirit which animated his Majeſty's councils, and his Majeſty's language. He rejoiced, that in ſpite of the machinations of private enemies, and public treaſon, his Majeſty had been ſpared to them, and that they had ſeen him come down to the houſe a midſt the animating and affectionate applauſe of his people, to ſtate to them the bleſſings which he was determined to preſerve to them, unimpaired. "May God, in his providence," he added, "long preſerve to his Majeſty the power as well as the inclination to keep to his happy people, the enjoyment of peace, with their liberty and their honour."

This remark and the general tenor of the ſpeech called up the Marquis of Abercorn, the Earl of Carliſle, the duke of Norfolk, Lords Grenville and Carysfort, who animadverted with ſeverity on the conduct of the miniſtry, but did not, in all reſpects, agree with each other. It was a hacknied, and often a miſapplied phraſe in parliament, they ſaid, to ſpeak of the time preſent as of the moſt critical period that ever was; but if that phraſe was at any time applicable, it was now. The new parliament was aſſembled in a moment, more awful and critical than any in which the Country had been placed ſince the foundation of the monarchy; upon the deliberative wiſdom, and the policy of the reſolutions of parliament, in the courſe of a few months, the very exiſtence of the United Kingdom, would intirely depend. There never was a period which preſented ſo many bitter recollections of the paſt, or when ſo much anxiety dwelt on men's minds, concerning the unhinged ſtate of Europe. The ſervility of ſome ſtates, the inſolence of others, and the apathy of the reſt, were a ſubject of alarm. The ſituation was critical and tremendous; and it was rendered more ſo by the ſilence of miniſters. It was aſtoniſhing that the Houſe ſhould be called on to agree to the addreſs, without any other information than that which was contained in his Majeſty's ſpeech. It was neceſſary to know, whether the inheritances derived from our anceſtors were to be ſuſtained or abandoned; whether the miniſters, cloſeting and concealing themſelves, were to go on in a wretched round of diplomatic myſtery and failure, or adopt meaſures for the preſervation and ſecurity of our national honour and independence.

The Lords who diſapproved the Conduct of Miniſters congratulated the houſe on a higher and better tone being aſſumed; but it remained to aſcertain what were the preciſe circumſtances under which miniſters had aſſumed it, inſtead of the tame, conceding, languid temper which they had manifeſted up to this moment. The change was fortunate, but, it was to be feared, it came too late. Was it adopted becauſe France glutted with rapine and ſpoil, was diſpoſed to relax from further incroachment, and at length condeſcended to give peace to the crouching world? Or were miniſters aroufed into action by ſome new and unexampled attack which was meditating on ſome other power?

They had in either caſe brought the country down to the miſerable predicament of a degrading retraction of the high language they had at length aſſumed; or of entering into war at a moment when we had deprived ourſelves of the beſt means of making it effectual. The acquieſcence of miniſters up to the time of their interference in the affairs of Switzerland, had ſhewn that our councils were in the hands of men totally unfit and inadequate to the criſis; for now that they had awakened from their ſtupor, and ſhewn ſome ſigns of life, they had done it when they could have no communication nor any concert with thoſe powers of the continent who could have made an interference uſeful. What could, be ſaid of the impotence of thoſe miniſters when they made this exploſion of rage at the outrage on Switzerland at the very moment when Auſtria was making a declaration of the oppoſite tendency? Why not have taken the moment when they might have had co-operation? Why firſt reſolve to give up Martinique and the Cape, and then take offence? Surely their whole conduct was calculated only to expoſe us to the contempt of the enemy. Martinique, the Cape, and Malta, three great commanding ports were in our hands. Martinique was ſurrendered. Orders were ſent out to ſurrender the Cape; and it was only a matter of accident it was not done. Malta however, ſtill remained; We were indebted for its ſafety to one of the blunders which had marked their adminiſtration. But Martinique, the key of the Weſt Indies, had moſt improvidently been delivered over to the French.

His Majeſty had ſaid he could not view with indifference any material change in the relative condition and ſtrength of the different powers on the continent. Nothing was more juſt; but had no material change taken place before the preſent moment? The anſwer muſt be obvious. Between the ſignature of the preliminaries of peace and the definitive treaty, Louiſiana was added to the power of France. This was not all. The ink was ſtill wet, the wax was not yet cold with which this treaty was concluded, when Piedmont, the bulwark of Italy, was annexed to the French empire. The father of the depoſed ſovereign, ſeeing the danger with which he was threatened by the French revolution, entered into an alliance with us to proſecute the war. In that alliance he acted faithfully to the beſt of his very limited means. He acted well, though unfortunately. He was firſt ſtripped of Savoy; then taken priſoner in his own capital. The French drove him away from his capital of Piedmont; but he ſtill remained King of Sardinia. At a time when we were excluded from every port in the Mediterranean, except where our arms had taken poſt, the French required from him that he ſhould exclude not only all our mercantile and armed ſhips from his ports, but alſo expel all our agents. This he poſitively refuſed. And yet, this friendly, honourable power was annihilated on the continent, his name not even mentioned in the definitive treaty, and his Majeſty's miniſters, had

ſeen

ſeen no material change effected! The treaty was made in March; ratified in May: in June, Piedmont was, by a formal decree, annexed to France; and in Auguſt, the conſular government made a grand ſweep and diſpoſal of the intire conſtitution of Germany, and of all the princes and powers in it. Surely, either Germany was not in Europe, or we had no intereſt in Germany; it was a place unknown to us, or ſo inſignificant and ſo diſtant as to be unworthy of notice. The intereſts of another ally of Great Britain were alſo, in conſequence of the ſtrong feeling which was excited in this country in his favour, to be provided for and taken care of in the definitive treaty. Was there now any man in England who thought that an adequate indemnity had been procured for the Houſe of Orange? and yet no interference in his favour was perceived. Even the Sovereign of Great Britain had ſuffered in his electoral intereſts by this criminal inattention to the fate of nations. It had often falſely and moſt fooliſhly been ſaid, that Great Britain had ſuffered on account of its connexion with Hanover. Now more truly might it be ſaid, that Hanover had ſuffered on account of its connexion with Great Britain; or rather on account of its connexion with the preſent miniſters of Great Britain. Our gracious ſovereign had been put off with a pittance altogether inadequate and unworthy of his claims. Could miniſters talk lightly of the diſtribution of territory in Germany? Was it a matter of no importance to this country to have the means of carrying on her commerce with ſecurity? Did they not know, that from the mouth of the Ems to the bay of Trieſte, we had not a ſingle port in our poſſeſſion?

The peers who oppoſed the pacific temper of miniſters did not however, wiſh to be conſidered as advocates for war; and the Duke of Norfolk particularly ſaid he was not ready to concur in the ſentiment, that if the French ſhould break the engagements which they had made with any of the powers of the continent, that therefore the nation ſhould inſtantly be plunged into hoſtilities.

His grace alſo obſerved, that with regard to the rumours of plots and conſpiracies of a frightful extent which had lately been circulated, and to which ſome alluſion had been made, he ſincerely hoped they did not exiſt, either in the terrible form, or to the extent repreſented; but he muſt take occaſion to ſay, that whatever ſuſpicions were entertained, or diſcoveries made, of ſuch attacks being in meditation, or of attempts to ſeduce ſoldiers and artizans from their duty, he hoped the conduct of government would be prompt and juſt. He was ſorry to have heard any alluſion to ſuch reports and rumours introduced in the courſe of the debate. They neither naturally grew out of the ſubjects adverted to in his Majeſty's ſpeech, nor had any neceſſary connexion with the diſcuſſion of them. It was not fit to ſay any thing that might prejudice the public mind againſt perſons who were to be brought to trial, perhaps for their lives; but he hoped that theſe reports would not be made a pretext for inflicting new wounds on

on the conſtitution. He truſted miniſters would inſtantly proceed to the inveſtigation of the matter, whatever it was; and that the law would have its due courſe, inſtead of being ſuſpended, and perſons locked up without trials.

The topic in which theſe ſpeakers moſt generally agreed was the cenſure of miniſters. The adminiſtration, it was ſaid was not intitled to confidence. There appeared to be ſomething in the concoction of it, that neither promiſed firmneſs nor ſtability. An adminiſtration ſo formed was not likely to produce advantages to the country. The formation of the miniſtry was eſſentially defective and erroneous; it was fundamentally incapable of the functions which it undertook. No perſonal ill will to miniſters governed theſe ſentiments; but if we meant by any one ſtrong united effort to ſave the veſſel of the ſtate, we muſt change the perſons in whoſe hands the direction was placed. We muſt completely get rid of that wavering, indeciſive, and contradictory conduct, which had ſubjected us to the deriſion of Europe for the laſt twelvemonth. Theſe cenſures of the exiſting adminiſtration were mingled with ſtrong encomiums on Mr. Pitt; a miniſter, whoſe talents were inexhauſted and unrivalled, a man poſſeſſed of the ſoundeſt underſtanding, and whoſe heart was as correct and clear as his intellects; a miniſter, who, when left to himſelf, was capable of conducting the helm of ſtate ſafely through any ſea however turbulent or tempeſtuous.

The anſwer to theſe cenſures reſted on Lord Pelham and Lord Hobart; but they did not expatiate on the various topics introduced by their opponents. When theſe ſubjects ſhould come fully and regularly before the Houſe, they ſaid, they ſhould be ready to defend their conduct. The preſent was not the proper time to go into the details of future regulation.

There was great injuſtice, they ſaid, in the cenſure thrown by Lord Grenville on the king's preſent ſervants on account of the diſmemberment of Germany. His Lordſhip could not but know that the treaty of Luneville was made during his own adminiſtration, and that Germany was brought into its preſent condition by circumſtances which were not ſubject to the controul of any miniſters. It was enough to ſay, that the indemnities in Germany were not conſidered as of ſufficient importance to prevent our making peace. If France had extended her dominion over the greateſt part of the continent, it had been under her power long before the noble lord retired from office; and if that noble lord had not been able to prevent ſuch aggrandizement, he had no right to charge the preſent miniſters with miſconduct becauſe they were not able to do away that power which had been created during the noble Lord's adminiſtration.

They concurred with the Duke of Norfolk in wiſhing that no alluſion had been made to rumours of conſpiracies and machinations; they did not form a neceſſary part of the diſcuſſion of the day, and would have been better left to the unbiaſſed enquiry of the judicial tribunals, to which they would doubtleſs be regularly ſubmitted.

Lord Grenville had ſtood up, Lord Hobart obſerved, to charge his Majeſty's ſervants with incapacity;

pacity; it did not become him to anſwer ſuch a charge. He would however, ſay, that the preſent miniſters did not ſeek their ſituations. They were called upon to take them in a moment of great and accumulated difficulties, difficulties with the nature and extent of which no man was better acquainted than the noble Lord himſelf, and Lord Grenville could not charge the preſent miniſters with incapacity, without at the ſame time criminating himſelf for having relinquiſhed his poſt.

In the Houſe of Commons the opponents of government followed the ſyſtem adopted in the upper houſe; offering no objections to the addreſs, but declaring their diſapprobation of the conduct of miniſters. A greater variety of topics was introduced, and the perſonal differences between members produced a more animated diſcuſſion.

The honourable Mr. Trench moved, and Mr. Curzon ſeconded the addreſs.

The mover dwelt on the flouriſhing ſtate of our commerce, agriculture and revenue. Every branch of our manufactures, and every department of our revenue, was in ſuch a ſtate of proſperity as to afford a moſt ſatisfactory cauſe of exultation. Wherever we turned our eyes, the vigilant attention of government, the ſucceſsful induſtry and ſteady loyalty of the people were obvious. Although peace had been productive of ſuch fortunate conſequences, and although its continuance was devoutly to be wiſhed, yet he ſtrongly approved the declared policy of miniſters, to place the empire in ſuch a ſituation as ſhould render it ſuperior to the apprehenſion of war; and if that alternative ſhould become neceſſary for the maintenance of our honour and ſecurity, in ſuch a ſituation as to protect us from the conſequences. He extolled the ſyſtem purſued with reſpect to foreign relations; every one muſt applaud the economy miniſters had uniformly preſerved, and the pacific diſpoſition they had uniformly manifeſted; but if they ſhould not be permitted to purſue that line of policy, it was deſirable that full proviſion ſhould be made for ſuch an eſtabliſhment as ſhould enable them to encounter any obſtacle. Upon the whole, the ſtate of the continent was a ſubject to which he could not look without anxiety: but with regard to this country, he ſaw nothing to create deſpondency, or to weaken our reliance on our own ſtrength, which happily remained whole, entire and unimpaired. With reference to Ireland, he was enabled, from his local knowledge, to deſcribe the change which the Union had effected in that country, whoſe advancement muſt ever add to the wealth, happineſs, and conſequence of Great Britain. Its manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, were rapidly improving. For this the inhabitants felt they were indebted to the provident care and attention of the United Parliament, and to the active exertions of miniſters. They deſerved his confidence, and they poſſeſſed it; and he truſted they would long continue to enjoy the confidence of his Majeſty.

Theſe ſtatements were oppoſed by many members; the chief of whom were Mr. Cartwright, Sir John Wrotteſley, Mr. Pytches, Mr.

Mr. Canning, Mr. Windham, Mr. T. Grenville, and Sir Henry Mildmay.

The proſperous ſtate of the commerce and revenue of the country was not directly denied; but ſome members expreſſed doubts of its extent; and it was ſaid that hereafter, when we were pleaſing ourſelves with the idea that credit begets capital, and capital enſures commerce, we ſhould find that, France by her overgrown power would be able to deſtroy our credit.

It was admitted that the beſt way of rendering the bleſſings of peace permanent, was to be prepared for any exigency; and when the conduct of the French Government was conſidered; when the character of the man by whom that government was adminiſtered; his cunning and artifices; his unceaſing exertions to inflame the people of France, and to excite the jealouſy of Europe againſt us, were taken into the account, caution and preparation on our part became eſſentially neceſſary. France, was in ſuch a ſtate of power as to place us in the utmoſt danger, ſituated as we ſhould be in a conteſt with a country that meditate our deſtruction, and took her means for that purpoſe in peace as well as in war, and having conquered all others, would only content herſelf with making this the laſt victim of her vengeance. Whatever her love of domination might be, as to other countries, all her wiſhes, aims, and views, were invariably bent on the total deſtruction of this, whoſe trade and wealth ſhe envied, and both which ſhe was taught to believe had been employed to bring upon her all the difficulties and evils ſhe had been forced to encounter. It was well known that France, ſince the ſigning the preliminary articles, had built eighteen ſhips of the line. There had in that period, been ſhipped from the Baltic, for France, 10,000 tons of hemp, and, which was moſt to be wondered at, all this had been ſhipped in Britiſh bottoms. The expedition that was firſt ſent out to Saint Domingo, was fitted out in a leſs ſpace of time than had ever been known on any former occaſion, at a moment when the French navy and trade were ſaid to be at the very loweſt ebb. The deſtruction of our independence and glory was the object never loſt ſight of for a moment. There was an invincible ſpirit of rancour which only waited for a favourable opportunity to diſplay itſelf in action. The ſentiment of hatred was cheriſhed, the day of vengeance was only poſtponed; the purpoſe was taken, and in due time the French government would diſcloſe its views; *Telum auctum et reconditum promeret.* This diſpoſition was ſhewn, not by a ſingle, but by many inſtances. Bonaparte was making many preparations along the coaſt, could any one doubt that we ſhould do the ſame? He had ſucceeded in making himſelf maſter of a greater and richer extent of territory than had changed hands for centuries in Europe. If the perſon at the head of the government of France perſiſted in the meaſures calculated to excite apprehenſion, we were called upon to meet every exigency by looking at his objects as he looked at them himſelf. With ſuch conſiderations in view, miniſters were highly culpable in ſo precipitately diſarming; nothing ſo ſudden had occurred

occurred on any former peace, when it could have been done with more safety; so reduced was our naval force at present, that we had not, in case of the renewal of hostilities, a sufficient fleet in commission to protect our ports; while the French government, taking advantage of the peace, seemed to devote its chief attention to the augmentation of her fleets. Contrary to all preceding example, nothing had characterized the reduction of our peace establishment, but a precipitation altogether unaccountable. New encroachments on the part of France were met by conciliation; new accessions of strength were succeeded by new diminutions of our national force. There was nothing like a reciprocity in the arrangement of a peace establishment. It was a work of considerable labour to recruit a disbanded army, to refit a dismantled fleet; but, whatever the difficulty was, it was wholly to be ascribed to want of promptness, decision, and energy in watching over the ambitious designs of the enemy. Of all the bad consequences of this policy, nothing was so bad as letting down the national spirit. To repair the consequences of this error, was not the work of a day. National spirit was not to be roused in a moment. It was to be cherished and fostered by the paternal care of government. Ministers had neglected this most important object, and now they wished to repair the consequences of their error, and to raise the spirit as high as it was when they received the government from the hands of their predecessors.

The encroachments of France on the other powers of the continent were also largely insisted on. Within a short time, that government was seen arrogantly dictating to the Emperor, annexing Parma to her already overgrown territory, and audaciously interfering to deprive the gallant Swiss of the right of establishing their liberties; an act that ranked among the most atrocious that modern history presented. But had there been any vigilance or increased vigour in opposing encroachments? Those then who approved the treaty, of peace, relying on the tone and temper in which it had been concluded, or on the increased vigilance to be exercised, to supply what was doubtful in the temper of Bonaparte, might consistently blame the conduct of ministers, by whom they had been deceived. The encroachments since the treaty were, the annexation of Piedmont, the conquest of Switzerland, the annexation of Parma to France, and the letter of the French government to the Batavian Republic. If a man who had died fourteen years ago, could be brought back into this world, and came to look around him, he would scarcely know it to be the same. After inquiring after his own and other families most nearly connected with him, should he think it requisite to ask how the family of Europe did, he would find, that of all its numerous and flourishing branches, only four or five remained. When he asked what was become of Holland, it was gone; Genoa gone; Switzerland the last mournful monument; Modena, Parma, all were gone and swallowed up in the inordinate incroachments of the First Consul. Measure the degrees of longitude

longitude and latitude on the map, and it would be found that France had at its command a population of fifty or sixty millions, which is one half of that of all Europe. Formerly she was formidable with only twenty four millions, but now her power was gigantic and tremendous, as a certain and inevitable annoyance to us;

——— "Can such things be, (said Mr. Windham)
And overcome us like a Summer's cloud,
Without our special wonder? You make me strange
Even to the disposition that I owe,
When now I think you can behold such sights,
And keep the natural ruby of your cheeks,
When mine are blanch'd with fear."

Ministers had indeed remonstrated on behalf of Switzerland, but this appeared an insulated measure, and not a part of a system on which they meant to conduct his Majesty's counsels. In the debates on the preliminaries and the definitive treaty, the noble secretary of state had said, that all hope of foreign alliance was at an end. Was such a declaration an encouragement to foreign princes to form alliances with us? Was our treatment of allies such as to induce them to make common cause with us? The King of Sardinia, was an instance; our refusal to co-operate with the Emperor Alexander in procuring redress for that monarch, had alienated him from our cause; and our conduct toward the prince of Orange was equally censured. It was odd that at the very moment of remonstrating, ministers should be looking out for alliances on the continent, especially as the language talked by various persons, both in that House and out of it, had been very repugnant to such an end, and but ill calculated to conciliate such alliances "We were forsooth as Mr. Wilberforce had told his constituents, "too honest for continental alliances." In short, if we were to wait for the continent, we might wait for ever, for the continent would never begin. The continent was now disarmed; but would the Italian republic ever have been founded, or Switzerland overrun, if the continent had been in arms.

It was a matter of public notoriety, Mr. Canning observed, that on the subject of the execrable treatment of the French government to Switzerland, a remonstrance had been presented in a manner totally inconsistent with policy or expediency. In saying this he begged it to be understood, that it was a thing the most remote from his wishes to have it imagined that he did not feel a lively interest in the fate of a brave and suffering people, or that he was deficient in a sentiment of honest indignation against the foulest oppression which had stained the history of a period, marked by the most unjustifiable attacks on the liberty and independence of foreign nations. The Swiss had afforded to Europe a glorious example of the heroic efforts of men combating for liberty; and he trusted that if ever the time came, as in so awful a crisis as the present it might come, we should in defence of our rights discover a spirit no less courageous, and meet with a success correspondent to the energy of our exertions. In estimating the propriety of a remonstrance such as that to which he

he now alluded, the wiſdom of ſuch a meaſure was to be determined only by circumſtances. Its expediency was dependent on extended views of policy, and enlarged proſpects of advantage. It was true indeed, that when the intelligence of the glorious exertions of the Swiſs patriots reached this contry, every honeſt man was intereſted in their fate, every lover of freedom was ready to devote himſelf in their cauſe; miniſters, however, were not to be guided by a popular impulſe, however reſpectable. They were to conſider how far their remonſtrances in favour of a ſuffering people were likely to be attended to, or how far they could hope to enforce them, by holding out to the French government threats of employing force, in caſe peaceable remonſtrance was ineffectual. The whole hiſtory of ſtates ſufficiently proved that remonſtrances betwixt independent nations, unaccompanied by penalties, were generally nugatory. Now, on what footing did the remonſtrance of Miniſters in the caſe of Switzerland, ſtand? It arrived at a time when it was fruitleſs, the people were ſubjugated, and their hopes were blaſted for ever.

The circumſtances under which the peace was made were amply diſcuſſed; the miniſters were accuſed of general want of vigour, and it was denied that their exertions had been important or beneficial to the country. A great deal had been ſaid at different times, it was obſerved, of the deſperate ſtate of public affairs when his Majeſty's preſent miniſters had been intruſted with their management. This obſervation, often repeated, had alſo at all times been moſt ſtrongly controverted; but a detail in every point, would prove that, in every particular, it was unfounded. They inherited a war with France, and the neutral queſtion in ſuch a ſtate as to afford no proſpect of accomodation without an appeal to the ſword; but for enforcing our right on the neutral queſtion, they had a fleet prepared to ſtrike an immediate and deciſive blow, and to finiſh the war with France, they had the Egyptian expedition in readineſs for immediate ſervice. They, to all the advantages ariſing from ſucceſs, did not unite any of the dangers connected with reſponſibility. They were intruſted with the government of a country in a ſtate of complete repoſe. Treaſon in Ireland deſtroyed, domeſtic ſedition repreſſed, commerce extended beyond all example, manufactures active, and finances unimpaired, were the prominent circumſtances in the ſituation of the country, when they were firſt called to his Majeſty's councils; and certainly, though their duties were arduous, their facilities of performance were numerous and ſtriking. Several ſpeakers expreſſed a conviction of the incapacity of the preſent miniſters to conduct public affairs, and with great eulogies, expreſſed wiſhes for the return to power of Mr. Pitt, who was that day abſent through indiſpoſition.

Beſide Lord Hawkeſbury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Caſtlereagh, who vindicated their own meaſures, the cauſe of government was ſtrenuouſly ſupported by Mr. Fox, who in doing ſo, earneſtly diſclaimed all connexion with the miniſters he defended.

With

With reſpect to the increaſe of commerce and revenue, Mr. Addington announced his ſatisfaction in being able to convert into certainty what was ſtated as conjecture on that head. He was the more gratified in being able to do ſo, when he recollected the gloomy preſages on this ſubject, which were held out by thoſe who diſapproved of the peace. In the year ending October 1801, the exports of Britiſh manufactures amounted to between 23 and 24 millions. In the year ending October 1802, the exports amounted to no leſs than 27,500,000. During the laſt year alſo the amount of the revenue had been unexampled. Many thought him too ſanguine, laſt year, in taking the ſurplus of the conſolidated fund at five millions and a half for the current year, but for two quarters from the 4th of April, the amount of the ſurplus had already exceeded three millions. The floating debt of every kind, which was eſtimated at upward of twenty millions, would in January next, amount to no more than fourteen, notwithſtanding the unuſual efforts which had been made during the year, and the extenſive eſtabliſhment that had been kept up.

Beſide a general allegation that our public eſtabliſhments, eſpecially that of the navy, were never more conſiderable; and never was the navy of France more reduced; it was ſpecifically ſtated that our military eſtabliſhment was double what it was in the year 1784, at the ſame period from the concluſion of the treaty. And Mr. Fox ſaid it was hardly poſſible to think thoſe perſons ſerious, who affected to entertain a dread of the French navy. He alſo diſtinctly expreſſed his diſapprobation of a large eſtabliſhment; nor would he, by agreeing to the addreſs, bind himſelf to the ſupport of any ſuch eſtabliſhment. He thought the peace of the country would be beſt maintained, and its ſecurity ſupported, by a ſmall military force, whether we had in view the preſervation of peace, or the renewal of war.

The immenſe aggrandizement of French influence and French power was admitted; and it was with Mr. Fox, a grand cauſe of accuſation againſt the late miniſters, by whoſe obſtinacy and miſconduct it was obtained. But was there a man in the houſe, or in this country, who would renew a conteſt with France, without any ſupport but that derived from the co-operation of a ſubſidized few German princes? If, contrary to every ſuggeſtion of expediency, and every dictate of policy, ſuch a project ſhould be embraced, it required little political ſagacity to foreſee that the reſult will be incalculably diſaſtrous.

The miniſters denied that their opinions reſpecting continental connexions had been rightly repreſented. They did not wiſh to abſtract and inſulate Great Britain altogether from continental connexions, and to make her attend excluſively to the improvement of her own reſources, and the encouragement of her own induſtry. It muſt be obvious that with dominions ſo extended, with intereſts ſo complicated, with relations ſo various in their bearings, it was impoſſible it could be the policy of Great Britain thus to abſtract and inſulate herſelf. Indeed were ſuch a ſyſtem adopted, it muſt ere

long be abandoned. States and countries had duties, like individuals; in conformity with that principle, ſmall ſtates, like individuals, make their own preſervation almoſt the only object of their care, but great ſtates ſhould be guided by a ſyſtem of benevolence and of prudence, of policy and of juſtice, and they ſhould combine in redreſſing the injuries, or alleviating the ſufferings to which inferior ſtates might be expoſed.

On this principle was vindicated the interference in behalf of Switzerland, in which miniſters contended, they had not committed the honour of the country. It was ſurely a bold and extraordinary poſition to aſſert, that no remonſtrance could be made by one country to another, without war being the alternative, if that remonſtrance were not fully attended to. It was alſo inſinuated, that miniſters had inſtigated the diſturbances in that country, and then abandoned the patriots to the conſequences of their reſiſtance. But they moſt poſitively and ſolemnly declared, that not only no ſuch inſtigation was made uſe of, but that no encouragement whatever was held out to the Swiſs, even after their reſiſtance to the uſurping government broke out.

Mr. Fox ſaid that thoſe who defended the treaty of peace when it was laid before the houſe, would defend it ſtill on the ſame principles, and they would naturally view the objections to the addreſs as frivolous and inconcluſive. Thoſe, on the other hand, who contended that they would not have made peace on the terms which the treaty contained, would be anxious to break a peace which they would not have made, and to renew a war which they wiſhed to continue. But Mr. Fox deprecated war altogether. The firſt and grand object which we ought to have in view, he ſaid, is ſecurity, but there can be no true ſecurity which is not upheld by honour. There can be no true dignity which is not ſupported by character. An honourable gentleman, however, finds a new ground of war in the character of the French government. He is ſurprized to find it not ſo friendly or conciliating as he expected at the time, the treaty was concluded. Did he really expect that the French government was henceforth to entertain towards this country no feelings but thoſe of friendſhip? Did he imagine that we might expect from it every interchange of civility and kindneſs; that our government would find in it a powerful and diſintereſted ally? There was certainly nothing in the language employed at the time when the merits of the treaty were under diſcuſſion, to countenance this ſuppoſition. A great deal has been ſaid, he proceeded, about the diſpoſition of the people of this country in favour of a renewal of the war. This I have no heſitation of affirming is completely falſe. Of all the fictitious crimes which ever were imputed to the people of England, and certainly they have often been accuſed of crimes, of which they were incapable, even in thought, I do pronounce this to be one of the moſt groundleſs that ever was invented to injure the national character. The origin of this calumny it is not difficult to trace. It ariſes, from the coalition of ſome

newſpapers, who affect to hold out this as the real diſpoſition of the people. Their motives for ſuch repreſentations may be various. They may wiſh to gratify ſpleen, or to increaſe their circulation, by contriving ſomething to excite the curioſity of their readers. I do believe in my conſcience that the people of this country are, at this moment, as eager to cultivate the bleſſings of peace, as at any former period. Mankind, have been too often ſacrificed to the ambition of princes, and to the intrigues of parties; but if the publiſhers of newſpapers are to be the means of plunging the nation again into a deſtructive conteſt, it will be the moſt baſe and ignoble cauſe in which ever a people was engaged.

The miniſters vindicated their own conduct in making, and declared their earneſt deſire to maintain the peace; a deſire which they had every reaſon to hope they ſhould be able to accompliſh. Yet if war ſhould be neceſſary for the public honour or ſafety they had no fear of being able to wage it with advantage. It has been ſaid, Mr. Addington obſerved, that the public opinion was recovering; for my own part, I am ſatisfied that the public opinion is, that the country wiſhes for peace, but is not afraid of war; that it wiſhes what is beſt, but is determined to be prepared for what is worſt; it will ſubmit to no baſe, diſhonourable compromiſe of its rights, and of its dignity, but will not be miſled by exaggerated ſtatements of danger, to overlook all conſiderations of prudence. In this Houſe, and in the country, there will be no diſpoſition to proſtrate the honour of the nation; but I am aware that there is in ſome individuals a diſpoſition, originating, no doubt, in the moſt laudable feelings, a diſpoſition to rouſe the paſſions, to alarm the fears, to pique the pride of the country, in order to force us back into a war, without any adequate motive. Nevertheleſs, I am convinced, that the great body of reflecting men in the Houſe will give a zealous and ſteady ſupport to miniſters, while they ſhow themſelves determined to watch over the true honour and intereſts of the ſtate; but, at the ſame time, not to be led away, by feelings which it was not unfrequently their duty to moderate, into a fruitleſs and premature conteſt. Not only from feelings which pronounce war to be the greateſt of evils, but from the conviction of my cool judgement, I am deſirous to avoid it; but dreadful as it is, it is not ſo dreadful as diſhonour; and if ever the alternative were preſented, I ſhould not heſitate in the choice.

In anſwer to the allegations of the inſufficiency of miniſters, and the great want of the aid of Mr. Pitt, Lord Hawkeſbury ſaid, that in the praiſe of his abilities, and in the acknowledgement of the ſignal ſervices rendered by him to the country, no man could join more cordially than he did. He was alſo ready to approve the meaſures of his adminiſtration; but the events which cloſed that adminiſtration proved, that no ablities, however powerful, could command ſucceſs. Recollecting thoſe events, he was ſurpriſed to hear that the cloſe of that adminiſtration was a period the moſt flouriſhing, the moſt proſperous either for war or peace; that could well be imagined, and

and the beſt calculated to tempt any man conſcious of talent, or actuated by ambition, to take upon him the guidance of public affairs; yet what was the ſituation of the country at that period? Was not all Europe combined againſt us, but the cabinet of Vienna, and that power not able to ſupport us even by words? Did ever ſuch a feeling of diſmay pervade the country as when the preſent adminiſtration entered into office? Was the neutral queſtion then decided; was it even decided by the battle of Copenhagen? After the iſſue of that battle, and even after the death of the Emperor Paul, was it not well known that ſeveral perſons who compoſed the government of Ruſſia ſtill adhered to the ſyſtem of the neutral queſtion, and that the deciſion of it, was attended with the greateſt difficulties? As to the expedition againſt Egypt. Our force, at that time, could not have been better employed, and the ſucceſs they at length obtained materially contributed to the attainment of peace. But if the military men employed in that expedition were conſulted, would they ſay that nothing obſtructed, that nothing had rendered doubtful its ultimate ſucceſs?

Theſe were the chief general topics urged in the debate; but it was further diſtinguiſhed by the very ſevere animadverſions made by Mr. Windham on the arguments of Mr. Fox, and his conduct ever ſince the French Revolution, an event which ſeemed to have deprived him of all his feelings. Mr. Fox, hurt at this attack complained of miſrepreſentation, and Mr. Windham explained.

This diſcuſſion was renewed on the following day, 24th when the report of the addreſs was brought up; Mr. Fox than explained more at length his opinions reſpecting the affairs of France, and the views he had originally taken of the ſtruggle maintained by that country againſt an overwhelming and inſulting coalition. Mr. Windham alſo defended his opinions, declaring his ſurpriſe that the ſpeech of Mr. Fox, who had always been the apologiſt of the French government, ſhould have been heard with ſuch decided marks of approbation by miniſters, who had themſelves ſhared or approved the meaſures againſt which Mr. Fox had always inveighed. He then proceeded with great ability to detect and expoſe what he conſidered the pernicious tendency of the arguments adduced. Mr. Windham's cauſe was ſupported by Mr. Elliott and Lord Temple, but the general tenor of their opinions and of his, was reprobated by Sir Francis Burdett as containing provocations and incitements to war, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer cenſured them as being tinctured with gloomy deſpondency. Several other members ſpoke in the debate, and particularly Mr. Wilberforce, who explained and juſtified his expreſſion reſpecting continental allies.

CHAP. IV.

Debates on the Navy Eſtimates—a large Military eſtabliſhment propoſed—Debate on the Army Eſtimates. Statement of the Secretary at War. Oppoſition. Anſwers. Speech of Mr. Sheridan. Debate on the report of the Committee being brought up. Speech of Sir Francis Burdett. Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a Committee of Ways and Means. Debate on the State of the Nation in the Houſe of Lords Proteſt on the Malt-Bill. Statement by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the increaſe of Britiſh Shipping. Adjournment.

30th Nov. IN ſubmitting to the Houſe of Commons the eſtimates for the navy, the Chancellor of the Exchequer propoſed that the number of ſeamen for the current year ſhould be 50,000. At firſt, he ſaid, he had intended to limit their term of ſervice to three months, but on more mature conſideration, he thought it would be adviſeable to extend it to twelve months: not, however, to make it mandatory on Miniſters to continue the whole of that force, but to arm his Majeſty with an authority for that purpoſe, in caſe circumſtances ſhould require it.

2d Dec. When this propoſition came to be debated, many objections were made to the conduct of miniſters, although no diſtinct oppoſition was offered to the propoſed ſupply.

The miniſter, it was ſaid, demands an extraordinary ſupply of ſeamen, without condeſcending to give the leaſt explanation of the reaſons which induce the neceſſity, or the purpoſes to which he means to apply them. Such conduct was unprecedented, unconſtitutional, diſreſpectful and inſulting to the Houſe, which would ſubſcribe to its own diſgrace, if it ſhould aſſent to this propoſition without the neceſſary explanation. When the augmentation was propoſed for three months, the natural expectation was, that ſome point remained to be decided, ſomething of negotiation unfiniſhed, ſome meaſures to be adopted, which a large eſtabliſhment might be ſerviceable in bringing to an iſſue; but here was nothing of this kind, or if any change had taken place, it muſt have been ſince the diſcuſſion of the King's ſpeech. If there had been no change ſince then, the fluctuation in our councils, which rendered it neceſſary that this eſtabliſhment ſhould be voted for a year inſtead of three months, was truly lamentable. The King's Speech contained not a ſentiment which was not applicable to any period of our hiſtory; it was a collection of truiſms, without any opinion or ſtatement peculiarly referring to the preſent times. How different the conduct of miniſters at the peace of 1763, and at that of 1783. In the ſpeeches on both theſe occaſions, were the moſt intelligible and ſpecific declarations of the opinions of miniſters, as to the ſtate of Europe, and they were equally explicit

explicit in debate, as to the policy they meant to purſue, and the force they thought neceſſary for the defence of the country. But now, for the firſt time, a miniſter opened a ſeſſion in time of peace, with a ſpeech compoſed of general terms, and applied to Parliament for a vote of 50,000 ſeamen, without attempting to deſcribe the neceſſity which called for ſuch a force, or enabling parliament to judge how far it might be proportioned to that neceſſity; and this too, after having affirmed in June laſt that 30,000 would probably be ſufficient.

To juſtify the complaint of miniſterial miſconduct, a view was taken of the ſtate of the chief powers on the continent. Ruſſia, had a ſtrong partiality to the views of France, although from the moderate character of the preſent Emperor, and ſome late circumſtances, there might be a little reaſon to hope that a different policy would ſoon prevail, and that our former relations of cordial friendſhip with that cabinet would be re-eſtabliſhed. In Holland, no one could be ignorant that great and unparalleled exertions were making to reſtore their navy; that a conſiderable number of large veſſels was building, and that many had been launched ſince the peace. In the event of a war, the influence France had eſtabliſhed on the continent would be ſufficient utterly to exclude us; for what aſſiſtance could we hope to derive from Portugal? that country durſt not, perhaps would not, interfere. The ſubſerviency of Spain to France no man could doubt, and the endeavours of France to exclude us from every port in the Mediterranean, her inſatiable ambition and her hoſtile views, were equally obvious; her pretenſions in Africa, and wherever ſhe could interfere with the intereſts of our navy, muſt excite the attention of every man who felt for our ſecurity. The Morea and the Republic of the Seven Iſles were not even ſafe from her attacks; day after day added ſomething to her conqueſts; and if the laſt rumour could be credited, it was in contemplation to add Tuſcany to her dominions. The French government had ſucceeded in completely depriving us of every port in that ſea, except Malta, and if government did their duty, they would retain that iſland. If in Europe the proſpect was ſo diſcouraging, was there any conſolation to be derived from the Weſt or Eaſt Indies? Certainly not. We had every reaſon to apprehend dangerous conſequences to our colonies, particularly Jamaica, from the force in Saint Domingo, which notwithſtanding its diſeaſes and other ſufferings, was ſtill formidable; and that danger was aggravated, from a conſideration of the force at Louiſiana, and the recent impolitic ceſſion of Martinique. France was immediately to take poſſeſſion of Cochin in the Eaſt Indies, a place of no commerce, which could afford no attraction in that way. Then the only uſe it could be of, and doubtleſs the only view with which it could be taken hold of by France, was, that it was a ſtrong place, and would afford opportunities of negociating with the native powers.

From theſe obſervations it was not to be concluded, that the eſti-

mate was cenſured as too large; for although the reſervation made by Mr. Fox on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, when he declared he would not ſupport a large eſtabliſhment was referred to, yet moſt of thoſe who oppoſed, and ſome who ſupported the miniſter, inſiſted on the expediency of keeping up ſuch an eſtabliſhment as would afford the means of acting with energy and effect, as circumſtances might ſeem to require. They not only deprecated any reduction of the number of ſeamen, but inclined to think it hardly adequate to the circumſtances of the country. It was alſo expected that the dock-yards would be kept on a reſpectable footing. A conſiderable number of individuals had been reduced to diſtreſs by diſmiſſal from their ſituations; and it was of infinite conſequence that thoſe employed in any part of the naval ſervice, but more eſpecially in the dock-yards, ſhould not be forced by diſtreſs to enter into the ſervice of other powers. Perhaps Parliament, when informed of the ſituation of the country, might think it neceſſary to keep up a much larger eſtabliſhment. Bonaparte had been in no hurry to diſband or weaken his force. If indeed, he diſcharged 50,000 of the oldeſt men in his army, he had raiſed by a conſcription, 160,000 young men; ſo that his army, was ſtronger by 100,000 men than it was at the peace; and as for his navy, had the miniſters heard that he had diſarmed a ſingle ſhip? No, on the contrary, he was building more, and had been filling his dock-yards, his magazines and arſenals, with the greateſt celerity: he had, perhaps, prepared the means of ſurpriſing this country unawares, before hoſtilities ſhould be declared, and before we ſhould have been able to get our ſailors together for its defence. It appeared, that we had, perhaps too precipitately, weakened our force after the peace, at a time that our former enemies took care not to weaken theirs. The acquiſitions of France had been all acquiſitions of ſtrength; ſhe had acquired the left bank of the Rhine, and deſtroyed the fortreſſes on the right: ſhe not only poſſeſſed what once was the barrier to Holland, but occupied with her troops Holland itſelf: ſhe had either in poſſeſſion or under her influence the coaſts of the ſea from the Texel to the Adriatic, and added to thoſe the fortreſſes of Piedmont and the monaſteries of Switzerland; ſhe ſeemed to have acquired all that nature and art could contribute to render a powerful country impregnable.

In anſwer to theſe objections, it was obſerved that the ſilence complained of as a crime in miniſters aroſe from the ſilence of their opponents; information had not been given, becauſe none had been required. Notice was alſo taken of the diſcordant arguments advanced againſt government; one was ſcarcely heard, when it was anſwered by another. "I recollect" the Chancellor of the Exchequer obſerved, "that I did ſay, in reply to a gentleman on the other ſide of the Houſe, that the peace eſtabliſhment would conſiſt of about 30,000 ſeamen, but I recollect alſo that I ſaid ſo, with ſuch reſerve and qualification, as became a man incapable of ſeeing into futurity. I hope this eſtabliſhment I now propoſe will not long exiſt; I ſhould

ſhould be ſorry to conſider it the permanent peace eſtabliſhment. When the circumſtances of Europe ſhall render it proper to reduce our force to the moſt economic ſtandard, I ſhall feel moſt ſincerely happy; but the arrival of that period and the ſecurity of peace, will depend much on the acquieſcence of the Houſe in this vote."

It was denied that the review of the ſtate of Europe by the oppoſition ſpeakers, although in ſome particulars correct, warranted the concluſions they drew to the diſadvantage of England. On the ſubject of Ruſſia explanations were declined, but it was intimated, that they who hazarded poſitive aſſertions reſpecting that country ought to have beſtowed more pains in inquiry and conſideration. Was the activity of the Dutch in recruiting their navy a matter of wonder? Was it ſurpriſing that a power which, at one period of the war, muſtered a reſpectable navy, and which, at its termination, only retained ſixteen ſhips, ſhould be anxious to repair her fleets? It was an error to aſſert that the navy of France and the navy of Europe were ſynonimous terms; the navies of Ruſſia, Sweden and Denmark, were not connected with that of France. Recent experience and preſent appearances did indeed naturally induce the belief, that thoſe of Spain and Holland were intimately attached to France; but whatever might be their force, connexion, or activity, this country was neither unable nor unprepared to meet them combined. In corroboration of the ſuperiority of our fleet to any that was ready to ſail from the ports of the continental powers, it was ſtated, in contradiction to rumours circulated by ſome from ignorance, by others from fear, and by others perhaps from worſe motives, that Admiral Bickerton, who commanded ten ſail of the line in the Mediterranean, had written home that there were only five ſail of the line ready for ſea in the port of Toulon and a ſtill inferior force in Carthagena.

To juſtify confidence by compariſon, the following detail was given. The fleets of France, Spain and Holland, ſtood thus at the beginning of the war: France 105 ſail of the line, Spain 79, and Holland 27. At the concluſion of the war, thoſe fleets, were reduced to 123 ſail, and a comparatively greater reduction took place among their frigates and ſmall craft. At the peace their actual ſtate was, France 39, Spain 68, and Holland 16. What addition could have been made to ſuch a force by building new ſhips to excite the ſlighteſt alarm in the breaſt of an Engliſhman, when it was known that we had at preſent 192 ſail of the line, 209 frigates, 129 ſloops, and 243 ſmaller craft; in all 773 ſhips of war? With an exceſs then of 60 ſail of the line above the combined fleets of France, Spain and Holland, what had we to fear, and what apprehenſion could be felt for our ſafety, when it was known, that by the prudent and wiſe conduct of the firſt Lord of the Admiralty, ſuch arrangements were made that in caſe of the renewal of hoſtilities, fifty ſail of the line could be prepared for ſea within one month, and even a larger number ſhould the exigency be preſſing?

As to the Dock yards; it was

true that a conſiderable number of perſons had been diſmiſſed; but not one who was not diſabled by age, otherwiſe deficient in the diſcharge of his duty, or ſo groſsly negligent, that he was a much fitter ſubject to be brought before a court of common law, than to be treated with lenity. In no caſe had a deſerving individual been diſcharged without a penſion, and many had received theſe bounties who would never before have been intitled to expect them. The caulkers who were diſmiſſed had united in a conſpiracy with thoſe in the ſame trade in the merchant ſhips in the river, for the purpoſe of obtaining the ſame amount of wages during peace as during war. The effects of ſuch a combination were very ſerious and on the application of the merchants and ſhip owners, the Lords of the Admiralty had taken the ſubject into conſideration. An offer had been made to theſe refractory caulkers to enter into the ſervice of the merchants, and ſuch of them as refuſed were immediately diſcharged.

In this debate the Chancellor of the Exchequer mentioned to the Houſe the determination of government to maintain a ſtrong defenſive military force, as any reduction would be thought unadviſeable for ſome time, and in a few days the Secretary at war, would ſubmit a propoſition to the Houſe for an eſtabliſhment beyond any thing ever known in time of peace.

8th Dec. Conformably to this notice, the Secretary at war ſubmitted to the houſe the army eſtimates, obſerving that they contained the details of a military eſtabliſhment larger, both in the amount of the Expenditure which it would require, and in the number of men to be kept up, than any former peace eſtabliſhment in the hiſtory of this country; and the grand queſtion for the conſideration of the Committee would be, whether circumſtances exiſted to render ſuch an enlarged eſtabliſhment neceſſary? Noticing the overgrown power of France, he truſted that the opinion of the houſe, as well as of the public would be, that the peace ought to be preſerved, if it could be preſerved conſiſtently with our honour; that all the ſtipulations of the treaty ſhould be executed with ſcrupulous good faith; that every thing calculated to provoke hoſtility ſhould be carefully ſhunned; that every appearance of irritating language ſhould be conſtantly avoided. With theſe feelings was to be mixed, however, a firm determination to ſupport the national honour, and to be prepared to reſiſt effectually any hoſtile aggreſſion. This preparation, muſt conſiſt in maintaining a ſtrong eſtabliſhment on land as well as at ſea. For after all that had paſſed in the courſe of the late war, after all the events that were daily paſſing before our eyes, no rational man could affirm that our navy alone would be ſufficient for the defence of our widely extended coaſts, or our far ſcattered foreign poſſeſſions, at all times, and under all circumſtances. The conſideration of France being complete maſter of the Netherlands, and having Holland wholly under its controul, having the undiſputed command of the whole courſe of the Rhine, of the Maeſe and the Scheldt, with all the fortreſſes ſituated on their

their banks, were, in this case, circumstances peculiarly necessary to be taken into consideration. This situation was widely different from that in which we were placed at the conclusion of any former treaty, and it was also necessary to consider the peace establishment of France. The number of French regiments of cavalry was 84, amounting to upward of 46,000 men. The demi-brigades of infantry of the line were 110, which with 30 demi-brigades of light infantry formed a total of 341,000. There were ten demi-brigades of veterans for garrisons, consisting of upwards of 13,000 and 26,600 formed the number of the artillery, pioneers, and other descriptions of that army. The gross number of the whole army was about 427, 910. There were vast numbers of people trained to arms, who could be called into immediate action. These consisted of the Gendarmerie, and other classes of irregular troops. These, added to the regular army, would form a total very little under 929,000 men.

It might be said that the maintenance of a standing army was unconstitutional, and even dangerous to the existence of liberty in a free country. Without the smallest hesitation he would admit that the maintenance of even the smallest standing army in this country, and much more of so large a military establishment as that now proposed, without the controul of parliament, would be illegal, unconstitutional, and dangerous. But the largest standing army might be constitutionally supported, if it could be shewn that from the relative situation of this country and foreign powers the support of such an establishment was essential to the preservation of our safety and the maintenance of our honour. A standing army, to a certain extent, had been kept up in this country ever since the Revolution. The circumstances of Europe required it, and the most enlightened statesmen, and the most ardent lovers of liberty, were forced to admit its necessity. The only question with them was with respect to its extent. This they watched with jealousy; but a standing army, under certain conditions and modifications, they were forced, if not to admire, at least to tolerate.

Another objection might be drawn from considerations of economy. It seemed, with some gentlemen to be a favourite idea, that the security of the country was not best to be maintained by keeping up a strong naval and military establishment. We were to husband our resources, to support public credit, to accumulate wealth during the period of repose which is afforded us by peace. These were great and important objects; but it was doubtful whether they could be pursued but by keeping up an ample establishment; public credit would be best supported by holding out to the public the prospect of security founded in a strong system of defensive preparation.

The state of our foreign possessions presented reasons for such an increase. It would not be denied, that if it was necessary to guard against sudden aggression at home, it was no less necessary to keep up the same system of vigilance in our colonies. Besides, the accession of Trinidad and Ceylon must

must render an augmentation of our eſtabliſhment neceſſary, if no other cauſe of augmentation exiſted.

The Secretary at war therefore propoſed that three regiments of Horſe guards ſhould be kept up, which, with twenty ſeven regiments of dragoons, would form an eſtabliſhment in a great meaſure the ſame as the eſtabliſhment of the cavalry at the laſt peace. The 21ſt regiment was to be kept up in room of the 5th regiment, which had been diſbanded. The regiments were to conſiſt of eight troops, ſixty rank and file, and of this number ten out of each troop were to be diſmounted. By this arrangement a ſum exceeding 50,000l. would be ſaved to the public. The reſult of this plan was, that of cavalry 17,250 would be the total number. As to the infantry, it was intended to keep the three regiments of guards on their preſent footing; they would conſiſt of 75 in each company, and their total number will be 6060. The reſt of the army would conſiſt of 102 battalions of foot. The regiments were to be kept up as far as the 93d. The 2d battalion of the Royals, a corps long diſtinguiſhed, and the 2d battalion of the 52d, a regiment admitted to be one of the fineſt in the ſervice, were to be retained. The regiments in India were to be be kept up on the full complement of 100 men in each company. Of twelve regiments of colour, ſix had been reduced, and ſix were to be continued in the ſervice. Theſe would form companies of 75 men each, and their number would be 4,158. Theſe regiments had been found of great uſe in ſeveral parts of the ſervice where European troops could not have acted with advantage. Of the foreign corps only four regiments were to be continued; theſe were the regiments of Stewart, which behaved with ſuch gallantry in Egypt, and three Swiſs regiments, which altogether would not exceed 3,352 men. No alterations were to be made in the arrangements of the rifle and ſtaff corps; they would continue on the ſame footing as laſt year. The whole of the force to be maintained, was, therefore, 128,909, including the troops to ſerve in India. Of theſe 60,000 rank and file, including 15,000 cavalry, were intended for the ſervice of Great Britain and Ireland. For the plantations 30,000. In India 18,000 were to be employed. For the ſupport of this eſtabliſhment, the ſum required was 4,150,000l. including the troops acting in India. As a much more advantageous and uſeful way of employing the out-penſioners of Chelſea Hoſpital, it was intended to form ſeven new garriſon battalions. According to the propoſed plan, the men, formerly characterized as invalids, would perform a very important duty, while a difference of expence, amounting to about 5000l. a year, would form the whole of the additional burthen on the public. The total expence of the army eſtabliſhment for the year would not exceed 5,500,000l. this was leſs by 2,060,000l. than during the laſt year, and leſs by 10,130,000l. than during the laſt year of the war; it differed from the army eſtimates of the laſt ſix months by 65,000l. for though the number of men kept up was greater by about 8000, yet there had been ſavings to ſuch an amount in different articles, as to create this diſparity; there was a differ-

difference of 300,000l. in the Barrack department alone.

Mr. Yorke then vindicated the miniſtry againſt the charge of precipitately reducing the army, which had been advanced in the debates on the addreſs. On the firſt of October 1801, the forces of all deſcriptions were upwards of 250,000. Of this number a reduction took place, up to the firſt of October 1802, amounting to 123,000. This number conſiſted of the following items: the cavalry in 1801, conſiſted of 25,000, and as this number was judged unneceſſary for the ſervice of Great Britain and Ireland, 10,492 had been diſcharged. The militia amounted to 71,341, about the propriety of whoſe being diſbanded there could not exiſt the ſmalleſt doubt. The fencibles, amounting to 20,679, were only engaged during the war; the terms of their ſervice having expired, government had no choice left about their diſcharge. Of the invalids, 5,122 had been diſcharged, but to their ſervices recourſe could always be had on an emergency. The foreign corps, from 8,645, had been reduced to the numbers already ſtated. There could be no heſitation in diſcharging foreigners, inſtead of reducing regiments of native troops; and of all the other troops which had been diſcharged, the number was 7,025. Never was the Britiſh army in a ſtate of greater order, or more perfect diſcipline. Never was its appearance more warlike. Never was it compoſed of more able bodied men, or men more full of military ſpirit and animation. Never did it contain a greater number of able, brave, and experienced general officers; many in the flower of health and age. For all this he had to congratulate the army, and the country in having this important branch of adminiſtration under the direction of a noble perſonage, who, devoted himſelf to this great department of the public ſervice. After paying His Royal Highneſs ſome more well-merited compliments, he adverted to other topics illuſtrative of the preſent military ſituation of the country. By the wiſdom of the laſt parliament the militia was put on a new and greatly improved ſyſtem. Proviſion was made for immediately inrolling 50,000 men, capable of being augmented to 70,000 when neceſſary. In the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion a bill had paſſed, empowering his Majeſty to receive the offers of thoſe who wiſhed ſtill to remain in the exerciſe of arms, without receiving pay. The beneficial conſequences of this meaſure had been amply experienced. In Great Britain there were upwards of 8,000 volunteers, moſtly cavalry. In Ireland the number of volunteers was more conſiderable. Thus there were upwards of 250,000 men who could, at a very ſhort notice, be ready to take the field, excluding thoſe in India.

In a long debate, which enſued, the conduct of miniſters was attacked, and the propoſition before the Houſe was combated on a variety of grounds, very diſſimilar from each other. Mr. Banks, Mr. Whitbread, and ſome other members, objected to the largeneſs of the propoſed eſtabliſhment, and reprobated foreign alliances, as incompatible with Britiſh intereſts. Lord Temple cenſured miniſters for having diſbanded any portion of

of the military force, and acknowledged that he wished them removed, that the chief post in government might be intrusted to a man on whom the eyes of the country were fixed, that man whose services were universally acknowledged; whose capacity to maintain the honour, consult the interests, and call forth the energies of the country, were universally admitted; that man who would carry with him the intire, unlimited confidence of the empire. He also expressed a strong aversion to the idea that Mr. Fox should be permitted to enjoy power. In these sentiments, he was strenuously supported by Mr. Canning. Mr. Fox, in a long and able speech, delivered at a late hour, argued against the necessity and against the policy of a large establishment and remarked on the conduct of Mr. Pitt's friends in calling for his return to office, after he had not only recommended the present minister as most fit to be his successor, but after he had approved the peace. He asked how Mr. Windham, Lord Temple, and their adherents could expect Mr. Pitt or themselves to return to administration, if the Catholic question was the real cause of their resignation? He dwelt with much severity on the conduct of those who, merely in pursuit of place, arraigned the acts of the present ministers, and shewed the inconsistency of Mr. Pitt's friends in not supporting them. Similar observations on the subject of Mr. Pitt had been made by General Maitland, who also highly extolled the judicious plans of His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, whose active exertions, and close attention to military discipline and to real military merit, had rendered the British army far more powerful and respectable than it had been at any former period. Mr. Windham answered the observations of Mr. Fox, and accused him of having deserted the English sentiments by which he was characterized before the French Revolution. The Chancellor of the Exchequer explained and justified the proceedings of government, and professed the main end of their efforts to be to keep the country equally prepared for war or for peace.

But the great distinguishing circumstance of this discussion was a speech delivered by Mr. Sheridon, of singular force, and brilliancy. He professed that he could not intirely agree with any of the speakers who had preceded him, and considered the present as a period in which members were peculiarly called upon to prove to the people of England that they were above all party feelings. He condemned the delicacy observed by some gentlemen in their unwillingness to speak of the character of Bonaparte, and his conduct in Switzerland; he was not desirous to make an invective, but if truth appeared like invective, he could not therefore abstain from speaking it, and the treatment of Switzerland belonged to the subject under consideration. He was a friend to peace from a thorough sense of the evils of war, but he was convinced that every thing was to be apprehended from the hostile spirit of the ruler of France, and that the only means of safety consisted in resistance, prompt, resolute, determined resistance to the first aggression, be the consequences what they might.

After

After refuting various objections made to the propoſed ſupply, he dwelt on the undiſguiſed inveteracy of France againſt this country, and analyzed its motives. "Look" he exclaimed, "at the map of Europe; there where a great man (who however was always wrong on this ſubject) ſaid he looked for France, and found nothing but a chaſm. Look at that map now, and ſee nothing but France. It is in our power to meaſure her territory, to reckon her population, but it is ſcarcely within the graſp of any man's mind to meaſure the ambition of Bonaparte. Why, when all Europe bows down before him; why, when he has ſubdued the whole continent, he ſhould feel ſuch great reſpect for us, I am at a loſs to diſcover. If then it be true, as I have ſtated, that his ambition is of that immeaſureable nature, there are abundant and obvious reaſons why it muſt be progreſſive; reaſons much ſtronger than any that could have been uſed under the power of the Bourbons. They were ambitious, but it was not ſo neceſſary for them to feed their ſubjects with the ſpoils and plunder of war; they had the attachment of a long eſtabliſhed family applied to them; they had the effect and advantage of hereditary ſucceſſion. But I ſee in the very ſituation and compoſition of the power of Bonaparte a phyſical neceſſity for him to go on in this barter with his ſubjects, and to promiſe to make them the maſters of the world if they will conſent to be his ſlaves. If that be the caſe, muſt not his moſt anxious looks be directed to Great Britain? Every thing elſe is petty and contemptible compared with it. Ruſſia, if not in his power, is at leaſt in his influence—Pruſſia is at his beck—Italy is his vaſſal—Holland is in his graſp—Spain at his nod—Turkey in his toils—Portugal at his foot;—when I ſee this, can I heſitate in ſtating my feelings, ſtill leſs can I heſitate in giving a vote that ſhall put us upon our guard againſt the machinations and workings of ſuch an ambition? But it has been ſaid, that it is poſſible he may mean nothing more than rivalry of commerce. Happy ſhall I be if ſuch an idea enter into his head at all, much more if it form a part of his plans. But I confeſs that I cannot ſee that it does. I mark him taking poſitions calculated to deſtroy our commerce, but I do not find him doing any thing for the mutual benefit of the trade of the two countries. I ſee him anxious to take poſſeſſion of Louiſiana, and to uſe the ports of Saint Domingo to carry our Weſt India and Jamaica trade. I can conceive a poſſible caſe, in which ſuch poſitions might be taken as to force us to ſurrender our commerce without a ſtroke. Of the commercial talents of Bonaparte, I can be ſuſpected to know but little; but bred in camps, it cannot be imagined that his commercial knowledge can be very great; and, indeed, if I am rightly informed, he is proceeding in the old plan of heavy duties and prohibitions. But he would go a ſhorter way to work with us. The whole country has credit and capital, and commercial enterprize; and he may think, if he can ſubjugate us, that he can carry them off to France like ſo many buſts and marbles. But he would find himſelf miſtaken; that credit would wither under the gripe

gripe of power; that capital would sink into the earth, if trodden upon by the foot of a despot; that commercial enterprize would, I believe, lose all its vigour in the presence of an arbitrary government. No, instead of putting his nation apprentice to commerce, he has other ideas in his head. My humble apprehension is, that, though in the tablet and volume of his mind there may be some marginal note about cashiering the King of Etruria; yet, that the whole text is occupied with the destruction of this country. This is the first vision that breaks upon him through the gleam of the morning; this is his last prayer at night, to whatever Deity he addresses it, whether to Jupiter or to Mahomet; to the God of Battles, or to the Goddess of Reason. But, the only consolation is, that he is a great philosopher and philanthropist. I believe this hyper-philanthropy has done more harm than ever it did good. He has discovered that we all belong to the Western family! I confess I feel a sentiment of deep indignation, when I hear (I take it from report) that this scrap of nonsense was uttered to one of the most enlightened of the human race. To this family party I do not wish to belong. He may invite persons, if he please, to dinner, and like Lord Peter, say, that his tough crust is excellent mutton. He may toss a sceptre to the king of Etruria to play with, and keep a rod to scourge him in the corner; he may have thought at first his Cisalpine Republic a fine growing child, and may have found it a ricketty bantling; but I feel contempt for all this mockery."

Mr. Sheridan then proceeded to notice the state of parties, with his usual strength of thought and felicity of expression. The friends of Lord Temple, he said might be divided into two classes; those who called for a change of ministers, and for war. He thanked them for their frankness in stating what they had done, because their frankness was an antidote to the fury of their counsels. The noble Lord, he observed, says, we dont want to go to war; we only wish to have other persons in power; the noble Lord deals with the ingenuousness of youth, as I say; with the inexperience of youth, according to others. But what should we get by this change? Would those persons he recommends have acted differently from the present ministers? Would they have gone to war for any of the events that have occurred since the peace? Would they have gone to war for the annexing of Piedmont to France? For the Cisalpine Republic? For the invasion of Switzerland? No, for none of these. They would have done as ministers have done, but more vigorously; they would have shewn more grumbling patience; they would have made wry faces; they would not have stood with their hands before them; no, but with their arms a kimbo. What would they have got by this? Would they have obtained any thing more by all this grudging and wincing? Would such a mode of conduct have become the character and dignity of the country? It is not to be inferred, because the Right Honourable gentleman

opposite

oppoſite me did none of theſe things, that he felt no indignation. I learn from his Majeſty's ſpeech, every word of which I approve, that his miniſters are determined not to be ſhut out of the continent. I ſay, I approve of the ſpeech, becauſe it ſatisfied me that a ſenſe of wrong, and a reſentment of injury, may live under moderate language. But theſe miniſters, it ſeems, are the incapable gentlemen. Will gentlemen ſhew us any act of baſe ſubmiſſion on their part? If they can; if they prove that they did any act with reſpect to Switzerland, and meanly retracted it afterwards, I will be the firſt to inveigh againſt them. But theſe gentlemen ſhew us no ſuch acts; they ſeem as if they conſidered the miniſters, now the drudgery of ſigning the peace is done, as *functi officiis*, and as if they ought to go out. as if one was a mere gooſe quill, and the other a ſtick of ſealing wax, which are done with, and ought to be thrown under the table. We know what *Touchſtone* ſays, as a good ground of quarrel, "That he don't like the cut of a certain courtier's beard." Perhaps this capricious diſlike cannot be better exemplified than by the ſentiment expreſſed in the well known epigram of Martial:—

Non amo te, Sabidi, nec poſſum dicere quare,
Hoc tantum poſſum dicere, non amo te?

The Engliſh parody may be more applicable to theſe gentlemen:

I do not like thee, Doctor Fell,
The reaſon why I cannot tell;
But this, I'm ſure, I know full well,
I do not like thee, Doctor Fell.

It is fair to ſay, that this Engliſh parody ſo unfavourable to the doctor, proceeds from the mouth of a fair lady, who has privileges to like and diſlike, which would ill become a member of this Houſe; but I contend that no ſolid reaſon has been offered to be urged againſt theſe miniſters.

Mr. Sheridan then ſhewed the fallacy of the aſſertion that the miniſters came into power at a moſt inviting period, and contended that although their conduct was free from the inſolence diſplayed in Lord Grenville's anſwer to Bonaparte, yet they made peace on terms comparatively more advantageous to the country than thoſe that were offered at Liſle. Of theſe miniſters, he added, I know alſo that they have not renewed any of their predeceſſor's oppreſſive acts; but this, ſome gentlemen will contend, is a proof of their weakneſs and unfitneſs. Never too, did the Treaſury interfere ſo little in the General Election. This again may be advanced by ſome as an inſtance of their incapacity. Nay, the North was left almoſt altogether to a member of the late adminiſtration. But what did theſe gentlemen expect from the preſent Chancellor of the Exchequer? We treated him when in the chair of this houſe, with the reſpect he merited. He has, I believe, over our preſent worthy ſpeaker, the advantage in altitude; but did they expect that when he was miniſter he was to ſtand up and call Europe to order? Was he to ſend Mr. Colman, the Serjeant at Arms, to the Baltic, and order the Northern powers to the bar of the Houſe? Was he to ſee the powers of Germany ſcrambling like members over the

the benches, and say, gentlemen must take their places? Was he expected to cast his eye to the Tuscan gallery, and exclaim that strangers must withdraw? Was he to stand across the Rhine, and say, the Germans to the right, and the French to the left? If he could have done all these things, I for one should always vote, that the Speaker of the House should be appointed minister of the country. But the Right Hon. Gentleman has done all that a reasonable man could expect him to do.

I confess, I wish to know what Mr. Pitt himself thinks. I should be glad to hear what his sentiments are of the call made for him, and loudly made too, in another place by a vigorous statesman. I well remember, and so do we all, the character he gave of the present administration. The justice of his character of the First Lord of the Admiralty no man can question. Of the accuracy of his judgment with respect to the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, it does not become us to entertain a doubt. The noble secretary of state was better qualified for the situation than any man in the country, with an exception made, in favour of Mr. Fox. Does Mr. Pitt mean to retract that character? I cannot suppose he does. I must believe that he left, in his judgment, the best administration that could be left. How, then can we, with any consistency, turn out the man who made the peace, to bring in the person who avowed his approbation of it.

"I shall now" Mr. Sheridan continued "address a few words to those gentlemen who would hurry us into war; and here, I must say, that of all persons living, the Ex-secretary of war is the last man who can consistently call out for war. He despised the warning voice of my honourable friend, he turned a deaf ear to his predictions, that we should only consolidate and strengthen the power of France. His answers always were as if he should despise the power of France, could he but see jacobinism destroyed. Is it not destroyed?

"Approach thou like the rugged Russian bear,
The arm'd Rhinoceros or the Hyrcanian tiger—
Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves
Shall never tremble."—

The Right Honourable Gentleman's wishes are gratified; jacobinism is killed and gone, and by whom? By him who can no longer be called the child and champion of jacobinism——by Bonaparte. I remember to have heard jacobinism compared to Antæus, who gained strength at every throw; but Bonaparte proceeded like Hercules; he gave it a true fraternal hug, and strangled it. Did the French annex Piedmont, did they enter Switzerland with the Rights of Man? Did they talk of those rights when Bonaparte told the people of Italy they were a set of dolts and drivellers, and were unfit to govern themselves? But now the Right Hon. Gentleman seems in a greater fright than ever. He seems as if he would rather have the old ghost back again. Most whimsically he wants to unite all parties against France—

Black spirits and white,
Blue spirits and grey,

all

all are welcome to him. The moderate Jacobins he takes to his bosom; they were only misled by their feelings. The violent Jacobins he appeals to as men of proud spirits. He wishes to sing *Ca Ira* to them, and to head them all. Oh! had I, he sighs, but plenty of Jacobins here! But on what principles would they carry on the war? If they were able to curtail the power of Bonaparte, would not their views increase, and would they ever stop without making an example of the Regicide Republic?"

After noticing the allegation that the spirit of the country was worn out, and exhorting the ministry to shew their firmness, strength and independence by acting in defiance of their predecessors, Mr. Sheridan concluded in these terms. I perfectly agree with my honourable friend, (Mr. Fox) that war ought to be avoided, though he does not agree with me on the means best calculated to produce that effect. From any opinion he may express I never differ but with the greatest reluctance. For him my affection, my esteem, and my attachment are unbounded, and they will end only with my life. But I think an important lesson is to be learnt from the arrogance of Bonaparte. He says he is an instrument in the hands of Providence, an Envoy of God: he says he is an instrument in the hands of Providence to restore Switzerland to happiness, and to elevate Italy to splendor and importance. I think he is an instrument in the hands of Providence to make the English love their constitution the better; to cling to it with more fondness; to hang round it with true tenderness. Every man feels when he returns from France that he is coming from a dungeon to enjoy the light and life of British independence. Whatever abuses exist, we shall look with pride and pleasure upon the substantial blessings we still enjoy. I believe too, that he is an instrument in the hands of Providence, to make us more liberal in our political differences, and to render us determined with one hand and heart to oppose any aggressions that may be made upon us. If that aggression be made, my honourable friend will, I am sure, agree with me, that we ought to meet it with a spirit worthy of these islands; that we ought to meet it with a conviction of the truth of this assertion, that the country which has achieved such greatness, has no retreat in littleness; that if we could be content to abandon every thing we should find no safety in poverty, no security in abject submission: finally, that we ought to meet it with a fixed determination to perish in the same grave with the honour and independence of the country.

The vote required by the secretary at war passed without a division. On bringing up the report, the debate was renewed with considerable vehemence, but it consisted chiefly in repetition, explanation, vindication and reprobation of former arguments. Sir Francis Burdett, in a long and characteristic speech, inveighed against what he termed abuses. Mr. Pitt, he affirmed, was completely covered with the public indignation and hatred, and 9th Dec.

all the conſequences of the peace, of which Lord Temple and his friends drew ſuch gloomy deſcriptions, aroſe from the proceedings of the late miniſters, aſſiſted by their active co-operation. A vote for 60,000 ſoldiers would not alarm him ſo much, if it were not accompanied by barracks and all thoſe other appendages of a ſtanding army; if it formed not a part of that ſyſtem which, fatally for the intereſts of the crown itſelf, tended to break thoſe conſtitutional ſprings which would keep up the ſpirit of the people, which would attach them warmly to their government, and render them vigorous and ready to defend it from any attack. He had heard much of the economy of miniſters; but how did it appear from a review of the penſion liſt? Reforms and ſavings were talked of, and ſome were carried into effect in the dock yards and ſuch places, but, in his judgment, miniſters were beginning the work of reform at the wrong end. In looking over the penſion liſt, and peruſing the number of marriage ſettlements for Earls' daughters, and annuities for the wives of treaſury clerks, which it contained, it was impoſſible to reflect upon it without indignation; it was enough to make the eyes of any patriotic Engliſhman ache. If there really was a neceſſity for this increaſed eſtabliſhment, that neceſſity was among the legacies which the late miniſters left to the country. They reduced it to ſuch a ſituation, that according to the confeſſion of their active friends, a ſtate of war would be dangerous, and yet peace was unattended by ſecurity; no ſtate of ſociety could be imagined more diſcouraging, and ſuch was the conſequence of the miſchievous ſyſtem ſo long and ſo obſtinately perſiſted in by the late miniſters. It had been very properly obſerved by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce), that without the affections of the people, no eſtabliſhment could protect the country. No degree of talents could conciliate that affection, or could excite a proper ſpirit; it could only be done by aboliſhing ſolitary cells, barracks, and uſeleſs penſions. But above all, the people muſt be adequately repreſented. Policy and intereſt ſhould urge that at the preſent criſis, which honeſty and juſtice would recommend in any circumſtances. To reſtore our ancient inſtitutions, to replace thoſe old land marks which the violence of the late miniſters removed, was the way to recover that public ſpirit which would be the beſt defence of the nation.

Beſide the views which were taken of the political ſtate of the country in theſe debates, the Chancellor of the Exchequer entered again into the ſubject, when the houſe was in a committee of ways and means. After ſtating that all the hopes of revenue and reduction of debt, he had formerly exhibited to the houſe were fully realized, and in many reſpects exceeded, he ſaid "It alſo affords me conſiderable ſatisfaction to ſtate, that the grants of the laſt year, with the exception of the credit taken for army extraordinaries, will be found ſufficient to provide for all the ſervices of the year. There are, I am ſure, many gentlemen who recollect, that I did not pretend that the ſum then voted for army extraordinaries would

10th Dec.

would be ſufficient; it was impoſſible to eſtimate with much confidence the amount of that demand. The continuance of the army upon foreign ſtations will, in a great degree, account for that exceſs. It will, I am ſorry to ſay, amount to one million; but I have the pleaſure to counteract the concern that may be felt from that ſtatement, by ſaying, that the whole amount of the army extraordinaries is not more than half what it has been of late years, and that the ſyſtem of economy introduced into the naval department, and the reduction of the navy debt from nine millions to four millions and a half, may be fairly ſet off againſt that exceſs in the army. But the whole amount will not exceed half the amount of the army extraordinaries in former years. The unfunded debt at the commencement of the laſt ſeſſion was 37,377,360l.; it is now, not taking into the account the Exchequer bills authorized to be iſſued 19,580,000l. including the 4,500,000l. as the amount of the navy debt. This unfunded debt conſiſts of fifteen millions in Exchequer bills, 900,000l. land and malt, and the three millions, for which no intereſt is paid, being the advance made by the Bank for the renewal of its charter. Thus the money market has not been embarraſſed to that amount. In the year 1793, the Exchequer bills outſtanding were 9,478,000l.; they are now under twelve millions. There is at preſent no deficiency upon the land and malt, which is not defrayed by the out-ſtanding arrears.

He then preſented the following financial ſtatement.

SUPPLIES.

NAVY.

50,000 men, at 7l. per man, per month	4,550,000	
Ordinary and Extraordinary	1,218,238	
Buildings, &c.	901,140	
		6,669,378
ARMY	5,500,000	
Extraordinaries, (including ſurplus Extraordinaries iſſued in 1802)	2,000,000	
		7,500,000
Ordnance		787,947
Corn Bounties		524,573
Miſcellaneous England } Ditto Ireland }		1,000,000
Iriſh permanent Grants		363,339
*Amount of Joint Charge**		16,845,237

ENGLAND'S SEPARATE CHARGES.

To pay off Exchequer Bills on aids, 1801	2,781,000	
Ditto ditto on aids, 1803 (Bank)	1,500,000	
Repayment to India Company	1,000,000	
Intereſt on Exchequer Bills and diſcount, &c.	600,000	
Reduction of national debt	100,000	
		5,981,000
Total Supplies		22,826,237
* Two ſeventeenths of the above ſum of 16,845,237l. are to be contributed by Ireland	1,981,792	
Add for Ireland two ſeventeenths of 1,200,401l. for civil liſt and other charges on the conſolidated fund, not relating to the public debt	141,223	
On Account of Ireland		2,123,015
On Account of England		20,703,227

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and Malt		2,750,000
Surplus conſolidated fund		6,500,000
Exchequer Bills on aids, 1804		11,000,000
Lottery		500,000
		20,750,000
Eſtimate of Exchequer Bills out-ſtanding on the 31ſt December, 1802		14,180,000
To be funded	7,000,000	
To be paid off	4,281,000	
		11,281,000
		2,899,000
Propoſed to be iſſued on aids		11,000,000
		13,899,000

He alſo aſſured the houſe that no financial operation would be neceſſary this year, beyond that which would be called for by the neceſſity of preventing a glut of Exchequer Bills in the market, and meant at an advanced period of the ſeſſion, to propoſe to the houſe to fund from ſix to eight millions of Exchequer bills, if it could

could be done on advantageous terms; if not, then recourſe muſt be had to a loan to that amount. The miniſter then detailed the growing proſperity of the country, ſhewing with great minuteneſs whence it aroſe, and how it might be expected to increaſe, and made a clear and ſatisfactory ſtatement of the progreſs of the revenue, commerce, and ſhipping, and of the operation of the ſinking fund. He ſpoke with exultation of the advancing proſperity of Ireland, which there was the moſt ſolid and ſubſtantial reaſon to believe had grown out of the great meaſure of incorporating the two countries, the Union.

Mr. Addington, in concluſion, ſaid, I am unwilling to treſpaſs farther upon the indulgence of the Houſe, by entering into a detail of the cauſes that have led to this flouriſhing condition. I ſhall only ſay generally, that it is to be aſcribed to the wiſdom that lately preſided over our financial department, to the fortitude of this Houſe, and to the good ſenſe of the people.

13th Dec. In the Houſe of Lords a diſcuſſion on the ſtate of the nation aroſe, when the bill for laying a duty on malt was brought up. The meaſures of government were attacked by Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville, and a few other peers, and defended by Lords Pelham and Hobart, and the Lord Chancellor, but the diſcuſſion preſented no novelty, nor any peculiar intereſt. When 15th. the Bill was in a Committee, Lord Spencer renewed his attack, but without effect, and he and four other peers entered their proteſt on the Journals.

14th Dec. Some petitions which were preſented againſt a Bill for impoſing a duty on ſhipping according to the tonnage, afforded the Chancellor of the Exchequer an opportunity of repelling an objection to the peace, that it cauſed a decreaſe in the employment of Britiſh, and an increaſe in that of foreign ſhipping. As the obſervation had been applied particularly to Liverpool, he laid before the Houſe the following information reſpecting the ſtate of both Britiſh and foreign ſhips at that port from the 10th of October 1801, to the 10th of October 1802.

Britiſh ſhips entered inwards,	
1801	1,331
Ditto, in 1802	1,783
Total increaſe	452
Foreign ſhips entered inwards,	
in 1801	641
Ditto, in 1802	425
Total decreaſe	216
Britiſh ſhips clearing outwards	
for 1801	1,694
Ditto, for 1802	2,062
Total increaſe	368
Foreign ſhips clearing out in	
1801	705
Ditto, in 1802	461
Total decreaſe	244

But, if the increaſed tonnage of theſe ſhips, and the increaſed number of men employed in them,

were considered, the result would be found still more satisfactory.

For 1801, the amount of the Tonnage was	22,696
Ditto, for 1802	25,527

It was with equal satisfaction he had learned that a proportional increase of British ships and decrease of foreign ones, was observable in the ports of Bristol, Hull, and Glasgow. If the proportion of the increase of seamen could be gathered from the port of London only, the number would amount to upwards of 20,000; but he would only take it at half that number, upon the joint increase in the ports of Liverpool, London, Hull and Glasgow, which must be allowed to be very considerable. It was by no means his intention that any general conclusion should be drawn from those partial accounts; his wish was, that after due information, the whole case should be fairly gone into, and maturely discussed; which could not be done before the recess.

The House having sate some days beyond Christmas, 29th the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed an adjournment to the 3d of February, which after a slight opposition from Mr. Elliot and Mr. Windham was voted; and the House of Lords adjourned to the same day.

CHAP. V.

Difficult situation of ministers in the late debates. Progress of events to the end of the recess. Case of Captain D'Auvergne. Cession of the Cape of Good Hope. Dispute respecting the restoration of Goree. Decrees against British commerce enforced, in Switzerland, Holland, Piedmont and Spain. The French send squadrons to India, and Saint Domingo; their preparations to take possession of Louisiana; description of that province. Armament equipped at Helvoetsluys. Alarm of the United States of America. Proclamation of the Spanish government. Message of Mr. Jefferson to Congress; Louisiana ceded to the American government; terms of the cession. Further proceedings with respect to Switzerland; the deputies admitted to an interview with the first Consul; he directs them to form a federal government; but prohibits all connexion with England; Proclamation of general Ney; the new Constitution settled, and put in force. Indemnities in Germany completed. Further proceedings of France hostile to England. Mission of persons called commercial agents. Mission of Sebastiani to the Levant and Egypt; his proceedings at Tripoli; in Egypt; and at Zante; his report to his government. The English mediate for the Beys; and evacuate Egypt. General Brune sent ambassador to Constantinople; Lord Elgin returns to England; and is succeeded by Mr. Drummond. Affairs of England. Trial of Despard and his associates for High Treason; their execution. Trial of Peltier for a libel on Bonaparte; he is found guilty. This event gives

no satisfaction to France. Numerous libels on England published in France; Sebastiani's report published. View of the state of the French republic published, wherein it is declared that England alone, cannot contend against France.

ALTHOUGH the ministry in these debates expressed their hope of being able to preserve to the country the blessings of peace, yet the nature of the establishments they required, the avowal that they might be only for temporary purposes, and many expressions which were used in the course of the several discussions, proved that they were not without fears that their efforts might be unsuccessful. In defending themselves against the attacks to which they were exposed, the ministry evidently laboured under considerable disadvantages. Their opponents or censors could assume every species of supposition, without being obliged to prove any assertion, while the government could not be vindicated by mere suppositions, and was yet, by the delicate circumstances of a pending negotiation, restrained from disclosing those facts which would have rendered the propriety of their conduct fully apparent. They were assailed on opposite sides, by one party which attributed to them too great a degree of quiescence and pusillanimity to support or avenge, under any circumstances, the honour of the nation; and by another which expressed strong apprehensions, lest unfounded surmises or hasty ebullitions of passion should impel them needlessly to forego the hopes of perfect amity, and plunge the country in war. That these opposing parties hated and feared each other more than the ministry, was a temporary but insecure advantage. The recollection of the past was the cause of their antipathy, but the calls of ambition or the machinations of intrigue might easily make them renounce those sentiments, and, for whatever purposes they might unite, their hostility would be the more dangerous, as they might speciously allege that they had not embarrassed the measures, or in the common phrase, clogged the wheels of government, by captious resistance to any proposed plan, but had only carried their opposition to the extent of inquiry and investigation. To many perplexing and dangerous questions respecting France, Russia, and other countries, the ministers were obliged to refuse answers, or to give only such as would repel the imputations of blame, without affording information which it was their duty to withhold, or sanctioning conjectures which it was their interest to refute. Yet the public seemed fully sensible of the critical position of the ministers, and, with all the eagerness for information which is characteristic of a free government, was well satisfied with disclosures which were evidently as large as prudence would warrant.

It was perhaps hoped, that during the long recess at Christmas, some affairs which were under discussion between the governments of Great Britain and France, would have been brought to such a state as

would enable miniſters to meet the legiſlature with a definitive and ſatisfactory ſtatement; but as this expectation, if formed, was diſappointed, it will at this period only be neceſſary to notice ſome detached events affecting the intereſts, or demonſtrating the views of the two countries.

Among the ſubjects of inquiry which Lord Grenville and his friends in both houſes had preſſed with peculiar force and eagerneſs, was that of Captain D'Auvergne, formerly duc de Bouillon, who, in conſequence of the events in his own country, had been naturalized in this, and had received a commiſſion under the Britiſh crown. This nobleman, after the ratification of the definitive treaty, had repaired to Paris to ſuperintend ſome proceedings relative to the eſtates belonging to his family. He became the object of ſuſpicion and diſtruſt to the government, although, according to the narrative publiſhed by his own authority, his manner of living was not calculated to juſtify thoſe ſentiments. The only offences recorded againſt him are, his omiſſion to be preſented to Bonaparte at the Thuilleries, a ceremony which he reſolutely declined, and his having appeared publicly, and in uniform, at one of the reviews which Bonaparte made three times in every month of his troops; an exhibition which, according to his ſtatement, he attended merely through curioſity. On the following day, before he was up, his room was filled with officers of the police, who, after a very minute examination of his papers, conveyed him, a priſoner, to the general office of police. He was ſubjected to an interrogatory, but could obtain no account of any crime laid to his charge, except that the miniſter, Fouché, had prejudices againſt him, on account of his ſervices during the late war, and he was urged to avow that he was employed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham to excite inſurrection in the weſtern provinces. Diſdaining to give the falſe and infamous anſwers expected by thoſe who made theſe inquiries, he was impriſoned in the Temple, amid circumſtances of great indignity; his ſecretary was lodged in the ſame place of confinement, and it was not until the ſixth day of his detention, that he was releaſed, with orders immediately to quit the country. Miniſters were accuſed of puſillanimity in having permitted this inſult on one who was now a ſubject of the King, without demanding ſatisfaction; but they declared in their defence that on Captain D'Auvergne's detention being known, application was made to the French government, and his immediate releaſe was the conſequence; and it does appear that a remonſtrance was ſent to the French miniſter, and that after ſome time ſpent in evaſions, but nothing like a conteſt, the priſoner was diſcharged.

But although many ſubjects of diſſatisfaction ſubſiſted, the Engliſh government perſiſted in fulfilling the treaty of Amiens in every particular, except the ſurrender of Malta, a meaſure which was impeded by events which produced much altercation, and will be noticed in the ſequel. The ceſſion of the Cape of Good Hope was accompanied

accompanied with an explanatory convention, between the British and Dutch governors, calculated to prevent misunderstandings, and to enable each party to exercise, without injury or interruption, the authority confided to him. About the evacuation of Goree, a contentious correspondence took place between General Frazer, the British commander, and Blanchot, the French commandant and administrator general of Senegal. The Frenchman pressed for immediate possession of the place, which General Frazer pleaded his inability to give until the arrival of a ship from England to convey the garrison, artillery and other things in his charge to Europe. Blanchot offered to accommodate him with French vessels to transport them to Sierra Leone, but the British general refused this offer, alleging that he could not consent to an expedient so degrading as that of quitting his government under the flag of any nation but his own, and he was fortified in this determination by Commodore Hallowell, who arriving a few days afterward in the Argo, informed him that a part of the stores and provisions which colonel Frazer meant to have taken to Sierra Leone were intended to be used in a different service; in consequence it became necessary to await the arrival of a vessel dispatched from England with particular orders respecting those stores, before it would be possible for the British to evacuate Goree. Blanchot sent home an angry account of the transaction, but it was attended with no consequences.

The decrees of France against the commerce of England were not only rigorously enforced in France, but extended to every other country where her influence prevailed. Thus, in Switzerland, general Ney complained to the executive council that goods of English manufacture were sold in places near the French frontier; and he pointed out the depôt, and demanded the adoption of rigorous measures for preventing the continuance of such traffic, a demand which the subjugated government could not, and durst not disobey. In Holland, under the forms of legislative discussion, the same submission to the views of France was displayed, and while the commercial part of the community, and indeed the whole people, most anxiously desired the renewal of the wonted intercourse with England, a decree was passed rigorously prohibiting the importation of woollens of English manufacture. Piedmont, as a member of the French Republic, was prevented from exporting raw-silk directly to England, and measures were in agitation for preventing the supply of wool from Spain.

Jan. 1803.

Feb.

In the mean time, the French government was diligent in securing its colonial possessions in all quarters. A squadron was fitted out at Dunkirk for India, well supplied with artillery, and carrying a considerable body of troops. Saint Domingo having again become a scene of war and slaughter, a strong reinforcement was sent to that island, and it was generally, though without the least foundation, believed, that the British government had consented to employ a portion of the naval force in assisting

ing the firſt Conſul to reduce that colony to ſubjection.

Preparations of greater extent and importance were made in the ports of Holland to equip a ſquadron, for the oſtenſible purpoſe of enabling the French to take poſſeſſion of Louiſiana, ceded to them by Spain. This country undefined in its extent, is ſituated between the river Miſſiſſippi, and the territory of New Mexico. Its preciſe boundaries to the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, though very extenſive, are involved in obſcurity; and data are equally wanting to aſſign with preciſion its northern extent. From the ſource of the Miſſiſſippi, it is bounded eaſtwardly by the middle of the channel of that river to the 31ſt degree of latitude: thence it is aſſerted, that according to its limits, when formerly poſſeſſed by France, it ſtretches to the eaſt, as far, at leaſt, as the river Perdigo, which runs into the bay of Mexico, eaſtward of the river Mobile. Louiſiana, including the Mobile ſettlements, was diſcovered and peopled by the French, whoſe monarchs made ſeveral grants of its trade. By a ſecret convention on the 3d November, 1762, the French Government ceded ſo much of the province as lies beyond the Miſſiſſippi, as well as the iſland of New Orleans, to Spain; and by the treaty of peace which followed in 1763, the whole territory of France and Spain eaſtward of the middle of the Miſſiſſippi to the Iberville, through the middle of that river, and the lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain to the ſea, was ceded to Great Britain. Spain having conquered the Floridas from Great Britain during the American war, they were confirmed to her by the treaty of peace of 1783. By the treaty of Saint Ildefonſo, of the 1ſt of October 1800, his Catholic Majeſty promiſed and engaged to cede back to the French Republic, the colony or province of Louiſiana, with the ſame extent that it actually had in the hands of Spain, that it had when France poſſeſſed it, and ſuch as it ought to be after the treaties ſubſequently entered into between Spain and other ſtates. This treaty was confirmed and enforced by that of Madrid, of the 21ſt of March, 1801. Of this province the advantages were not fully known, but report ſpoke of them very highly; and by the parliamentary proceedings recorded in the preceding volume of this work, it will appear, that the importance of the acquiſition to France had not eſcaped the attention of ſome members of the Britiſh ſenate.

France now appeared ſeriouſly intent on turning this territory to the utmoſt advantage. An armament was equipped at Helvoetſluys, conſiſting of three ſhips of the line, and tranſports ſufficient for the conveyance of 60,000 men, and another was preparing at Rochefort. The command of the forces was aſſigned to General Victor, and General Cæſar Berthier was appointed to be chief of the ſtaff under him. A corps of 190 guides was ſelected from the dragoons of Breda, to be commanded by Carnoville, nephew of Semonville the French embaſſador, and proviſion was made for the carriage of a conſiderable number of women and children.

This transfer of property which ſubſtituted

ſubſtituted as their neighbour the active, enterpriſing, and impetuous Frenchman, for the indolent, honeſt, and tranquil Spaniard, was not ſurveyed with indifference by the government of the United States, and their alarm was rendered the more active when the Spaniards, iſſued a decree by which American citizens were forbidden to depoſit their merchandizes and effects in the port of New Orleans, without an equivalent eſtabliſhment having been aſſigned to the United States, on another part of the banks of the Miſſiſſippi. Mr. Jefferſon, preſident of the Congreſs, noted for his affection to France and her cauſe, mentioned the event in a meſſage to that body in very ſlight terms. He ſaid, "The ceſſion of the Spaniſh province of Louiſiana to France, which took place in the courſe of the late war, will, if carried into effect, make a change in the aſpect of our foreign relations, which will doubtleſs have juſt weight in any deliberations of the legiſlature connected with that ſubject." The people were however much alarmed, and the government was obliged to remonſtrate with Spain on her late decrees as repugnant to treaties. Meanwhile the French expedition to America did not fail; during ſome portion of the winter it was detained by the weather; a negotiation was afterward commenced between the government of France and that of the United States; the troops were embarked, diſembarked, and re-imbarked in the courſe of a ſhort period; but at length it was diſcloſed that a treaty was concluded, by which France ceded the territory in queſtion in full ſovereignty to America; reſerving to herſelf and Spain, excluſively of all other countries, a privilege of free admiſſion, during twelve years, for ſhips laden with their produce, and coming directly from their ports, to New Orleans and all other legal ports of entry within the ceded territory. The conſideration avowedly paid by America for this important acquiſition, was ſixty millions of French livres, out of which France was to pay all monies due to American citizens.

18th Oct. 1802.

30th Ap.

While France was conducting theſe tranſactions with relation to diſtant claims, her activity and influence were unceaſingly exerciſed in all parts of Europe. The deſtruction of all veſtiges of the ancient Swiſs conſtitution was ſoon completed. A deputation from the new Republic of the Valais did homage to Bonaparte, and preſented him with a decree of their diet, proclaiming him in the name of the people, reſtorer of the independence and of the republic of the Valais. About the ſame time the Swiſs deputies, having arrived in Paris, were ſummoned to meet at the office of the miniſter for foreign affairs, where a letter from the Firſt Conſul was communicated to them, requiring them to ſacrifice what were termed factious and ſelfiſh paſſions; and to co-operate with Bonaparte in the performance of his promiſe to reſtore tranquillity to Switzerland. They were directed to give to their country a federative conſtitution, for which it was formed by the very hand of Nature; but they were alſo admoniſh-

11th Dec. 1802.

niſhed that it was the duty of the French government to take care that there ſhould not be formed on that open frontier of the French Republic a ſyſtem hoſtile to it. A government muſt be eſtabliſhed in Helvetia, ſuch as, in its ſpirit, might be always friendly to France. Theſe ſentiments were further enforced at an interview, to which a portion of the deputies were admitted by Bonaparte, and at which he told them that Switzerland ought to be independent with reſpect to her internal affairs, but not in her relation to France; and added, with peculiar emphaſis, that the Swiſs muſt enter into no treaty with England.

Under ſuch inſtructions, a conſtitution was not likely to be formed in a manner ſatisfactory to a people not yet taught to forego all ideas of freedom and independence; nor were the inhabitants of Switzerland reconciled to the perpetual domination of their French oppreſſors. Although unorganized, in a military ſenſe, their reſiſtance was carried to an extent ſufficient to call forth from General Ney a remonſtrating and threatening proclamation.

9th Feb. He complained that a number of foreign vagabonds infeſted the high roads, committing murder, robbery, and every ſpecies of crime, while the indifference of government multiplied and emboldened malefactors. "The political opinions of the maſs of the people," he proceeded, "are influenced by men who have openly attacked the lawful authority, in ſpite of the declared intention of the Firſt Conſul to cauſe to be reſpected the proviſions of the laws and the meaſures that might be the reſult of them till after the cantonal arrangement and the eſtabliſhment of the new order of things. The interior police of the Cantons is ſo ill conducted, that no information of the culpable proceedings of the enemies of the public tranquillity comes before the tribunals, to enable them to diſplay ſeverity againſt the numerous offences and enormities which are the conſequence of them. Emiſſaries of England, officers in her pay, and the old penſioners of that power, enliſt, under the eye of the Civil authorities, without their giving any obſtruction whatever to it. Numbers of men receive pay in money, to ſecond, on the firſt ſignal, their audacious enterprizes, in caſe the new order of things ſhould not be agreeable to them. The agents of the ſecret police are in ſome ſort dependent upon them, becauſe they receive large gratifications. A counter police, ſkilfully directed, exiſts in every part of Helvetia, and all the ſecrets of government come to their knowledge. The Mediator of Helvetia, (Bonaparte) is treated with very little ceremony in the libels and pamphlets which circulate among the people. The French ſoldier is conſidered as the enemy of Helvetic liberty; and many of them have accordingly fallen the victims of the reſentment and animoſity directed againſt them." In concluſion, he required the vigorous efforts of the executive council to repreſs theſe troubles and diſorders.

In the mean time the government of Switzerland Feb. 24th

zerland received from the hands of Bonaparte its definitive formation. The Swiss deputies in Paris were again called to an audience, at which were present all the Consuls, and various officers of the state and the army, to take cognizance of the act of mediation proffered to, or rather forced upon them, by the First Consul. As this insulting farrago may be seen at length in another part of this Volume *, it is unnecessary here to dilate on its contents. D'Affry was appointed Landamann of Switzerland for a year; the central government was to be dissolved on the 10th of March, and the Helvetic troops then in pay, but who should not be employed by the 1st of May were to be taken into the service of France. The donation of this form of government was hailed by the slavish deputies as a mark of extreme benevolence, and condescension, intitling Bonaparte to the eternal gratitude of the Cantons; the senate and executive council were dissolved according to its stipulations, and D'Affry was not ashamed, in a proclamation issued on the occasion, to say "Providence, the only support of just and virtuous government, seems to have chosen, at this period, to terminate the ills afflicting our country, and to promise us felicity for the time to come." Some of the first fruits of this blessing were the inlistment of the armed youth of Switzerland into the army of their oppressor; the mission of French engineers to make maps and surveys of the country, now differing in name only from a province of France; and the emigration of numerous families of honour and distinction who could not endure to witness those ills which they could not hope to relieve.

This may be considered as the termination of the attack on Switzerland commenced by the Executive Directory of France; that transaction exquisitely described by a British advocate, as "an unparalleled scene of guilt and enormity; an unprovoked aggression against an innocent country, which had been the sanctuary of peace and liberty for three centuries; respected as a sort of sacred territory by the fiercest ambition, raised, like its own mountains, beyond the region of the storms which raged around on every side; the only warlike people that never sent forth armies to disturb their neighbours; the only government that ever accumulated treasures without imposing taxes; an innocent treasure, unstained by the tears of the poor, the inviolate patrimony of the commonwealth, which attested the virtue of a long series of magistrates †.

In Germany, the long depending question of Indemnities was brought to a conclusion by a Convention between Austria, France and Russia. By this compact, the Duke of Modena, in addition to the Brisgaw, which was given to him by the fourth article of the treaty of Luneville, obtained from the Emperor the district or province of the Ortenau with its dependencies. As an indemnity to His Imperial Majesty the bishopricks of Trent and Brixen were secularized, but he was to pro- 26th Dec. 1802.

* State Papers page * 201. † Mackintosh's Defence of Peltier. Trial, p. 167.

vide

vide for the maintenance of the biſhops and chapter, and the future eſtabliſhment of the clergy. To complete the indemnities to the Grand Duke of Tuſcany, the biſhopric of Eichſtadt was to be added to what had already been aſſigned to His Royal Highneſs, with the exception of the diſtricts of Sandſee, Wernſels, Spalt, Oberberg, Hornburg, and Warburg, and all the dependencies of the Biſhopric of Eichſtadt, contained in the territories of Anſpach and Bayreuth, which were to remain to the elector of Bavaria, and to be recompenſed to the Grand Duke, by a ſuitable equivalent from the domains of the Elector of Bavaria in Bohemia, and in caſe theſe ſhould not be ſufficient, from his other revenues. And in theſe territories, the archduke was to erect no new fortifications. This arrangement was confirmed by the Extraordinary deputation of the Empire. The Prince of Orange ſurrendered to his Son, the hereditary Prince, all the indemnities allotted to him by the Germanic empire.

16th Feb.

The language held by the Firſt Conſul in his intercourſe with Switzerland was full of aſperity and even inſolence toward the government of Great Britain, but his intercourſe with the Porte and Egypt was ſtill more offenſive, and circumſtances connected with it left little room to doubt, that views moſt directly hoſtile to the honour and ſafety of Great Britain were carried on under the ſanction of peace.

It may be fit to mention, that by means of an intercepted letter from Talleyrand to Fauvelet, the French commercial agent in Dublin, miniſters had, before the end of the laſt year, become apprized of a new ſyſtem of employment of ſpies, put in general practice by the French government tending to facilitate their future operations, if they ſhould be at war with any nation, or covet its territories to augment their own. To this Fauvelet, the miniſter incloſed a ſeries of queſtions, with inſtructions to obtain anſwers to them from all ſources; and merchants and clerks in the cuſtom-houſe were particularly pointed out. The buſineſs was not to be conſidered as part of the official correſpondence, nor were letters reſpecting it to be numbered, but merely headed Private Correſpondence. Beſides a great variety of commercial queſtions, many of which were evidently of no uſe, to a ſtate intending to trade peaceably with another, but of great importance to one which expected to gain profit by invaſion, or by the impoſition of a tribute, the agent was directed to furniſh a plan of the ports of his diſtrict, with a ſpecification of the ſoundings for mooring veſſels; and if no plan of the ports could be procured, to point out with what wind veſſels could come in and go out, and what was the greateſt draught of water with which veſſels could enter therein deeply laden.

In conformity with the ſpirit of the ſyſtem which produced theſe inſtructions, Horace Sebaſtiani, chef de Brigade in a French regiment of dragoons, was diſpatched as envoy to the Levant. On the 16th of September, he ſailed from Toulon, on board the Cornelie frigate, and on the 30th arrived at Tripoli. The account of his

his proceedings is drawn chiefly from his own report, publiſhed by the French government, and it ſhews, in the cleareſt view, the determination of that country to interfere in the affairs of every other; to acquire an unlimited aſcendancy, and by all arts and frauds, to exclude England from all intercourſe.

At Tripoli, he aſſumed the mediation of ſome differences between the Pacha and the Swediſh admiral, and was introduced at court with great pomp, where he obtained from the Pacha a reluctant acknowledgment of the Italian Republic, as an homage to the great Bonaparte. Sailing thence to Alexandria, he arrived the 16th of October, and gives the following account of his proceedings. "The ſame day I waited upon General Stuart, commandant of the Engliſh forces by Land and Sea. I communicated to him the order of the Miniſter for foreign affairs, which enjoined me to proceed to Alexandria, and if the Engliſh ſtill occupied that place, to demand a ſpeedy evacuation, and the execution of the treaty of Amiens. General Stuart told me, that the evacuation of the place would ſhortly be effected; but ſeeing that I inſiſted, and that I deſired an anſwer leſs vague, he declared he had no orders from his court to quit Alexandria, and that he even believed he ſhould paſs the winter there. General Stuart is a man of mediocre talents: he has for his aid-de-camp a French emigrant, called the Chevalier de Sades, a man of talent, and an enemy of France, who has much influence over the General." In the courſe of his travels in Egypt, Sebaſtiani announced every where the intention of France to ſend commercial agents, and he took unlimited pains to recommend the French, and to decry the Engliſh. At Cairo in particular, theſe efforts were more arduous and undiſſembled, and Sebaſtiani, however he may have given to his report the colouring which he conceived would moſt agreeably flatter his maſter, could not conceal that he was frequently regarded with ſuſpicion and diſguſt. He had alſo an interview with Dgezzer Pacha, and returned, according to the information he received, an exact account of the military ſtrength, Britiſh and Turkiſh, remaining in Egypt.

In December, this emiſſary arrived at Zante, and as a quarantine prevented his landing, he cauſed a letter to be delivered to the Delegate, declaring how much the Firſt Conſul wiſhed to ſee a termination of the inteſtine diviſions which afflicted the ſeven Iſlands; aſſuring him that France, Ruſſia, and the Porte, united in the bonds of the trueſt friendſhip, were occupied in endeavours to give them a fit form of government. Not confiding entirely to this mode of communication, he obtained a diſpenſation from the quarantine, and having procured a meeting of the three orders, at the delegate's apartments, he harangued them on the topics contained in his letter, and reminded them that Bonaparte had been the firſt to break the chains of the Iſlanders. It was beſides formally announced, that the Firſt Conſul declared himſelf the ſpecial protector of the Catholic religion in the republic of the Seven Iſlands. The effect of theſe proceedings

proceedings was to occaſion a vehement popular ferment; at the cloſe of Sebaſtiani's ſpeech, there was a general cry of "Liberty and equality for ever," and the government felt a ſtrong apprehenſion that the Iſlands would be a conſtant theatre of French intrigue. What Sebaſtiani himſelf thought and intended, may be gathered from his report of the tranſaction, which he concludes with theſe words. "I do not ſtray from the truth in aſſuring you, that the Iſlands of the Ionian Sea will declare themſelves French, as ſoon as an opportunity ſhall offer."

While France was making theſe efforts to create diſturbances for the purpoſe of acquiring power, the ſituation of the Engliſh in Egypt was replete with difficulty; General Stuart, and the Earl of Elgin, embaſſador at Conſtantinople were obliged to aſſume the ungracious taſk of interceding with the weak and vindictive government of the Porte, in behalf of the Beys, who were conſidered as rebels, and threatened with vengeance. They finally ſucceeded in obtaining from them an amneſty, with leave to govern that part of Upper Egypt conſiſting of Sevan and Senne; and as ſoon as it could be effected with ſafety, the Britiſh troops evacuated Egypt, bringing with them Mahoummed Elfi Bey, as Embaſſador extraordinary from the Beys to the Court of London. April.

In the mean time, France deputed General Brune as embaſſador to Conſtantinople, ſending for his eſcort a ſhip of the line, a frigate and other veſſels. Every circumſtance was added which could make his appearance magnificent and ſtriking, and he had in his train the agents of Legation and commerce deſigned by Bonaparte for the different ports in the Levant. Soon after the arrival of Brune, Lord Elgin, the Britiſh embaſſador, quitted Conſtantinople, and was afterward ſucceeded by Mr. Drummond. Feb.

The tranſactions here recited were productive of important effects, which it is not yet time to relate, but while they were proceeding, the Britiſh government, although anxiouſly watchful, and properly urgent in diplomatic remonſtrances, was alſo diligently occupied in the conduct of domeſtic affairs.

Among the moſt intereſting of theſe, were the trials of Colonel Deſpard and his aſſociates, whoſe arreſt was noticed in the laſt volume. A ſpecial commiſſion was iſſued for the trial of theſe offenders. The principal witneſſes againſt them, it is true, were the aſſociates in their crime, but their teſtimony was ſo ſtrongly ſupported by others, and by circumſtances which could not be fabricated, that every doubt of their treaſon vaniſhed, and it was rather ſurprizing that the jury, in Deſpard's caſe, took nearly half an hour to deliberate before they pronounced the verdict guilty. If the evidence given could have been falſified by mere general circumſtances of improbability, Colonel Deſpard might indeed have been acquitted, on the ſame principle that perſons committing ſuicide are, by the humanity of juries, frequently pronounced to be inſane. It was difficult to conceive how a man reſpectably born, educated as a gentleman, and who had ſerved

ſerved with courage and loyalty in the American war, could have degraded himſelf into the aſſociate of diſaffected private ſoldiers, day labourers, and other very mean characters; could have diſcuſſed with them in a common, obſcure public houſe, the moſt dangerous deſigns that treaſon ever invented, and could have formed with ſuch little and ineffectual aſſiſtance the mighty project of killing the king at noon-day, ſeizing the Tower and the Bank, ſuppreſſing all communication between the capital and other parts of the kingdom, and effecting a total change in the property, government and political ſyſtem of the whole realm. He was firſt ſeduced from the honour and fidelity of a ſoldier by a fooliſh love of reform, which degenerated into a luſt for revolution; becoming an object of ſuſpicion to Government in the laſt war, he was confined in the priſon in Cold Bath Fields for ſome years, and notwithſtanding ſeveral efforts made in his behalf by Sir Francis Burdett and others, was not diſcharged till the peace; this inflamed his mind, rendered him greedy of vengeance, and ſo deſperate and unguarded, as to have declared his immoveable reſolution rather to kill the King with his own hand than ſuffer him to eſcape; with the ſavage addition, "I have weighed the matter well, and my heart is callous." With this unhappy man ſix others ſuffered, all equally guilty; all fairly tried and ably defended.

21ſt Feb. On the day which witneſſed the execution of theſe men for a breach of duty due from the ſubject to the ſovereign, came on in the Court of King's Bench, the trial of a French Royaliſt, for an offence ariſing out of his too ſincere attachment to his King, and a too glowing hatred of his enemies and murderers, and the uſurpers of his lawful authority. It has already been mentioned, that the publication of M. Peltier, called L'Ambigu, had given offence to the conſular government, and was ordered to be proſecuted by the attorney general. This information was tried at Weſtminiſter, and after a moſt eloquent defence by Mr. Mackintoſh, M. Peltier was found guilty.

Although the principal motive for this proſecution evidently was to allay the jealouſies and appeaſe the irritation felt by the French government, the example made of the offender was not conſonant, either in rapidity or ſeverity, to the notions of the Firſt Conſul; and inſtead of expreſſing the ſlighteſt ſatisfaction on the occaſion, the official Journal mentioned the affair in terms of lofty diſdain, and almoſt of diſpleaſure. It was well known, the Journaliſt obſerved, that any foreigner in England muſt lay down his pen on an intimation from Lord Pelham's under ſecretaries, or be ſent out of the kingdom. Miniſters were condemned for making an oſtentatious parade about a circumſtance which the Firſt Conſul would never have thought worthy of his notice.

This invective was in perfect conformity with all the publications iſſued of late from the French preſs, in which Great Britain, its affairs, government and eminent men were mentioned. From the time that the King's ſpeech

announced to the world the determination of the British government not to submit to that separation from the affairs of the continent which Bonaparte was so solicitous to produce, the French papers were filled with the most disgusting abuse against the government and constitution of England, thinly veiled indeed under the pretext of reviewing the conduct of the late war, and of censuring those members of parliament who opposed the present ministry, but always evidently, and, at last, avowedly, attacking and reviling the constitution of England in all its parts, and endeavouring to prove that no country in Europe could, consistently with its dignity and safety, remain in alliance with us.

1st Jan. At the beginning of the year, the Moniteur contained a series of observations on the debates in the British parliament, in which it was asserted that Germany and Italy were inundated by secret agents under the orders of Drake, Wickham, and others; that Lords Grenville and Minto, and Mr. Windham perversely addicted to war, and insensible to all the sentiments of nature, had endeavoured to raise disturbances in Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and Genoa, to effect a Revolution at Naples, and to disturb the tranquillity of the Pope; but their plans were detected, and their agents arrested. Still for the purpose of exciting storms on the continent, more than a hundred brigands condemned to death in France for robbery, assassination and burning houses, found refuge in Jersey, whence they embarked in fishing-boats, landed in France, and murdered helpless women, and unfortunate proprietors of estates. Was there then a mother in England, Germany, Italy, or France, who must not regard with horror, Grenville, Windham, and Minto! After much more ribaldry and many more falsehoods of the same kind, the article concluded with an observation, that it would be a wise and patriotic law which should prevent those ministers who had retired, from sitting during the first seven years of their retirement, in the parliament of England. Another law not less wise, would be, that every member who insulted a friendly power, should be condemned to two years silence. When the tongue offends, the tongue should be punished. In other papers, the same individuals were accused of having been accessary to the attempt on the life of the First Consul by means of the *Machine infernale*, and of having avowed in parliament, sentiments tending to cause his assassination; and the French papers which were directed, and suffered to exist, by the government alone, seized every opportunity to renew and reinforce these atrocious calumnies.

30th Jan. From the members in opposition, the attack was soon directed against the government itself. The boastful and insolent report of Sebastiani was published, in which, besides the most contumelious mention of the British force and character, and the most insulting falsehoods respecting the British government; it was audaciously announced, that all the people in Egypt were enthusiastic admirers of Bonaparte; that 6000 French would be sufficient

ficient to conquer the country, and that all the islands in the Ionian sea would declare themselves French on the first opportunity.

Just at this time, Talleyrand had by command of the First Consul, solemnly demanded of Lord Whitworth information of the King's intentions respecting the evacuation of Malta; the official Journal, in a pretended review of the minister's statements to parliament, affected to prove that the British finances were in a most desperate state of derangement, such as only allowed the hope of reparation from a long and uninterrupted peace and good understanding with our neighbours; and at length, under the signature of Bonaparte himself, appeared a view of the state of the republic, presented to the legislative body by order of government, which, after a most glowing description of the increasing wealth and prosperity of France in every branch of its administration, contained these observations respecting England. "The British forces are still in Alexandria and Malta. The government had a fair right of complaint, but it has received intelligence that the vessels which are to convey them to Europe are already in the Mediterranean. The government guarantees to the nation the peace of the continent, and it is permitted to entertain a hope of the continuance of maritime peace. This peace is the want, as well as the desire of all nations. For its preservation, the government will do every thing compatible with national honour, essentially connected with the strict execution of treaties. But in England, two parties maintain a contest for power. One of those parties has concluded peace, and appears desirous of maintaining it. The other has taken an oath of eternal hatred to France. Hence that fluctuation of opinion and of counsels which prevails. Hence that attitude, at the same time pacific and menacing. While this contest of parties continues, measures of precaution are what the government is called upon to adopt. Five hundred thousand men ought to be, and shall be, ready to undertake its defence, and avenge its injuries. Strange necessity which miserable passions impose on two nations, whom interest and inclination mutually prompt to the cultivation of peace. Whatever success intrigues may experience in London, no other people will be involved in new combinations—the government says, with conscious pride, that England alone cannot maintain a struggle against France."

22 Feb.

CHAP. VI.

Proceedings in Parliament after the Recess. Address to the King on his escape from the Plot of Despard. Bank-restriction continued; debate on the subject. Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; opposition to the measure; defence of it; further debates on the Bill in its different stages; opposition to it in the House of Lords; observations of Earl Moira, Lord King and the Earl of Suffolk; answer of ministers and their friends. Message from his

majeſty reſpecting the affairs of the Prince of Wales; debate on the ſubject in a Committee of the Houſe of Commons; motion to grant to his royal highneſs, ſixty thouſand pounds per annum for three years; his royal highneſs renounces all claims for arrears of the duchy of Cornwall; Meſſage from the Prince to the Houſe of Commons; Mr. Calcraft's motion on the ſubject; debate; the motion negatived; a bill paſſes according to the original propoſition.

22d Feb. BOTH Houſes of Parliament concurred in an unanimous addreſs to the King, offering their moſt heartfelt congratulations on the detection and fruſtration of one of the moſt deteſtable plots that the wickedneſs of miſguided individuals could conſpire to imagine; a conſpiracy that, whilſt it afforded additional proofs of the miſchief of thoſe deteſtable principles, was equally deſtructive of all practical, moral, civil, and religious liberty; and declaring their determination to ſupport with their lives, and all that was dear to them, the government and conſtitution, firm and unchanged, to the lateſt poſterity.

This well-timed addreſs was moved in the Lords by the Duke of Montroſe, and ſeconded by Earl Camden. In the Commons Lord Euſton and Lord Boyle fulfilled the taſk. They ſtated it as in ſome degree a ſatisfactory reflection, that no motive of perſonal malice or hatred againſt our beloved Sovereign ſeemed to animate the traitors; their project appeared to ariſe from a rooted enmity to the happy and benign conſtitution of the country. It was a conſpiracy originating in thoſe principles of Jacobiniſm, which, thank God, had been ſucceſsfully reſiſted in this country, and in Ireland. The reſult would have been, a total extinction of thoſe governors by whom the people are rendered ſafe and happy; and power and office would have been aſſumed by men not far removed from ſavages; men intoxicated with their tranſient aſcendency and importance, but who would have been hurried down the ſtream of blood cauſed by their own wickedneſs. The changes which had been attempted in this country, carried the alluring, but deceitful names of philoſophy, reform and liberty; names of late, in the mouths of the very worſt of characters, who uſed theſe high ſounding terms to conceal intentions of the blackeſt dye. The deſtruction of the Conſtitution was the object of theſe machinations, and a part of their wicked and atrocious ſcheme was to deſtroy its conſtitutional defender, its beſt preſerver, and guardian: the ſacred life of a prince was aimed at, who was not only entitled to reſpect and veneration, from the ſacred and important functions of the kingly office, but whoſe perſonal virtues, mild manners, and gracious deportment, called for eſteem, and conciliated the affections of all his ſubjects. In the long line of Monarchs who had ſwayed the ſceptre of theſe realms, there was not one ſo much entitled to the gratitude and affection of his people, on account of the ſubſtantial benefits, and ineſtimable bleſſings, they reaped under his auſpicious reign, and the ſtrong intereſt he always manifeſted for their welfare and happineſs. He was beloved by all ranks of ſociety for thoſe virtues

virtues which graced his crown, and diffuſed happineſs through every corner of his united kingdom.

Feb. 4th. As it was ſtill deemed neceſſary to reſtrain the Bank from iſſuing caſh in payment of their notes, a preparatory motion was made for a periodical account of the amount of notes in circulation from the 1ſt June, 1802, to the 1ſt February, 1803. This vote was amended from its original form, in conſequence of ſome obſervations from Mr. Tierney, who intimated, as a matter generally underſtood, that the iſſues of notes from the Bank within the laſt two months had been to an unuſual amount. Although this aſſertion was cenſured as vague and undefined, miniſters readily granted the additional information required, and Mr. Tierney denied that he intended any injurious inſinuation.

7th. On the motion for leave to bring in the Bill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer declared he made it with conſiderable reluctance, knowing as he did, how much the public feelings muſt be intereſted on a ſubject of ſo much importance, and the wrong opinions and groſs miſrepreſentations to which it might give riſe. He had, however, the pleaſure to aſſure the Houſe and the Country, that the meaſure by no means aroſe from any incapacity, or diſinclination of the Bank to pay in ſpecie; and that it was as much his own wiſh as that of any man that the Bank ſhould reſume, as ſpeedily as ſtrict prudence and the ſtate of commercial relations would admit, their payments in ſpecie. There were, he knew, many perſons who had ſtrong doubts on the propriety of adopting this meaſure in the firſt inſtance, who had ſince concurred in the prudence of its continuance. Since paſſing the Act which was now expiring, exchange had conſiderably improved in our favour, but yet not ſo far as to warrant the diſcontinuance of the reſtriction; and when the Houſe recollected, that it had thought fit to authorize the country Banks to iſſue notes to a very conſiderable amount, it muſt naturally occur, that the moment the removal of the reſtriction ſhould enable the Bank to iſſue gold in payment of its notes, ſimilar demands would be made upon the country Banks; the reſult would be, a rapid and general run upon the Bank of England from all thoſe in the country; which, at a time when there was no ſupply of bullion from abroad, might be productive of great embarraſſment. There were alſo other conſiderations: Three years of the moſt unparalleled ſcarcity had but juſt elapſed, during which period upwards of twenty millions in ſpecie had been ſent out of the country for the purchaſe of grain, to ſupply the deficiencies of our national produce for the ſuſtenance of the people. There was alſo another conſiderable drain for the pay of our armies and navies in foreign parts; and thoſe drains, even the flouriſhing ſtate of our commerce had not yet time to bring back. It might poſſibly be objected, that the propoſition ought to be preceded by an inquiry into the ground of neceſſity for its adoption; but to ſuch an objection he would anticipate an anſwer. That with reſpect to the ample competence of the Bank to diſcharge at any time the whole of its exiſting

debts, the fulleſt proof had already been adduced to the ſatisfaction of a Committee purpoſely inſtituted and who had made the minuteſt reſearches; all then that would remain for a Committee to inquire into now, would be the ſtate of exchange; but for information on this head there was no reſponſible office or officer to apply to.

The motion was principally oppoſed by Mr. Tierney and Mr. Fox. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, they obſerved, had confeſſed that he ſubmitted this motion with reluctance, and they thought he had, a very ſhort time back, no intention of propoſing the continuance of this reſtriction; but if he really felt the reluctance he expreſſed, and ſuch anxiety to ſee the period arrive when a meaſure of that nature would be deemed no longer neceſſary, much more urgent reaſons than thoſe he had given ſhould be adduced in its ſupport. The meaſure ſhould not be adopted without ſome previous enquiry reſpecting the Bank, and it was hoped the Houſe would not adopt this monſtrous bill, at a time when there was not even a plauſible pretext for it; when no money was likely to go out of the country; when no alarm prevailed in either domeſtic or foreign politics; when no fear of any ſudden preſs on the Bank could be entertained. At all events, a hope was expreſſed that a ſhort Bill only would now be propoſed, and that time would be allowed to examine how far it ſhould be prolonged. It might alſo be proper to enquire, how far the ſtate of exchange ſhould be admitted as a criterion, whether the Bank ſhould pay in ſpecie or not. Allowing alſo that there might be ſome danger in taking off the reſtriction altogether, ſtill might not ſome arrangement be adopted for paying a ſmall part of the dividends and notes in caſh? By adopting a gradual ſyſtem of that kind, all danger from a ſudden run might be avoided. This latter obſervation met with the approbation of Mr. Banks.

Lord Hawkeſbury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer anſwered theſe arguments. Mr. Addington confeſſed, that at an early period of the ſeſſion, he did not entertain the idea of propoſing a further continuance of the reſtriction on the Bank; he did venture to hope, that a favourable alteration in the courſe of the exchange would have relieved him from the performance of the painful duty, which he this day came forward to diſcharge. If appearances continued to be the ſame which they were at the cloſe of laſt year, and the beginning of the preſent, and the favourable change promiſed to be permanent, he ſhould have abſtained from the preſent motion; but while he ſaid this, he deſired to be underſtood by the Houſe, not abſtractedly to reſt what he had advanced upon the ſtate of exchange, for many other circumſtances concurred in the operation. It was right to permit the country Banks to iſſue ſmall notes; but were the Bank to be opened, all theſe notes would be tendered for payment, when a ſufficient quantity of bullion was not in the poſſeſſion of the Bank, and the run upon it would be unuſually great. Indeed, from a variety of combined cauſes, the demand on the Bank would be extraordinary. In aid of the obſervations on this part of the ſubject,

Sir

Sir Francis Baring obſerved, that the Houſe ſhould not conſider the preſent continuance of the reſtriction, as a circumſtance ariſing out of common cauſes, but as growing out of unforeſeen and irreſiſtible events. There had been a great convulſion in political affairs in every quarter of the globe, and that convulſion had operated very great and very important changes: the courſe of exchange, between this country and all others, had varied as well as other matters; it would at preſent admit the importation of ſilver, but not of gold; ſilver had lately fallen ten per cent.; while gold continued at much the ſame price as before. Theſe circumſtances did not ariſe from common cauſes, but from the various efforts and exertions of foreign countries to gain advantages over this: the convulſion had extended to and affected them all in a greater or leſs degree, and prudence ought to dictate to us to wait with patience till the effects of the ſtorm ſhould ſubſide. Mr. Fox had ſuggeſted the propriety of opening the caſh payments of the Bank under ſome limited reſtriction; but in the former Bill a power was given to the Bank to make partial payments of the dividends in ſpecie, upon giving due notice of ſuch payments to the Houſe of Commons. A Committee would be uſeleſs; more important occaſions had occurred where none was moved for; the renewal of the Charter of the Bank was a recent inſtance. The duration of the reſtriction, it was obſerved, might be more properly diſcuſſed in the different ſtages of the bill.

11th. This part of the ſubject did, in fact, come more immediately into conſideration, when the Bill was in the Committee; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer propoſed as the period of its continuance, ſix weeks after the commencement of the next Seſſion of Parliament. Mr. Banks propoſed to ſubſtitute the firſt of May, obſerving that he was far from wiſhing prematurely to remove the reſtriction, but it was his duty to call for inquiry and information. He begged the Committee to conſider what ſort of a precedent they would give to future times, if they were to ſay that upon ſuch grounds as theſe, the caſh payments of the Bank were to be ſuſpended, without inquiry or inveſtigation. He could not ſee that the appointment of a Committee could poſſibly create any alarm; he really believed that the Bank never ſtood higher in point of credit, than it did when the Report to which he alluded was made; it would confirm the conviction the people felt of the ſolidity and wealth of the Bank. He had no doubt that the gentlemen intruſted with the direction had diſcharged their truſt with the greateſt ability and propriety, but the country had a right to know how the fact was; they had a right to know whether exertions had been made to place the Bank in a ſituation to reſume its payments, whenever Parliament ſhould think it right to take off the reſtriction.

Several members oppoſed the amendment, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought to recollection the circumſtances under which the Committee of the Houſe had formerly proceeded to an enquiry. Government, actuated by a wiſe precaution, had then recommended to the directors to ſuſpend

their payments in money, a measure which had produced a great sensation and alarm in the mercantile world; the appointment of a Committee was therefore, at that period, a measure of the strictest propriety, as it was of essential importance to ascertain the sufficiency of the Bank to discharge its existing engagements, and to enquire into the expediency of confirming and continuing the Order of Council. Was it at the present moment necessary to institute an enquiry for either of these objects? Was it now a question whether the Bank was able to discharge the demands upon it? At a late period, the Act having been made to last only three or four months, was renewed, and upon that occasion a second enquiry had taken place. What was its object? To satisfy an anxious public what the situation of the Bank had been, during the interval from the commencement of the restriction, and to what extent that measure had improved it. The Act which passed, extended the restriction till six months after the definitive Treaty of Peace. It was then proposed to renew it, and the House adopted the proposition without enquiry, being perfectly satisfied of the complete sufficiency of the Bank.

17th and 22d. The Bill passed the House of Commons without further resistance; but it was not unopposed in the Lords. The principal objections proceeded from Lord Moira, who, on the first reading, moved for various papers, and, on the second, renewed and enforced his arguments against the measure proposed, as implying an inability in the Bank to discharge the demands on them, and cast a slur on the national commerce and prosperity. His Lordship viewed the Bill either as one introduced at the desire of the Directors of the Bank; or as a measure of government, adopted for some special purpose hitherto unexplained. It was more extraordinary that so violent an attack on the property of individuals should have been introduced into parliament at a moment like the present, when it was said we were in a state of profound peace, but when we were in fact under the most critical circumstances, and so far from the peace being considered as secure and permanent, every man who understood the nature of our situation, could not but expect that we might be obliged on the sudden to prepare for a new war. If this Bill was introduced at the request of the Directors of the Bank, he had a right to ask, what new change in their affairs had happened since the Bill was first introduced in 1797, and so often renewed since, that could induce them to depart from their uniform declaration, that they felt no necessity for such restriction, as they possessed full ability to satisfy all demands in current cash? If it was a measure of Government, ministers were bound to explain why, under the uncommon increase of the exports and imports, the consequent rise of the produce of the customs, the exuberant amount of the surplus of the consolidated fund, and the general and increasing commerce of the country, it was felt necessary to load Parliament with so heavy a responsibility as the present Bill would throw on them. For his own part, he had strong reasons to suspect it was a measure to accommodate the Bank,

Bank, in consequence of an accommodation to the ministers; for in the exuberant statement of our finances, at the opening of the session it was pretty obvious there had been a gross miscalculation. Indeed, on looking loosely over the accounts of the last year, as brought forward by the minister, he had discovered many considerable omissions. Many errors and mistatements had been employed to eke out this flattering display, calculated to catch a little vain popularity, by enabling the minister to avoid, for the present, calling for a loan, by substituting an issue of Exchequer bills: a most imprudent and impolitic measure, because it was anticipating at a moment of peace, those resources which should remain only for any sudden emergency of war

These objections were enforced by Lord King and the Earl of Suffolk, who lamented that no improvements in agriculture had been yet begun, or were likely to take place. The population of the country was increasing every day, and not a single step was taken towards increasing its produce. It was stated from high authority, that there were seven million acres of waste land, why was not a general inclosure bill, or some other measure adopted, that might tend to put this land or a part of it, into a state of cultivation? If the country went on as it did, ruin would ultimately be the consequence. The Government and people of France had lately turned their attention to agriculture; we should hereafter be obliged, perhaps, to send for the greater part of our supplies from that country, which would receive our money in return. This required the most serious consideration of Government, which ought to recollect, that almost all the disturbances in Ireland arose from the bad system of agriculture, the heavy weight of tythes, and the impoverished state of the peasantry.

On the other side were Lord Pelham, the Earl of Westmoreland, Lord Auckland, and Lord Sheffield. The Bill, it was said, had not been introduced by the desire of the Bank, they had expressed no concurrence, and were not at all interested; it was to be considered purely as a measure of Government, adopted on motives of obvious policy and expediency. The same causes were assigned as had before been given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Far from thinking that a very strong case ought to be made out, before Parliament consented to suffer the Bill to be again continued, they contended that an extremely strong case indeed was requisite to be shewn, in order to persuade the house to suspend a measure of such importance to the preservation and security of the most essential interests of the country. Far from being, as it had been termed, a violation of the property of individuals, it was a measure calculated to protect their property; and it was no breach of a solemn contract, because, in reality, it did support the wealth of the Bank. We were at present in a state of peace, and ought to use every possible care to render it permanent. But no man could say how soon some unforeseen event might terminate it. Our situation was now critical, and perhaps more alarming than any in which the country had been placed for centuries; would it then

then be prudent to abſtain from meaſures of precaution? This reſtriction had already and notoriouſly ſaved the credit of the Bank; Its ſolidity and ſolvency were ſtrictly examined into by the Committees of both Houſes, in 1797, the reſult was, that the high opinion entertained, both at home and abroad, of the ſtability of the Bank was greatly increaſed. It was proved that, after ſatisfying all claimants, they would poſſeſs aſſets to the amount of many millions, excluſive of the debt from Government of four millions and a half. We might regret that the neceſſity of reſtriction had ariſen; but, without inſiſting on the beneficial influence of the Bank reſtriction on our foreign exchanges, and even admitting ſome conſequent diſcredit might have taken place, it would not be increaſed by the continuance of it until a more favourable period. Surely a temporary iſſue of country-bank ſmall notes could not be deemed a great grievance; and, notwithſtanding what had been aſſerted, in this kingdom paper money had not been depreciated, nor had coin bore a premium; and when paper money is not depreciated, there is not too great an emiſſion of that kind of currency. The caution of the Bank in reſtricting its diſcounts and iſſue of paper money, when there had been a great export of coin and bullion in 1793 and 1796, produced the moſt alarming diſtreſs. A judiciouſly increaſed iſſue was, therefore, very advantageous, inaſmuch as it enabled us better to carry on the great commercial tranſactions of the country; and if the event had helped to prove that, immenſe quantities of gold coin in circulation are not abſolutely neceſſary, this meaſure might become ſerviceable, by preventing hereafter unfounded apprehenſion and alarm on ſuch a ſubject. Scotland had improved in every ſhape with ſcarcely any coin, and had been greatly benefited by a plentiful iſſue of paper money. Holland, when ſhe flouriſhed moſt, depended, almoſt intirely, on her Bank; and countries truly commercial, ſuch as England and Holland, could not have carried on their extenſive trade by any other means than paper currency.

The attention of the Legiſlature was alſo engaged on the affairs of the Prince of Wales, which were introduced to their notice by a Meſſage from the King. His Majeſty taking into conſideration the period which had elapſed ſince the adoption of thoſe arrangements which Parliament thought fit to eſtabliſh, for diſcharging the incumbrances of His Royal Highneſs, and having adverted to the progreſs made for carrying the ſame into effect, recommended to the conſideration of the houſe the preſent ſituation of his Royal Highneſs, and reſorted to their experienced liberality, and attachment toward his royal Houſe, for taking the meaſures beſt calculated to maintain the dignity, and add to the comforts of ſo diſtinguiſhed a branch of his family. 16th.

Before the Houſe of Commons went into a Committee on this ſubject, Colonel Stanley enquired, whether the incumbrances which at preſent affected the eſtabliſhment of the Prince of Wales were to be removed by any new grant of the Houſe, 23d.

House, whether they were to be settled by a compromise, or whether, if any money was to be advanced, provision was to be made for its repayment? He accompanied this enquiry with some observations on the arrangement made in pursuance of a royal message in 1787.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer answered that any compromise of the nature alluded to, had no share whatever in now inducing him to submit a proposition to the House; not for paying off the debts of His Royal Highness, for an ample provision was already made for that purpose, but with the sole view of enabling him to support an establishment distinguished by that dignity and splendour, the entertainment and preservation of which could not be contemplated but with the deepest interest.

The House having formed itself into a Committee, the Chancellor of the Exchequer recapitulated the circumstances attending the settlement made on His Royal Highness in 1795, on occasion of his marriage. It was then the almost general opinion of the House, that the establishment was too scanty, but the great object in view, in the first instance, was the satisfaction of justice. It was to accomplish this object solely, that the resumption of the splendour and dignity suitable to his Royal Highness's distinguished station was for a time suspended, and that commissioners were appointed to the management of his affairs. Could any persons who had witnessed the effects of that measure, and duly considered the situation to which its provisions had for eight years subjected his Royal Highness, possibly have made up their minds to his continuing for four years longer, in a state of obscurity and retirement, so little suitable to the feelings and the habits of the heir of a great empire? By the Bill to which he had already alluded, it was provided that the debts of the Prince of Wales should be investigated, and an appropriation was made, not by any sum granted or imposed upon the public, but out of the revenues of his Royal Highness himself, of 13,000l. per annum, from the revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall, and 60,000l. per annum out of the income of his Royal Highness, to discharge debts which were then computed at 625,000l. but which were afterwards estimated at 650,000l. so that 13,000l. and 60,000l. per annum, together were employed in discharging a capital debt of 650,000l. and debentures were issued for that purpose. Here he entered into the detail of the application of those funds for the liquidation of his Royal Highness's debts, the result of which was, that on the 5th of January last, there had been paid off 563,895l. and continuing the operation of this plan, the whole would be discharged in July 1806, leaving a balance of something less than 100l. and allowing 6000l. for the charges of management. After a great number of further details and arguments, he moved, "That it is the opinion of this Committee, that his Majesty be enabled to grant yearly any sum or sums of money out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, not exceeding in the whole 60,000l. being to take place and to be computed from the 5th of January 1803, and to continue until the 5th of July 1806, towards

towards providing for the better ſupport and dignity of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales."

On the part of the Prince of Wales, the Solicitor General declared, that he was directed to expreſs, in the ſtrongeſt terms, his ſincere and unfeigned gratitude to his Majeſty for the intereſt he had been pleaſed to take in what regarded the dignity and comforts of his Royal Highneſs's ſituation, evinced as it had been in his gracious Meſſage. His Royal Highneſs cheerfully ſubmitted to the wiſdom and juſtice of the Houſe, which he was convinced would direct their proceedings in whatever reſolution they might adopt. The Solicitor General ſpoke in high terms of the Prince's reſpect for the country, and his earneſt deſire to preſerve harmony between his royal parent and himſelf; and notwithſtanding what might be ſaid of the diverſity of legal opinions, the ſolicitor general felt no heſitation in maintaining, that the claims of his Royal Highneſs to the arrears of the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, were too firmly eſtabliſhed to be ſhaken by any opinion which might be brought forward to invalidate them. He feared no reſults from the proſecution of the right, but thoſe which might unfortunately lead to a difference between his Majeſty and his eldeſt ſon; and it was by that conſideration that his Royal Highneſs was ſolely influenced. There had been no compromiſe, nor had any circumſtance occurred to warrant ſuch a ſuppoſition. The preſent meaſure, when communicated to his Royal Highneſs, was altogether unexpected; no terms were attempted to be impoſed upon him, and he was left at full liberty, ſhould he think proper, to proſecute the juſtice of his claim.

In the debate which enſued, many of the topics touched on in theſe ſpeeches were reviewed, and although there was no diviſion, a great diverſity of opinion prevailed, even among thoſe who moſt generally acted together.

It was conſidered hard and unjuſt to hold out to the public, that they were to have freſh burthens put upon them to afford aſſiſtance to his Royal Highneſs, when he had the means within himſelf. It was not dealing fairly with his Royal Highneſs to make it appear to the public, by the wording of the Meſſage from his Majeſty, that he was calling upon them for aſſiſtance, when miniſters knew he was creditor to the Public for more than ſufficient to ſatisfy the remaining demands ſtanding out againſt him. It was alſo intimated that this was the third application to Parliament to defray the debts of his Royal Highneſs, two having already been made in 1787 and 1795.

About the claims of His Royal Highneſs to the arrears of the Duchy of Cornwall, the manner in which the preſent meaſure would terminate them, and the proceedings already had with reſpect to them, members expreſſed opinions very various. Some aſſerted, and others denied, that the Prince had a clear and completely aſcertained right to the whole of the arrears. It was alſo ſaid that the preſent meaſure was not only not ſuggeſted in conſequence of any application on the part of the Prince, but that he was actually ſuffering a very great ſacrifice. The Prince applied

plied for the reſtoration of his juſt right, and which he aſked not for himſelf, but for his creditors. When the buſineſs was laſt agitated, the Houſe was entertained with a long diſcuſſion on the Prince's claim, both hiſtorical and political. All the rights and emoluments of his predeceſſors were traced; and at laſt it was agreed that the Houſe could do nothing in the matter; that the queſtion muſt be referred to a legal deciſion, before it could come under the conſideration of the Houſe. The manner in which that legal deciſion could be procured was diſcuſſed in another quarter. It was found neceſſary to preſent a petition of right, but the Lord Chancellor was not thought the proper authority to preſent it to. It was then preſented to the Secretary of State, and by him referred to the Lord Chancellor. The proceedings on this petition of right were however ſuſpended, and a buſineſs of a ſimilar nature came before the Houſe in conſequence of his Majeſty's Meſſage. In the mean time it was declared that the propoſition was not to be conſidered in the nature of compromiſe; but it was in fact a very fair and honourable compromiſe.

It had been ſaid, the claim ought not to be proceeded upon; the ſuit ought not to be proſecuted, becauſe it might occaſion unpleaſant circumſtances and ill diſpoſitions, where nothing but harmony and good will ſhould ſubſiſt. If ſuch was the neceſſary conſequence, ſooner ſhould the ſum be paid ten-fold by the public, than ſuch means ſhould be applied to. But there was no ground to apprehend ſuch a reſult, and this might be determined like other amicable ſuits in families without producing any ill will.

This argument was ſtrenuouſly reſiſted. Mr. Sheridan obſerved, it might be difficult to ſay at what period a deciſion on the petition of right could be obtained. Perhaps this ſuit might reſemble another, which came before a late Lord Chancellor, in which his Lordſhip found it neceſſary to keep the papers ſix years in his pocket, before he could determine in what court the proceedings ought to commence. This was, no doubt, the natural reſult of that *glorious uncertainty* of the law, of which ignorant people were too much diſpoſed to complain, but which all *learned* gentlemen knew to be one of its greateſt excellencies. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, treating the matter more ſeriouſly, owned that he felt additional pleaſure, when he conſidered that this meaſure, if adopted, would ſilence for ever the Petition of Right, a thing which could not be proſecuted without more than inconvenience. As to the queſtion of his Royal Highneſs being intitled to a reimburſement of all the monies received from the Duchy of Cornwall during his minority, this was a ſubject which he entered into laſt year with the utmoſt reluctance. The Solicitor General had given his opinion, that the Prince was entitled to a full account of the receipts of the Duchy and of the diſburſements, at the time of his coming of age: but ſurely there was ſome difference between being entitled to have ſuch an account preſented, and an abſolute right to be paid the whole amount of the receipts, without making any allowance for what

was

was expended. But ſuppoſing there was not a queſtion about this right, but that it had been aſcertained and acknowledged, and judgment obtained, where was the fund on which this lien could attach? The civil liſt, to which thoſe ſums were paid, had long ſince been expended in the purpoſes directed by Parliament. If then a judgment could not take effect, if no property could be found on which ſuch a judgment would be a lien, what remedy or redreſs could his Royal Highneſs have, even if he had obtained a judgment on the Petition of Right. Muſt he not ſtill come before Parliament for their equitable interpoſition reſpecting his caſe? and if the Parliament ſhould be called upon for equitable interpoſition, they would certainly be bound to take into their conſideration the different ſums already paid by the public for the diſcharge of thoſe debts, which he probably would not have contracted, had he been in full enjoyment of that revenue and thoſe arrears, which it appeared the predominant opinion he was intitled to. This would be opening a ſort of an account between the Prince and the Public which might be diſagreeable to both.

Thoſe who were moſt particularly conſidered as friends of the Prince of Wales, admitted that in conſideration of the meaſure then propoſed to the Houſe, his Royal Highneſs conſented, for ever, to abandon his great and well founded claims. It was material that this abandonment ſhould be known; for, as many diſagreeable circumſtances might be expected to ariſe from the proſecution of a ſuit, in which the King and the Prince of Wales were the parties in one view, and the Prince of Wales and the Public in another, it muſt be matter of joy to the whole community, that this ſuit was to be proſecuted no further. It was ſtrenuouſly denied that this was a *third* application to Parliament for the liquidation of his Royal Highneſs's debts. This claim or rather this right, exiſted on the part of his Royal Highneſs; and this was no application on his part. His Royal Highneſs was not in the ſituation of an applicant to the bounty of Parliament and the Public, on the contrary, by the abandonment of his juſt claims, he made over to them a very large ſum. Surely it was not extraordinary that, after a lapſe of eight years, accompanied with circumſtances which had materially affected the income of every man, his Majeſty ſhould ſend a Meſſage, recommending to his Parliament to make ſome addition to the income of the Prince of Wales.

The manner in which the Prince's debts had been paid was alſo a ſubject of much complaint. There was one deſcription of debt, that was ſaid to have been rejected by a former Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was a caſe in which the Prince was a collateral ſecurity, for money borrowed abroad; but if every other means of payment failed, and the Prince thought himſelf bound in honour to diſcharge this debt, why ſhould he be refuſed that gratification? This, as well as other conſiderations, would render it impoſſible that the preſent meaſure could enable his Royal Highneſs

Highneſs to enjoy the full advantage of his income. It would be recollected, that when the arrangement was made for the diſcharge of his debts, it was propoſed that all the creditors ſhould abate ten per cent. on their accounts. As this was not done on the ground of fraud, but was adopted with reſpect to all the accounts, however fair they might be, his Royal Highneſs did not think the proceeding conſiſtent with his character and honour. He, therefore, authoriſed a ſtatement to the Houſe, that rather than permit his creditors to ſuſtain ſo great a loſs, he would wiſh another year to be added to the period in which his income was to be abridged.

To this it was anſwered, that at the time of the laſt arrangement of the Prince's affairs, the whole amount was calculated at 625,000l; but for fear there might ſtill be an exceſs, Parliament had appointed that the commiſſioners ſhould receive, 650,000l. out of the Prince's income, for the diſcharge of the debts. At preſent, no claim againſt his Royal Highneſs, that was found to be fair and juſt, had ever been rejected for want of a ſufficiency of means, although it had turned out, that in point of fact, the ſum of 650,000l. was by no means ſufficient to pay the whole amount. For all the debts which were fairly and juſtly due, debentures were given to the creditors in the following manner: for every 100l. they received either a debenture of 100l bearing three per cent intereſt, or a debenture of 90l. bearing five per cent. It would therefore be obſerved, that ſo far from making a compromiſe, or being at all obliged to take ten per cent. ſhort of their debts, they had their choice of accepting immediately debentures for the whole amount, bearing three per cent. intereſt. If a conſiderable number of the creditors had choſen to accept the debentures of 90l. bearing five per cent. in preference to thoſe of 100l. at three per cent. it was becauſe they ſpeculated on the riſe of thoſe debentures after the peace ſhould take place. No compenſation then could be due or neceſſary to be made to ſuch creditors for the deduction of ten per cent. under theſe circumſtances, and if any private reaſons ſhould induce his Royal Highneſs to delay for a while reſuming that ſplendour and dignity in his houſehold and eſtabliſhment, which it was the wiſh of the Houſe he ſhould be poſſeſſed of, thoſe reaſons would be of ſuch a nature as, if publiſhed, would give his Royal Highneſs freſh claims to the reſpect and attachment of the Houſe. If the Public ſhould not immediately be gratified in this point, yet it would be a conſiderable ſatisfaction to them, to know that he would be extricated from his debts at leaſt three years and a half ſooner than he otherwiſe would have been, and that the final period would arrive in a year at furtheſt.

Mr. Fox, while he recommended liberality to Parliament, alſo enforced the neceſſity of prudence in the Prince, and extolled him for the poſſeſſion and diſplay of that quality. "I think," he ſaid, the beſt advice we can give will be, to ſay to his Royal Highneſs, "Conſider your income, and determine yourſelf what degree of ſtate you will aſſume, and when you will aſſume it." But if it is reſolved that

that his Royal Highneſs ſhall aſſume this ſtate immediately, let an application be made to Parliament for further aid. To this laſt proceeding I could have no objection, particularly when his Royal Highneſs abandons the claims ariſing out of the Duchy of Cornwall. But I deprecate all idea of an application as in 1787. I would ſay to Parliament, 'Extinguiſh not only the debts, but the embarraſſments, and place his Royal Highneſs at once in that ſtate in which he has never been, I had almoſt ſaid, ſince his birth, but certainly never ſince his coming to man's eſtate; that ſtate in which he may ſay, here is an income on which I may live in a manner becoming my rank and dignity.' I have ſaid theſe few words in recapitulation of what I ſaid on the former moſt painful occaſion; the preſent is one of the moſt joyful; for the Prince is now about to be inveſted with his full income, of the poſſeſſion and management of which he has ſhewn himſelf fully worthy by his prudence; a virtue, which was the only one he was ever charged with wanting; and which he has now, beyond diſpute, added to the many others, which he muſt be acknowledged to poſſeſs.

28th. Conſidering himſelf bound by every principle of honour to diſcharge all the claims over which the commiſſioners had exerciſed their authority, his Royal Highneſs ſent by Mr. Tyrwhit a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, in which, while he acknowledged his gratitude to the King for his kindneſs, and to Parliament for its liberality, and diſtinctly renounced all claims in reſpect of the arrears of the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, he uſed the following expreſſions. "But the Prince, notwithſtanding the generoſity evinced towards him on this occaſion, feels himſelf bound to declare, that he is ſtill expoſed to debts for which no proviſion has been made, but which he feels himſelf bound in honour to diſcharge; and therefore, notwithſtanding the kind ſolicitude expreſſed by the Houſe for his ſpeedy reſumption of the ſtate and dignity appertaining to his rank, he muſt ſtill be obliged to appropriate to the diſcharge of thoſe debts a large ſinking fund out of his annual income; and however ſolicitous he might be to comply with the wiſhes expreſſed by the Houſe for his ſpeedy reſumption of the dignities appropriate to his ſtation, yet he knew but too well, from dear-bought experience, that it would be impracticable to make ſuch a reſumption for ſome conſiderable time, without the riſk of being involved in new embarraſſments."

4th March. In purſuance of a notice given at the time when this Meſſage was delivered, Mr. Calcraft moved, that the Houſe, anxiouſly deſirous to give full effect to the important objects recommended to their conſideration in his Majeſty's moſt gracious Meſſage of the 16th of February, ſhould appoint a ſelect Committee to requeſt and receive information reſpecting the extent of thoſe claims upon the juſtice and honour of the Prince of Wales, which, according to his official communication, impeded his Royal Highneſs's anxious deſire to fulfil his Majeſty's benign intention, and accord to the wiſhes of this Houſe, by reſuming that ſtate and dignity which

which belong to the heir apparent of the British empire." In his prefatory speech the mover assured the house that the present proceeding originated intirely and personally from himself. Upon this subject he had no conversation, concert, nor correspondence with any person, nor did he communicate it to any one before he gave the notice; therefore, he could have had no concurrence or encouragement for doing so, from the Royal personage to whom the motion personally related. He would not have embarked in so delicate an affair, or come forward on this occasion, if he had not perceived an anxious feeling in most parts of the House upon the late discussion, that His Royal Highness should be forthwith relieved from the embarrassments under which he laboured.

On this proposition, Sir Robert Buxton moved the previous question. A long debate ensued, in which, on one side, the sufficiency of the Prince's allowance for all reasonable purposes of state and dignity, and the necessity for a strict economy, were insisted on, and on the other, these arguments were repelled as unfounded, or ridiculed as substituting an undignified parsimony for a liberal economy. The old topic of the arrears of the Cornish revenue was resorted to, and received a great variety of explanations, and formed the ground work of many protracted arguments.

Mr. Johnstone pressed this subject with great vigour. No reasons he said, were stated to prove the necessity of revoking those arrangements which parliament, after great deliberation, had adopted in 1795. At that period a considerable ferment, a considerable degree of jacobinical spirit prevailed, and therefore it might have been argued, that it would be dangerous to abridge the Prince of any part of that splendour, which certainly has its effect on the multitude. But now the whole people were united in loyalty to the King, affection for the Prince, and attachment to the Constitution; and what they chiefly desired to behold in the Royal Family, was a sensibility of the many burthens with which they were oppressed. But other gentlemen talked of the rights of the Prince resulting from the Duchy of Cornwall.—This question was discussed in 1795, when relief had been solicited from parliament; and it then was the duty of the Prince to urge his right or rely on the generosity of the public. He had chosen the latter: and it was not fair, after experiencing the liberality of the country, to renew the claim of right. On this, however, he was not inclined to insist, especially as in the last year the prince was desired to present his claims to legal discussion. Why was not that discussion brought to an issue? No difference could arise between the King and the Prince, as was stated; for, the revenues having been applied to the public service, the public was answerable, and the King had no more to do with the suit than with any other in which he was made defendant in the way of form. But there existed another very good reason why the suit should not be prosecuted—that it could produce nothing; for, admitting the Prince intitled to the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall from the hour

of his birth, the amount was 234,000l.

Now during the last twelve years of his minority there had been iſſued by regular payments,	128,000l.
Extra payments,	50,000l.
Half of 32,000l. paid jointly to the Duke of York and himſelf,	16,000l.
Allowing that the expences of the firſt nine years of his minority were 5,000l. per annum, which could ſcarcely be too much as 6,000l. was allowed for the Princeſs of Wales—	45,000l.

the whole expenditure was 239,000l. to be ſet againſt a receipt of 234,000l. during the Prince's minority. But was this all? there had been paid 60,000l. on his coming of age, 219,000l. in 1787, and 52,000 in 1795, beyond the fixed and regular allowances. So that on the whole there were payments to the amount of 570,000l. to be oppoſed to a claim of 234,000l. He ſtated theſe facts becauſe he thought the people of England inſulted when they were told that his Royal Highneſs had made a ſacrifice by condeſcending to accept between 2 and 300,000l. If the preſent meaſure was adopted, it proceeded from the generoſity and liberality of the nation; for no claim of right did exiſt.

This mode of charging the Prince with the expences of his minority was vehemently reprobated, and the ſtatements oppoſed by many members, but by none with more happy effect than Mr. Sheridan. The honourable member, he ſaid, had gone into an arithmetical calculation to prove, that his Royal Highneſs had no claims upon the country, and that, upon a fair balance of accounts, there was a charge againſt him on the ground of the Corniſh revenues; and that he ought ſtill to be reſtricted to the ſequeſtration of his income, until the full time enacted by parliament in 1795. But though the honourable member piqued himſelf upon his flippancy in figures, his argument was a little of the lateſt. On the night when he could have offered it in time, namely, when the ſixty thouſand pounds per annum paſſed in compliance with his Majeſty's Meſſage, the honourable member ſat ſtill, and held his tongue; but from the nature of his ſpeech this night, he was bound to reſiſt, in every ſtage, the bill for carrying that vote into effect. The honourable member, too, with great ſagacity, had found out that in 1795, when a former arrangement had been made, in relation to the affairs of his Royal Highneſs, a ſpirit of jacobiniſm prevailed in the land, and that therefore it became neceſſary to ſupport the dignity of the crown and every branch of the Royal Family, without regard to expence. It was, however, an argument rather ſtrange, that jacobins were to be the beſt ſupporters of royalty, and that it was only during the reign of jacobiniſm in the country, that monarchy was ſupported in its fulleſt ſplendour; but that now when jacobiniſm was exploded, and the people completely reſtored to their political ſenſes, to loyalty, and the love of their monarch, the neceſſity for

for ſupporting the dignity of the Royal Family, and particularly that of the heir apparent, ſhould completely ceaſe, and that cold calculation and rigid economy were to reſume their domination. He had ſomewhere read a ſtory of a grave converſation between two venerable owls, in a ruined temple, ſituated in the dominions of an ancient tyrant, in which one bird ſaid to the other, "Long live the good king Amurath! ſo long as he lives to carry on his devaſtations, we owls ſhall never want ruins to build our neſts in." So might the Royal Family ſay, "Long live the jacobins! for ſo long as their influence obtains, we ſhall enjoy all the dignity and ſplendour appropriate to our rank; but (according to the argument of the honourable gentleman) the moment the ſpirit of loyalty returns, and the love of monarchy reſumes its place in the hearts of the people, we ſhall be thrown on the ſhelf, and all further neceſſity for maintaining our reſpect and dignity be utterly exploded." Equally unfortunate was the honourable member in ſtating his items of the account current between the Prince and his Majeſty, or rather between the Prince and the Public, on the ſcore of the Corniſh revenues. The honourable member had ſaid, that the items for the Prince's education ought to be charged againſt him; the fact was, the Prince was no more chargeable on this ground than the Duke of York, or any other of the Royal branches with whom he participated in the ſame nurſery and the ſame preceptors; and what would be more ungracious than to charge his Royal Highneſs's infancy with ſo much for cradle, ſo much for pap, ſo much for coral, and ſo much for ſchool books? But the fact was, that this account had nothing to do with the buſineſs; as the whole of theſe charges were defrayed out of her Majeſty's privy purſe, with that maternal tenderneſs that ever diſtinguiſhed her royal character; and it was upon this ground of her defraying the education of the juvenile branches of the royal family, that a liberal increaſe was granted by Parliament, as it ought to be, to her Majeſty's privy purſe. An honourable baronet oppoſite to him, who moved the previous queſtion, had very ſagaciouſly diſcovered, that to ſupport the dignity of the heir apparent, nothing more was neceſſary than the inherent virtues of his Royal Highneſs; that virtue was the only ground upon which a Prince could reign in the hearts of his people, or ſecure his own felicity: and that the pomp and trappings of ſtate, and the ſplendour of courts and official grandeur, were all nonſenſe and uſeleſs expence. Be it ſo then: he had no objection to admit the principle of the honourable baronet, provided the principle was applied generally to all the branches of the Royal Family, and to all the great officers of ſtate, inſtead of being confined merely to the heir apparent, who, he was ſure, from the amenity of his gracious diſpoſition, would as cheerfully ſubmit to the arrangement as any other member of the ſtate. The ſaving of money to the nation would, no doubt, be conſiderable, by the ſubſtitution of perſonal virtue for official grandeur. "For inſtance, Sir," ſaid Mr. Sheridan, "you, whom I have the honour to addreſs,

might diſpenſe with the expenſive ſplendour of that elegant houſe which is now building for you, and all the ſtate attached to your official ſuite whenever you are to obey the orders of this Houſe; in going up to preſent an Addreſs to his Majeſty, you will have no occaſion to take with you that ſhining bauble which is here the ſymbol of your power, nor to travel in that ſplendid gew-gaw the gilded coach, at preſent an appendage of your office. You have only to walk to Saint James's, "wrapt in your virtues and a warm ſurtout;" and if it ſhould rain, you will have the privilege of carrying an umbrella. There will be no occaſion for all the ſtate attached to the movements of our judges on the circuit; they can travel in the mail coaches, and the bar move as outſide paſſengers, if they ſhould not prefer the ſalutary exercife of walking. The chief magiſtrate of our metropolis will have no farther occaſion to diſplay all the ſplendour, finery, and raree-ſhow attached to his office, which has been hitherto the wonder of foreigners, as the ſymbols of our national wealth and civic dignity. You will then hear no more of Manſion Houſe banquets, of turtle and veniſon feaſts, of gorgeous proceſſions on Lord Mayor's days, of aquatic trips from Blackfriars to Weſtminſter, in gilded barges, with bands of muſic, and civic regalia. No, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs may proceed to Saint James's in Hackney coaches, and dine on their return at Dolly's Chop-houſe, inſtead of banquetting at Guildhall. In ſhort, Sir, by extending this ſaving principle to Secretaries and under Secrataries of State, and various other ſtate officers, you may ſave money, but I queſtion much if you will thereby improve the popular reſpect for the ſtate, or any thing which belongs to it." Where, he added, was the conſiſtency of voting a conſiderable ſum without any inquiry whatever, avowedly for a given purpoſe, and yet refuſing a motion for inquiry how much farther it might be neceſſary to go, in order completely to effect that purpoſe, when it was acknowledged, on all hands, to be deſirable? Or, where was the conſiſtency between voting away 250 millions of the public money, to ſupport the ſtate and dignity of foreign Princes, and yet refuſing perhaps a much leſs ſum than 100,000l. in addition to the ſum already voted, completely to diſembarraſs the heir apparent of the Britiſh crown, from thoſe incumbrances, which ſhould long ſince have been removed; and to reſtore him to that dignified ſplendour becoming his rank in the ſtate, and the ſplendid characteriſtics of his mind and manners?

Calculations were alſo offered to prove that the income of his Royal Highneſs had never been adequate to his high birth and expectations. If a Prince of Wales, Mr. Tierney obſerved, was to be maintained at all, it was proper that he ſhould be maintained in a ſtyle ſuited to his rank and proſpects. If, in the year 1738, the grandfather of his Royal Highneſs enjoyed a clear income of a hundred thouſand pounds, a hundred and twenty-five thouſand would not be reckoned large in 1803, increaſed as was the price of every article of ſubſiſtence.

The

The Chancellor of the Exchequer argued at great length againſt many of the ſtatements made in favour of the original motion, and he particularly contended, that, although it might be aſſented to, without violating the rules of the Houſe; it could not be followed up by any efficient vote for money, with any regularity whatever; and it was for the Houſe to conſider, whether they would become party to a proceeding which could never become efficient, conſiſtently with one of their wiſeſt rules; that rule by which it was underſtood, that no vote ſhould be propoſed, the effect of which was to impoſe any charge upon the people, without a previous recommendation from the crown. He did not believe that many could vote for the motion now before the Houſe, without expecting that it ſhould be followed up by another, for granting a ſum of money to his Royal Highneſs; and therefore he muſt ſay, that it was impoſſible to vote efficiently upon this ſubject, without a recommendation from the crown. He had not received the authority of his Majeſty to recommend ſuch a meaſure, or to recommend any meaſure for the diſcharge of the debts of the Prince of Wales; and if a motion were made for the appointment of a Committee for that purpoſe, he ſhould hold it to be his duty to withhold that recommendation.

In the courſe of the debate many members delivered their opinions beſides thoſe already named; the principal ſpeakers in favour of the original motion were Mr. Erſkine, Mr. Hilliard, Mr. Fox, Mr. Canning, Sir John Wrotteſley, and Mr. W. Smith;—againſt it were numbered, Mr. Laſcelles, Mr. Burdon, Lord Hawkeſbury, and Lord Caſtlereagh.

On a diviſion, Mr. Calcraft's motion was loſt by a majority of 45; the numbers being, againſt the previous queſtion 184, for it 139.

This affair in its progreſs through the Houſe of Lords occaſioned ſome debates, but they were not of great intereſt, and the diſcuſſion of the main queſtion was mixed with much incidental matter. The reſult was that an Act paſſed enabling his Majeſty to ſettle an annuity on his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, to continue until the fifth day of July, 1806, and for repealing ſo much of an Act, made in the 35th year of the reign of his Majeſty, as directed the annual payment of 13,000l. out of the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, to the Commiſſioners appointed by the ſaid Act."

CHAP. VII.

Meſſage from his Majeſty on the armaments in France and Holland; Addreſſes voted in both houſes without diviſion. Meſſage from the King for calling out the Militia; change in the conſtitution of that body. Motion for augmenting the number of ſeamen; debate; the motion carried. Anxiety of the public on the ſubject of the negotiation with France; Motions on the ſtate of the nation promiſed by the Earl of Carliſle and Mr. Patten. Eaſter recess.

receſs. Further notice of the negotiation in both Houſes; the French embaſſador applies for his paſſports; ſhort interval of uncertainty; frequent debates; Meſſage from his Majeſty, announcing the recal of Lord Whitworth, and promiſing that papers ſhould be laid before Parliament.

8th Mar. WHILE Parliament was engaged in theſe affairs, a Meſſage from the King was received in both Houſes, ſtating that as very conſiderable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he had judged it expedient to adopt additional meaſures of precaution, for the ſecurity of his dominions. Though theſe preparations were avowedly directed to colonial ſervice, yet, as diſcuſſions of great importance were ſubſiſting, the reſult of which muſt at preſent be uncertain, his Majeſty made this communication to Parliament, in the full perſuaſion, that, while they partook of his earneſt and unvarying ſolicitude for the continuation of peace, he might rely on their public ſpirit and liberality, to enable him to adopt ſuch meaſures, as circumſtances might require, for ſupporting the honour of his crown and the eſſential intereſts of his people.

9th. Addreſſes on this Meſſage were moved in both Houſes on the following day. Lord Hobart in the Upper Houſe, ſaid his Majeſty, by the advice of his Miniſters, had thought proper to lay this propoſition before parliament, becauſe although Government were determined to take every poſſible means of effecting a permanent conſervation of the peace, by ſteadily purſuing a ſyſtem of firmneſs and moderation; yet it was their undoubted duty to be prepared to meet the alternative, if neceſſary, and to manifeſt to all Europe, that this country would not expoſe itſelf, under any circumſtances, to the poſſible danger of a concealed deſign at ſudden invaſion, ſurpriſe, or ſerious attack. From the relative ſituation of France with its foreign poſſeſſions, abundant ground might be diſcovered to prove it probable, that the preparations in queſtion might be directed, as they were avowedly ſtated to be, to colonial ſervice; yet, as it would be extremely imprudent in this country to reſt with ſecurity on the mere aſſertion of France, while France and the Britiſh empire ſtood under their preſent critical circumſtances, and while it might poſſibly be a mere pretence to cover ſome deep hoſtile deſigns againſt this country, it became Miniſters to adviſe his Majeſty to call upon Parliament to ſtrengthen his hands, and enable him to put the country on its defence, and ſecure it againſt the chance of any premeditated attack in any quarter. His Lordſhip however, aſſured the Houſe, that the important diſcuſſions alluded to, did not appear to be of ſuch a nature as muſt neceſſarily produce a war between the two countries, but might be amicably adjuſted without recurring to hoſtilities.

Earl Spencer and Lord Grenville, members of what was called the new oppoſition, did not object to the meaſures announced in the Meſſage, but, on the contrary, felt conſiderable ſatisfaction at the ſtep now

now taken; they conſidered it as an earneſt of a new ſyſtem; as a pledge that the dignity and ſafety of the country would at laſt be conſulted. In meaſures of conceſſion and timidity they ſaw nothing but abſolute ruin. They did not however omit to complain that many eſſential advantages had been loſt by the delay of Miniſters. While they had been conceding and negotiating, France had acquired many important means of enabling herſelf to renew hoſtilities with increaſed advantage. There could be no other chance of ſaving the country, but aſſuming vigorous meaſures, and ſhewing the Firſt Conſul, deciſively, that this nation would bear no more conceſſion; and was not afraid of meeting France even ſingle handed.

Lord Moira, ſpeaking for a portion of the old oppoſition, would not diſturb the unanimity of the vote, although he complained of the total obſcurity in which the noble Secretary of State had left the immediate cauſes of his Majeſty's Meſſage. Witneſſing too, as we had for ſome time paſt, the domineering and hoſtile ſpirit manifeſted towards this country by the government of France, he did not think it conſiſtent with the honour of the Houſe, or the character of this country, that the Addreſs ſhould paſs coldly. If we would conſult our moſt immediate intereſt, as well as maintain our dignity and uphold our national character, we muſt let the Firſt Conſul perceive that we were not to be intimidated by conſequences. If we would avert war, we muſt ſhew ourſelves on a level with the exigency. We muſt in the immortal language of Shakſpeare,

" Be ſtirring as the time; be fire with fire;
" Threaten the Threatener, and outface the brow
" Of bragging horror."

Not from any idle oſtentation of courage, but to inſure this ſolid, this inappreciable advantage which the Bard truly indicates would be the reſult.

——" So ſhall inferior eyes
" That borrow their behaviour from the great,
" Grow great by your example, and put on
" The uſeful ſpirit of reſolution."

" Still," he proceeded, " I think, if the circumſtances be ſuch as to call for inſtant exertion, the country ought without delay to be apprized unequivocally of its real danger. We are not, to meaſure what ſuch an adverſary may attempt, by the difficulties with which he would have to cope. Every man acquainted with the hiſtory of the remarkable character who governs France at preſent, ought to conclude, that ſo far from damping, it would rather ſtimulate his ambition. He has already performed things which appeared to all others impracticable; and he has effected them, becauſe in war, enterpriſes are often rendered feaſible ſolely by that ſuppoſed impoſſibility which entails neglect of defenſive precaution. We ſhould prepare our minds for an attempt at invaſion. You cannot think me weak enough to hold forth to you the poſſible ſubjugation of this country as an object of the remoteſt apprehenſion; but there are points infinitely ſhort of that reſult, ſo conſonant to the views of the chief Conſul, that one cannot doubt his eager contem-

plation of them. Can we miſconceive the notion entertained by that man of his power, or can we diſguiſe to ourſelves what ſort of projects would flow from it, when he tells us and the world, 'that he has 300,000 men ready to chaſtiſe any oppoſition to his will; that all the nations of Europe are organized to his alliance, or interdicted by his influence from countenancing our cauſe; that England alone cannot ſtruggle with France.' England, ſingle handed, not able to ſtruggle with France! Whence, he aſked, did the chief Conſul acquire this information? Had he made this deduction from the leſſon which the unparalleled gallantry of Lord Nelſon, beſtowed on him? Did he draw that concluſion from the ſplendid achievements of Lord Hutchinſon? From what period of hiſtory had he diſcovered that Britiſh valour, ſingle handed, had not always been ready to grapple with the power of France, or had not ſhewn itſelf equal to the conflict?"

The Earl of Weſtmoreland and Lord Auckland alſo ſpoke, expreſſing confidence in the unanimity and ſpirit of the people, and expoſing the fallacy of Bonaparte's ſtatements with reſpect to the wealth and reſources of England.

In the Houſe of Commons as in the Lords, the Addreſs was voted without a diviſion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer in moving it, obſerved that in the Meſſage there were two points to which his Majeſty particularly referred; the ſtate of the military preparations in the ports of France and Holland, and the important diſcuſſions depending between the two governments. Either would be ſeparately the ground for exerciſing vigilance and circumſpection, but conjointly they laid the foundation for ſuch preparations as might be ſufficient to meet any emergency to which circumſtances might give riſe. With reſpect to the diſcuſſions referred to in his Majeſty's Meſſage, it would not be expected that he ſhould particularly refer to the ſubjects of diſpute, but he had great ſatisfaction in ſtating, that there was reaſon to hope they would be amicably ſettled on terms conſiſtent with the intereſt and the honour of both countries. He begged to be clearly underſtood that nothing ſtated in the Meſſage, or mentioned by him ſhould be conſtrued into an idea that the preparations which circumſtances required had any reference to offenſive operations; they were ſolely meaſures of defence and means of precaution. Theſe ſentiments were enforced and explained by Lord Hawkeſbury.

Mr. Fox, although he would not oppoſe the Addreſs, declared that by this vote he pledged himſelf to no ſpecific meaſure. What were the points in diſpute could not, in the remoteſt degree, be collected from the Meſſage. No member knew whether theſe diſputes were connected with arrangements in Europe, in Aſia, or in America. Before he ſat down, he had only to expreſs a ſtrong hope and truſt, that, conſidering the circumſtances of the country, Miniſters would feel that there never was a ſituation in which it was more diſaſtrous to plunge the country into an unneceſſary war, and that never were any Miniſters more guilty than they would be in recommending

or

or supporting a line of policy so destructive of the best interests of the people.

Mr. Sheridan gave his vote with less reserve than Mr. Fox, and in animated language, repelled the boast that Great Britain was unable singly to contend against France. Mr. Windham, Mr. Canning, Mr. Thomas Grenville, and Dr. Laurence complained that ministers required the Address without giving the House any information with respect to the subjects in dispute. Mr. Windham particularly observed that it had been often objected to him, that he saw no safety in the continuance of peace, and he had no difficulty in avowing that in this respect his opinion, so far from having undergone any change, had been confirmed by the experience of every day. It had been said that, indulging such sentiments, he must look forward to a renewal of war with exultation, and that therefore he should catch with eagerness at the prospect of hostilities which now presented itself. This was, however, a conclusion which was not, in the slightest degree, founded in fact: for, exactly in proportion as he had seen dangers resulting from the Treaty of Amiens, and as he continued to see those dangers daily increased, so he looked forward to a renewal of war with the greatest anxiety. One of the grand objections which he had to the peace was, that it deprived the country of the means of going again to war with any prospect of advantage. The result of this opinion was, that he must consider war as an evil aggravated by the peace. He desired Ministers seriously to consider the responsibility which they attached to themselves by the measures which they now proposed. If war was to be the result of the discussion now depending, then they would have the responsibility of plunging the country in hostilities, when the means of national exertion were broken down. If, on the other hand, they were amicably adjusted, they charged themselves with the responsibility of putting the country to vast expence in additional preparations; while the circumstances which proved the necessity of these preparations, they had not condescended to explain. In either point of view Ministers took on themselves a perilous responsibility.

The Attorney General was surprised at hearing some gentlemen insist so much on the necessity of explanation. The House was not hardly dealt with in having no specific explanation given of the grounds of an Address, which in fact pledged them to nothing but what their general duty to their Sovereign and their Country fully warranted. The existence of points of dispute was known, and the adoption of these measures of preparation might accelerate the adjustment of those differences, and in this view, explanation was unnecessary to induce members to agree to the Address. It might produce consequences much to be deprecated, without at all assisting the House, in coming to a decision on the motion for the Address. Ministers, in the event of the termination of the negotiation in a renewal of hostilities, had pledged themselves to give a full explanation, and with this assurance the House ought to remain satisfied. Differing radically from Mr. Windham, he was disposed to think that the opinion of the country in favour of a war

was

was the best pledge of its being carried on with spirit and success. If unfortunately the negotiations should be broken off without amicable adjustment, and if Ministers should be able to convince the House and the Country that instead of provoking hostilities, they had made every sacrifice short of dishonour, to procure the continuance of peace, surely the country would cordially go along with them in prosecuting the war, and he entertained no dread of the result of such a contest. The unanimity and energy of the people would fully make up for the superior number and strength of its enemies, and he trusted the conduct of government would be found distinguished by a proper continuation of temperance, moderation and firmness. To the continuance of the peace they would look forward with anxious desire, and to the unfortunate renewal of hostilities without unmanly dread.

10th. The following day, another Message from his Majesty announced to both Houses, that he had thought it necessary to exercise the powers vested in him by Act of Parliament, for calling out, and embodying the Militia. The Addresses were voted without opposition.

It may be fit in this place to notice, that before this period a Bill had passed, for increasing the time of training the Militia, from twenty one to twenty eight days in every year, and that afterward, a Bill was framed for allowing the Lords Lieutenants of counties to grant Commissions in the Militia to officers who had served in the army, although they did not possess the qualifications in property required by former statutes. This Bill did not pass without considerale opposition, particularly in the House of Lords, and clauses were introduced limiting the dispensing power, to Commissions not exceeding the rank of Captain, and its exercise to those cases alone, where persons qualified in point of property could not be found to accept the Commissions.

12th In a Committee of Supply, a motion was made for augmenting the Navy by 10,000 seamen, when a debate of considerable length took place.

Mr. Francis, Mr. Fox, Mr. Elliot and Mr. Canning, were the chief speakers against the Ministry; for they did not directly oppose the measure; and Mr. Dent, thinking it insufficient, proposed as an amendment that 25,000 additional seamen should be voted, instead of 10,000.

The opponents of government complained of want of information from those in office. The vote which the Committee were now called upon to accede to, was one which involved considerations of the most important nature; and before any member could, consistently with his duty, agree to it, some general explantion was due on the part of Ministers. In former times it was the constant custom, when such a vote was submitted to the House, to afford the most full and satisfactory information, that they might judge whether the circumstances warranted the vote proposed. Ever since the Treaty of Amiens, the House had not been put in possession of any information as to the exterior relations of the country. The parliamentary

limentary history of the country justified the observation, that it was extremely improper and unwise to go on session after session, without information which had been usual, when votes of men and money were demanded. The executive power had the full right of determining, in the first instance, on peace and war, but this, did not interfere with the right of the House to inquire how far the servants of the crown had exercised their power in a treacherous manner, or preclude them from presenting an Address to his Majesty for their removal, if they should be judged incapable of managing the affairs of the nation under perilous circumstances, connected with the maintenance of peace, or the renewal of war. The prerogative of the crown to conclude peace was clear and undisputed, but those who counselled his Majesty to conclude any peace, were responsible for the merits of its terms, and liable to censure if they appeared inconsistent with the national honour and safety. With respect to his Majesty's right of declaring war there was as little doubt in theory, but in practice a very important distinction existed. In this declaration might be involved every principle of a free constitution, every thing connected with the property, nay, the very existence of the subject. The sovereign might be ill advised, and experience had fully proved this not to be merely a possible case. The country might be plunged into a war, of which it was impossible to see either the equity or the necessity. It might be continued against the will of the Parliament or the people, and the whole, or part of every man's property might be wrested from him, if in practice this prerogative of the crown were carried to all the extent which theory supposed. But, such a construction of the prerogative would strike every one as monstrous; and while in theory the power of the Sovereign to declare war, was admitted, in practice, and in substance, Parliament possessed the privilege by which alone that declaration could be carried into effect. This privilege was founded in the means they possessed of giving or withholding the necessary supplies. This had an operation in the prevention of war to a considerable degree, though it was only the privilege of the purse which the House enjoyed. As the House of Commons must therefore become parties to every war, it was not to be contended that it should be a mere echo, a mere docile receiver of whatever communication Ministers might think proper to make under the form of a Message from the throne. Without intending to flatter Ministers, it was admitted that the preparations which had been recommended were founded on a firm and honest conviction of their expediency. It was not to be supposed that they would willingly, and without reference to any one object of advantage, take such steps, if they did not imagine that they were essential to the welfare of the country. Their interests as well as their character, equally forbad a supposition, that in this instance that they were deceiving the House or the Public; but instances of such guilt, were not entirely unknown. At all events, it was to be recollected that Ministers

niſters were liable to error, and that what they conceived to be wiſe and politic, might if explained, appear unwiſe and inexpedient.

Many more remarks were made on the uncertainty in which Parliament was left with reſpect to the objects of diſcuſſion alluded to in his Majeſty's Meſſage, and it was obſerved that, at a time like the preſent, when every exertion might be neceſſary for the ſupport of our independence, it was of high importance that the people ſhould repoſe the moſt ample truſt in his Majeſty's confidential ſervants. The leaſt diffidence in their capacity could tend only to diſhearten the people, and to fill them with aſtoniſhment and terror. At a moment like this, when we might be called upon to ſtruggle even for our exiſtence as a nation, it was a lamentable conſideration that the whole ability of the country was excluded from the government. At the moſt perilous criſis in which the nation was ever placed, we were deprived of the opinion, the advice, the talents of all thoſe great men whoſe cordial co-operation was ſo eſſential to the ſalvation of the country.

On the part of government it was ſtated that the points on which the different members required explanation were various and diſcordant. One member ſaid, let us not hazard a war, and therefore let Miniſters ſhew us that their ſyſtem is conciliatory. Another party were afraid of too much conceſſion, and nothing would ſatisfy them but a full explanation, to prove that the national honour had not been compromiſed. What advantage, then, was to be derived from explanation, amid ſuch contrariety of opinion, while on the other hand, the inconveniences of explanation under the preſent circumſtances were obvious? It muſt be clear that when negotiations were pending which had given riſe to conſiderable diſputes, if they were brought to an amicable adjuſtment, this could only be accompliſhed by conceſſions on the one ſide or the other. Would it then be prudent that the nature of theſe conceſſions ſhould, in the preſent ſtage of the buſineſs, be explained? In caſes like the preſent, where the objects in view were not brought to a concluſion, and where meaſures, ſimply of precaution, were propoſed, Miniſters might think it their duty not to afford more than what might juſtify the meaſure they brought forward. After the circumſtances which called for that meaſure were brought to iſſue, then if the degree of information that had been afforded to the Houſe appeared inſufficient, was it not in the power of the Houſe to move an Addreſs to his Majeſty, for the production of additional and more ſatisfactory information. The caſe of war, no doubt, would *primâ facie* juſtify Parliament in calling for all poſſible information. It was the duty, and the ſerious duty of Parliament to inquire into the grounds and cauſes of war, and cautiouſly to examine whether they were neceſſary and juſt. But in a caſe of peace, although the terms of that peace might not be looked upon as ſatisfactory, yet the ſame degree of information reſpecting the mode in which it was negociated ſhould not be inſiſted upon. Beſides, the two caſes differed materially from each other. The inconveniences

that

that might attend the one, were much greater than what might enſue from the other. In the caſe of war, thoſe inconveniences were comparatively ſmall; but in that of peace, after all bickerings were amicably adjuſted and compoſed, how ſerious might be the inconveniences that would reſult from expoſing to parliament all the irritating circumſtances that might have attended the progreſs of a negotiation, while no one adequate advantage or benefit could be expected for an uncalled-for revealing of them? It was admitted that there was a wide difference between the prerogative of the crown, when exerciſed in negotiating and concluding peace, and when exerted in preparations for, and a declaration of war. In opening negotiations for peace, and in concluding them, the exercife of the prerogative of the crown is unlimited; though it was competent afterwards for Parliament to canvaſs and conſider the nature of the conditions upon which peace had been concluded, and to impeach Miniſters, or propoſe their removal from office, ſhould the terms of the Treaty betray incapacity on their part. But as the queſtion of war involved a much greater magnitude of difficulties and dangers, ſo ſhould the Houſe be placed, (and in reality it ſo ſtood) in a very different poſture reſpecting that momentous queſtion. It was rightly aſſerted that the prerogative of the Houſe in granting or withholding the ſupplies ſhould be held as ſacred as that of his Majeſty in declaring war; and though the Houſe might not poſſeſs a negative on the act of declaring war, yet it moſt certainly could exert a practical negative on the continuance or the termination of a war, by granting or withholding the ſupplies neceſſary to its proſecution. This privilege of the Houſe, grew out of the nature of the conſtitution, and was highly eſſential to the intereſts and rights of the nation. Miniſters did not pretend to call for any greater degree of confidence than what the ſpirit of the conſtitution uſually granted to perſons in their ſituation; and ſuch as was founded on the opinion Parliament entertained of their principles and conduct. All that was requeſted, or could be expected, on the preſent or any future occaſion, was, that Miniſters ſhould be fairly dealt with; and that the Houſe would not prejudge their conduct, nor withdraw their confidence, unleſs, upon due examination and enquiry, they ſhould be found to have forfeited their claims to it. The complaint that all the abilities of the nation were excluded from the cabinet, was not countenanced by Mr. Fox, who, without entering generally into the propoſition, made a ſtrong exception in favour of Lord St. Vincent's. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made the following obſervations on that ſubject. "I will readily avow, for myſelf," he ſaid "and I believe I may take upon me to make the ſame avowal for my colleagues in office, that we feel in their utmoſt extent the difficult and arduous duties which we were called upon to perform, and are ſenſible of the reſponſibility we owe to the country for their due performance." "I truſt" he added, "it will ultimately be found, that in the hands of Miniſters, the ſecurity of the country will not be endangered, its rights curtailed, or its honour ſullied. I truſt that it will be found that no conceſſions have been made, which they

they will not be able fully to juſtify by the combined deſire of preſerving peace, and ſupporting the honour and independence of the country."

Mr. Dent's amendment was withdrawn, and the original motion paſſed without a diviſion.

7th April. For nearly a month after this debate, the public continued to be violently agitated on the pending negotiations, and although no further communication was made to Parliament expreſsly on the ſubject, it was frequently introduced when other topics were under conſideration. At the approach of Eaſter, it was moved in both Houſes to adjourn for twelve days, and no objection was made in either Houſe; although the Earl of Carliſle expreſſed diſſatisfaction at not having yet received information on the extraordinary ſituation in which the country was placed. It was not his wiſh then to interrupt the proceedings of government; but the time would ſhortly come, when a long catalogue of events muſt be brought under conſideration, and when Miniſters ſhould be called on to give an account of what they had done. Their whole conduct muſt then undergo a thorough inveſtigation; a full and accurate inquiry ſhould be ſet on foot into every material event which had taken place ſince the ſigning of the late Treaty of Peace. In the lower Houſe, Mr. Patten ſaid, if no material change ſhould take place in our political ſituation during the receſs, he ſhould, at a very early day afterwards, bring forward a queſtion of inquiry into the ſtate of the nation.

When Parliament reaſſembled, Miniſters were ſtill unable to afford the expected information. Mr. Patten had fixed a day for making his motion of inquiry, but was prevented from proceeding in it by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, obſerved that he underſtood it to be the wiſh of many members, that the diſcuſſion ſhould, during the preſent uncertainty of political events, be poſtponed, as, in the event of hoſtilities, they ſhould feel no diſpoſition to oppoſe this arrangement; but if the contrary, then they ſhould wiſh to ſtate their objections. He, for his part, was perfectly prepared to accede to this ſuggeſtion, and ſhould therefore propoſe to defer the diſcuſſion for a week, as in the interval he entertained ſtrong hope and expectation that he ſhould be able to afford a communication on the ſubject on which the public mind had been long extremely anxious. After a ſhort converſation, this propoſition was acceded to, and the intended motion of Mr. Patten was put off without any day being fixed for its diſcuſſion.

19th

2d May.

On the ſame day, the Earl of Darnley obſerved in the Houſe of Lords, that he felt obliged to ſay a few words on the alarming and anxious ſtate of the public mind, as to the ſituation in which the country had ſtood, ever ſince the delivery of his Majeſty's Meſſage calling for military preparation. The public had, it muſt be confeſſed, evinced the moſt extraordinary patience, and had given Miniſters credit for the ſincerity of their declarations, that they would, at an early period, come forward with

with ſome communication as to the real poſture of affairs between this country and France. He believed the patience of the public, in general, was nearly exhauſted; his own mind was filled with anxious wiſhes for ſome explanation on the ſubject, and therefore he gave notice that he would, ſpeedily, bring forward ſome motion to terminate this ſtate of ſuſpenſe. During the converſation occaſioned by this remark, the promiſe of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the lower Houſe was mentioned, and the matter proceeded no further.

6th May. Before the time appointed by the Miniſter, information was given to parliament, tending to confirm the apprehenſion that war was inevitable. Lord Pelham ſtated that the French embaſſador had that day ſent for his paſſports, in order that, as ſoon as it was known that Lord Whitworth had left Paris to come to England, he might leave London with his ſuite, and depart for Paris. His Lordſhip ſaid, Lord Whitworth had been ordered to preſs the bringing the negotiation to a concluſion, and inſtructions were alſo ſent to him, that in caſe he could not ſucceed in attaining that object, he ſhould quit Paris as on Tueſday laſt. Whether he was on his way home, his Majeſty's confidential ſervants were uninformed, as the meſſenger had not not yet arrived, and they could only conjecture from the French embaſſador's having ſent for his paſſports that day. As this communication was attended with a propoſition to adjourn, though but for a day (from Friday to Monday) a ſpirited debate enſued, in which the Earl of Darnley, Earl Spencer, and the Earl of Carliſle vehemently cenſured the diſcontinuance of the ſitting, although for ſo ſhort a term, as tending to increaſe the uneaſineſs of the public, and perhaps to delay a communication by which it might be intirely diſpelled. They even divided the Houſe on the queſtion, but the three objecting Peers were oppoſed by twenty nine.

In the Houſe of Commons a ſtill more ſtrenuous debate was maintained, but as it tended to occaſion improper diſcloſures, Mr. Pole Carew moved the excluſion of ſtrangers from the gallery, conſequently only a few of the early ſpeeches are publiſhed. In this Houſe too there was diviſion, in which the number for the adjournment was 185; that for ſitting on Saturday 95.

On the Monday, Lord Pelham informed the Houſe 9th. that a change of circumſtances had induced Lord Whitworth to delay his leaving the capital of France, but this alteration had not been attended with any change except the neceſſary delay which aroſe from the fact itſelf, and he entertained a confident hope that he would ſhortly be enabled to make a regular communication to the Houſe. This declaration was deemed ſatisfactory by the Lords in oppoſition, and the Earl of Darnley, with the aſſent of Earl Spencer, agreed to poſtpone his intended motion. A ſimilar intimation from the Chancellor of the Exchequer was received in the Lower Houſe without any obſervation.

When Friday returned, Lord Grenville Leviſon Gower, an- 13th. ticipated the intention of Miniſters to move for an adjournment till Monday, by propoſing that the Houſe ſhould

ſhould at its riſing, adjourn till the next day. This propoſition was not only founded on the anxiety of the public, but alſo ſupported by the declarations and promiſes of Miniſters themſelves. It was now a week ſince the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made an important communication to the Houſe, which nearly deprived all perſons of the hope that the points in diſpute would be amicably terminated, and yet, under ſuch circumſtances, he moved an adjournment until Monday, ſtating, at the ſame time, that he thought Lord Whitworth had left Paris. On Monday he had informed the Houſe that a new propoſition had been made to Lord Whitworth by the French government, which induced him to poſtpone his departure, but matters were in ſuch a train, that a deciſive reſult muſt take place by Tueſday or Wedneſday. Coupling theſe declarations with that which he underſtood to be a fact, that the anſwer of Miniſters to the new propoſition of the French government was ſent off on Saturday night, and that the meſſenger who conveyed it reached Paris on Monday laſt, was it not reaſonable to expect, notwithſtanding the aſſertions of the Miniſter, that the deciſive reſult would be received that night or next day. Indeed, he believed the right honourable Gentleman would hardly venture to ſay, that the meſſenger might not arrive even before the Houſe was adjourned. Under ſuch circumſtances, was it too much to aſk that the Houſe ſhould ſit next day, in order, that if any deciſive intelligence ſhould be received, the miniſter might, in his place, if no official communication could be immediately made, ſtate to the Houſe the nature of that intelligence, in order that the anxious curioſity of the public might be gratified?

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, ſaid he was thoroughly convinced no information could be received, in conſequence of which any official communication could take place, within the time which the noble mover ſeemed to have in view; nay more, he was decidedly of opinion that no communication ſhould be made to the Houſe on this ſubject, until the points under diſcuſſion between the two governments ſhould be ſatisfactorily adjuſted, or until Lord Whitworth ſhould have actually arrived in this country. There was not the leaſt probability that any communication could be made the next day; and even if there were any ſlight likelihood of it, he would not hold it becoming the dignity of the Houſe, or duly conſulting the convenience of its members, to propoſe their aſſembling on an unuſual day, merely on the chance of a communication, for which, however, there was no reaſon even to hope.

The motion being alſo objected to as irregular, it was withdrawn, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer made the expected motion for an adjournment till Monday, which after conſiderable reſiſtance, was carried without a diviſion.

When Parliament re-aſ- 6th.
ſembled, all doubts were terminated by a Meſſage from the King to both Houſes, ſtating the recall of his embaſſador from Paris, and the departure of the French embaſſador from London. His Majeſty ſaid he had given directions

tions for laying before Parliament with as little delay as poſſible, copies of ſuch Papers as would afford the fulleſt information at this important conjuncture. It was a conſolation to him to reflect, that no endeavours had been wanting, on his part, to preſerve to his ſubjects the bleſſings of peace; but under the circumſtances which had occurred to diſappoint his juſt expectations, he relied with confidence on the zeal and public ſpirit of his Commons, and on the exertions of his brave and loyal Subjects, to ſupport him in his determination to employ the power and reſources of the nation, in oppoſing the ſpirit of ambition and encroachment which actuated the councils of France, in upholding the dignity of his Crown, and in aſſerting and maintaining the rights and intereſts of his People.

It was propoſed, in both Houſes, to take theſe Papers into conſideration on the following Monday. Lord Stanhope while he deprecated war, did not oppoſe this propoſition, becauſe the interim would afford an opportunity for that Houſe to diſcuſs a ſubject of the moſt vital importance—a ſubject upon which his Majeſty's Miniſters had long received information; namely, that the French government were in poſſeſſion of a plan received from an American gentleman, whereby they would be enabled to effect the deſtruction of the fleets of this country by means which our admirals could not prevent, and of the practicability of which he was as ſure as of his exiſtence. On this important ſubject, he had himſelf made to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, many months ſince, a communication, to which he did not experience the attention which he thought a ſubject of ſo much importance demanded. What he wiſhed now to know, and what the Houſe was entitled to demand, was, had his Majeſty's Miniſters attended to this alarming ſubject; had they inquired into its poſſibility, or concerted the means to avert it? They were apprized that not only their ſhips might be deſtroyed in their harbours by this project, but even the channel of the river Thames itſelf might be deſtroyed by it; and if Miniſters did not ſoon make an explicit communication on this matter, he ſhould, on that day ſe'nnight bring forward a queſtion upon it. To theſe obſervations, no anſwer was given.

In the Houſe of Commons, the Motion was alſo unoppoſed, the only requiſition much preſſed was, that the Papers alluded to in the Meſſage ſhould be delivered as ſoon as poſſible; and Lord Hawkeſbury promiſed them on the next day but one.

CHAP. VIII.

Statement of the diſpute between Great Britain and France, ſo far as it related to Malta. Stipulations in the Treaty of Amiens on that ſubject; ineffectual applications to the continental powers to guarantee the independence of the order; repreſentation of M. Otto on the ſubject; anſwer of Lord Hawkeſbury;

bury; evident anxiety of France to gain poſſeſſion of the Iſland; ſtatement of the Britiſh Miniſtry on the ſubject; declaration of Talleyrand. Interview of Lord Whitworth with Bonaparte; explanations of Talleyrand; further remonſtrances of the Britiſh government; publication of the French Expoſé; the King's Meſſage to Parliament; peremptory demand of France reſpecting Malta; Note from general Andreoſſy to Lord Hawkeſbury; the King's, Meſſage communicated to Talleyrand; his ſtatement of the feelings of the Firſt Conſul; Note containing the intentions of France in caſe of armaments; behaviour of Bonaparte to Lord Whitworth at the court of the Thuilleries; remonſtrance of General Andreoſſy; reply of the Britiſh government; obſervations; further progreſs of the negotiation; various ineffectual propoſals; Lord Whitworth quits France; Declaration of his Majeſty.

THE Papers laid before Parliament by Miniſters afforded a diſtinct view of the riſe and progreſs of thoſe diſcuſſions which terminated in war between Great Britain and France. The ſubordinate cauſes of contention diſcloſed in them have already been noticed in this volume; particularly the ſeizure of Engliſh veſſels on the coaſt of France; the umbrage taken by the Firſt Conſul at the reſidence of certain emigrants in London; at the freedom of the Engliſh preſs, and at the intended interference of Great Britain in the cauſe of Switzerland; the miſſion of ſpies under the name of commercial agents; the general abuſiveneſs of the French official papers; the inſolent Report of Sebaſtiani publiſhed by the French government; and the virulent and inſulting reports publiſhed from time to time as official documents; particularly that wherein it was ſtated that England alone could not maintain a conteſt againſt France. Alluſion has alſo been made to the diſſatisfaction of the French government at the delay in evacuating Malta, and as that, although not the firſt or original cauſe of conteſt, became latterly of the higheſt importance, and was finally that which led directly to the rupture, it will be neceſſary to ſtate exactly the progreſs of the diſcuſſions reſpecting that object.

The 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens declared that Malta, Gozo, and Camino ſhould be reſtored to the order of Saint John of Jeruſalem, under certain ſtipulations.

1ſt. The knights in a general chapter, were to elect a grand maſter; but if an election was already made, it was not to be conſidered valid, unleſs it had taken place before the ratification of the preliminaries.

2d. The Engliſh and French langues were to be aboliſhed; nor could any individual belonging to either of thoſe powers be admiſſible into the order.

3d. A Malteſe langue was eſtabliſhed, compoſed of natives of the three iſlands.

4th. The Britiſh troops were to evacuate the iſland in three months, and it was then to be delivered to the order, provided the grand maſter, or commiſſioners fully empowered, according to the ſtatutes of the order, were upon the iſland to receive poſſeſſion, and a force afterwards ſtipulated to be furniſhed by his Sicilian Majeſty ſhould be arrived.

5th The

5th. The garriſon was always to conſiſt half of native Malteſe, the remainder to be recruited from thoſe countries which continued to poſſeſs langues.

6th. The independence of the iſlands, as well as the preſent arrangement, was to be under the protection of Great Britain, France, Auſtria, Ruſſia, Spain, and Pruſſia.

After ſome leſs important ſtipulations the Twelfth article was compriſed in theſe terms. "His Sicilian Majeſty ſhall be invited to furniſh two thouſand men, natives of his dominions, to ſerve as a garriſon for the ſeveral fortreſſes upon the iſland. This force ſhall remain there for one year, from the period of the reſtitution of the iſland to the knights; after the expiration of which term, if the order of Saint John ſhall not in the opinion of the guaranteeing powers, have raiſed a ſufficient force to garriſon the iſland and its dependencies in the manner propoſed in paragraph 5, the Neapolitan troops ſhall remain, until they ſhall be releaſed by another force, judged to be ſufficient by the ſaid powers; and

13th. The ſeveral powers ſpecified in paragraph 6, videlicet, Great Britain, France, Auſtria, Ruſſia, Spain, and Pruſſia, ſhall be invited to accede to the preſent arrangement.

From theſe articles it appears, that, for the ſatisfaction not only of England and France, but of all the other maritime powers, the neutrality and independence of Malta were neceſſary, and that they could be ſecured only by the guaranty mentioned in the treaty. But Bonaparte, fixed his intire attention on the ſtipulation that the Britiſh forces ſhould evacuate the iſland in three months, provided the Neapolitan troops ſhould have arrived. The enforcement of this ſtipulation accorded exactly with his views, and it was moſt conſiſtent with them that the guaranty ſhould be neglected, or even impeded rather than advanced. The Engliſh Miniſtry, on the contrary, were anxious not for the poſſeſſion of Malta, which, as a colony was of no value, as it preſented no advantage to make amends for the neceſſary expences of defence and adminiſtration, and could offer no new ſources for the beneficial employment of Britiſh induſtry; but they were ſolicitous for the permanent independence of a poſt, the importance of which recent experience had put out of doubt, and therefore exerted their utmoſt efforts in procuring effectual guaranties.

The moſt early and earneſt applications were made to the Emperor of Ruſſia, and ſome ſcruples, which he at firſt entertained, having been overcome, the Britiſh Embaſſador expreſſed hopes that he would be induced to guarantee the whole arrangement. France had not, however, at that period, made any application, nor does it appear to have been her intention that the guaranty of Ruſſia ſhould ever be obtained.

More than two months had elapſed after the execution of the Definitive Treaty, before any official communication from France was made on the ſubject of Malta, and then it was announced that M. Vial was appointed Miniſter plenipotentiary, and the Britiſh government on the next day declared that they had nominated Sir Alexander 23d May, 1802.

Ball. In the subsequent correspondence, the temporary mode of electing a grand master by a reference to the Pope, was agreed to. The King of England declared he had no other end in view than the due fulfilling of the 10th Article of the Treaty; adverted to the stipulation that Austria, Russia, and Prussia should be solicited to accede to the arrangement; and intimated a desire that France should give instructions to her Ministers in those countries to make, conjointly with the British Ministers, a communication inviting them to join in the guaranty of the island. The answer of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs (dated 9th of June, but kept back eight days) concurred in the sentiments of the King, and promised the required co-operation of Ministers.

5 to 17 June.

Measures for obtaining the guaranty were however, languidly pursued. England had been particularly active and urgent on the subject; France sullenly cold or perversely insidious. The court of Vienna, which was supposed friendly to England, cordially acceded to the Treaty, and although the French embassador, when he communicated to Count Cobentzel the 10th Article of the Treaty, stated that he had not received any orders respecting it, yet on the 20th, of August, the Emperor's act of guaranty and acceptation was obtained. To Russia, which was considered neuter, and not particularly inclined to favour either party, the French government could not be prevailed on to make any application; and Lord St. Helen's was baffled in all his attempts to obtain an explanation of the intention of his Imperial Majesty, by the constant assurance that the French Minister was without instructions. At Berlin, where the government was known to be under the influence of France, hostile to Austria, and not cordial towards England, the French Minister did not receive his instructions till the 31st of August, and the state of the cabinet did not permit the British envoy to hope for a speedy or satisfactory answer. Spain, the remaining power to be combined in the guaranty, was justly considered as absolutely governed by France, and was already known to be taking measures for preventing the re-establishment of the order of Malta, by confiscating the priories which formed a principal part of their revenue.

July 15th.

Thus after several months had elapsed beyond the period in which Great Britain should have evacuated Malta, and four days after an angry Note had been delivered respecting emigrants and the press, M. Otto represented to Lord Hawkesbury, that General Vial, having set out for Malta about the 20th of July, would soon be in a condition to enter into concert with his Britannic Majesty's Minister plenipotentiary on the evacuation. The time allowed for that purpose having already expired, and to prevent delay in executing the Treaty of Amiens, the First Consul would have been desirous that the two thousand Neapolitans could have been transported to Malta at an early period, but Mr Drummond, the British minister at Naples had not been authorized by his government to facilitate this transport, and the motive alleged was that the stipulations

21st Aug.

pulations which ought to precede it, not being fulfilled, the evacuation could not take place. In conclusion, he required the British Ministry to give general instructions to his Majesty's plenipotentiaries at Naples, and at Malta, that the evacuation and other conditions of the 10th Article might be executed without obstacle, and without those plenipotentiaries conceiving themselves obliged to refer to their governments on each of the successive operations.

In answering this Note, Lord Hawkesbury accounted for the delay which had arisen to prevent the sailing of the Neapolitans, and gave assurances that they no longer existed. In answer to other parts of the Note, after asserting the anxious desire of his Majesty to see all stipulations in the 10th Article of the Definitive Treaty carried into effect, with the utmost punctuality and with the least possible delay, he noticed the circumstance of the French Ministers both at Petersburg and Berlin being without instructions, and requested that proper instructions might forthwith be transmitted, that the business might be brought to a conclusion.

Such was the state of this discussion, till the time when the more angry remonstrances respecting the effusions of the British press were made, and when Switzerland, and the mission and Report of Sebastiani, together with other causes, increased the irritation of the French and the uneasiness of the British government. The court of Berlin, favouring the views of France, and following professedly the example of Spain, pretended to take but slight interest in the fate of the island, withheld its guarantee, and spoke only the language of indifference and procrastination. The Emperor of Russia, being tardily invited by France, at length promised that he would accede to the stipulation in the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens, on certain conditions, which were to be considered as forming an integral part of that compact, and on which all the other powers were to be consulted. 25th Nov

Early in the ensuing year, and after many violent and insulting publications in France besides Sebastiani's Report, had given just offence to the British government, Talleyrand made to Lord Whitworth the solemn demand already noticed*, that Malta should be immediately evacuated. This demand was easily discerned to be a part of the grand project. France had hopes of obtaining that Island, which would afford an excellent step towards the acquisition of the further objects of ambition; but it was not indispensable that France should possess Malta, provided it could be wrung from the hands of England, the only naval power able to thwart her views. Such being the obvious views of Bonaparte, the Ministry forwarded a dispatch to Lord Whitworth, recapitulating the system of compensation which formed the basis of the Treaty of Amiens, the subsequent aggrandisement of France, by annexation, in various quarters, and the increase of her influence by interference in the affairs of Holland and Switzerland, notwithstanding the stipulation for their independency. These circumstances would have warranted 9th Feb.

* See Page 67.

a claim of new equivalents, but his Majesty, anxious to prevent misunderstanding, was willing to have waived his pretensions of this nature; and as the other articles of the Definitive Treaty had been in a course of execution on his part, so he would have been ready to carry into effect the true intent and spirit of the 10th Article, the execution of which, according to its terms had been rendered impracticable by circumstances which it was not in his power to controul. A communication would have been prepared conformably to this disposition, if the attention of his Majesty's government had not been attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the Report of Colonel Sebastiani to the First Consul, which appearing in the official paper, with an official title affixed to it, must be considered as authorized by the French government. "This Report," it was added, "contains the most unjustifiable insinuations and charges against the officer who commanded his Majesty's forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter; insinuations and charges wholly destitute of foundation, and such as would warrant his Majesty in demanding that satisfaction, which, on occasions of this nature, independent powers in a state of amity have a right to expect from each other. It discloses, moreover, views in the highest degree injurious to the interests of his Majesty's dominions, and directly repugnant to the spirit and letter of the Treaty of Peace. His Majesty cannot, therefore, regard the conduct of the French government on various occasions since the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty, the insinuations and charges contained in the Report of Colonel Sebastiani, and the views which that Report discloses, without feeling it necessary for him distinctly to declare, that it will be impossible for him to enter into any further discussion relative to Malta, unless he receives satisfactory explanation on the subject of this communication.

In reply to this Letter, Talleyrand, in a conversation with Lord Whitworth admitted that the jealousy we felt on the score of Egypt, with a view to our possessions in India, was natural. But he could not admit that any thing had appeared in the conduct of the French government to justify alarm. He asserted Sebastiani's mission to be strictly commercial, and expatiated on the sincere desire of the First Consul to maintain peace; adding, that the situation of the French finances was such, that were not this desire of peace in the First Consul an effect of system, it would be most imperiously dictated to him by the total impossibility in which the country found itself in carrying on that extensive state of warfare, which even a partial rupture would naturally lead to. And he desired to know what was the nature and degree of satisfaction which his Majesty would require." Lord Whitworth answered, "that he could not say by what means these apprehensions in England were to be allayed; but in discussing them, government would be animated solely by a sincere desire to be convinced of the truth of his assertions, since on that depended the peace and happiness of Europe. 15th Feb.

Whether Bonaparte did not place the utmost confidence in the energy of

of his Minister, or whether he hoped by the influence of his personal character, and the terror of his great name, to awe Lord Whitworth, and through him the British government: what hope he had conceived, or what project he had formed cannot be conjectured; but as soon as the embassador had dispatched an account of his late conversation with Talleyrand, he received a Note inviting him to a personal interview with the First Consul. This meeting took place in the Thuilleries, on the 18th of February, and it may be safely pronounced that in the annals of diplomacy, few events can be produced to parallel the conduct of the ruler of France, who in a conversation of two hours hardly allowed the embassador to speak, and in a rambling, unconnected manner, recapitulated all the abuse which had loaded his official paper, adding to the most indiscreet avowals and the most profligate declarations, threats which a brave man could not be supposed to have conceived, and proffers which none but the most unprincipled of potentates could either make or accept.

After treating some time on indifferent subjects, Bonaparte said it was a matter of infinite disappointment to him, that the Treaty of Amiens, instead of being followed by conciliation and friendship, the natural effects of peace, had been productive only of continual and increasing jealousy and mistrust; and that this mistrust was now avowed in such a manner as must bring the point to an issue. Enumerating the several provocations which he pretended to have received from England, he placed in the first line our not evacuating Malta and Alexandria as we were bound to do by treaty. In this he said that no consideration on earth should make him acquiesce; and, of the two, he had rather see us in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine than Malta. He then adverted to the abuse thrown out against him in the English public prints; and acknowledged, that the irritation he felt against England increased daily, because every wind which blew from England brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him. As to Egypt; if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by sending twenty-five thousand men to Aboukir, who would have possessed themselves of the whole country, in defiance of the four thousand British in Alexandria. Instead of that garrison being a means of protecting Egypt, it was only furnishing him with a pretence for invading it. This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it as a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might, perhaps, be considered as the aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he could gain, since sooner or later Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte.

As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But how could it be supposed, that after

having gained the height on which he ſtood, he would riſk his life and reputation in ſuch a hazardous attempt, unleſs forced to it by neceſſity, when the chances were, that he and the greateſt part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the ſea. He talked much on this ſubject, but never affected to diminiſh the danger. He acknowledged that there were a hundred chances to one againſt him; but ſtill he was determined to attempt it, if war ſhould be the conſequence of the preſent diſcuſſion; and, ſuch was the diſpoſition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprize. He then expatiated much on the natural force of the two countries. France with an army of four hundred and eighty thouſand men, for to this amount, it is, he ſaid, to be immediately completed, all ready for the moſt deſperate enterprizes; and England with a fleet that made her miſtreſs of the ſeas, and which he did not think he ſhould be able to equal in leſs than ten years. Two ſuch countries by a proper underſtanding might govern the world, but by their ſtrifes might overturn it. He ſaid, that if he had not felt the enmity of the Britiſh government on every occaſion ſince the Treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing that he would not have done to prove his deſire to conciliate; participation in indemnites as well as in influence on the continent, treaties of commerce, in ſhort, any thing that could have given ſatisfaction, and have teſtified his friendſhip. Nothing, however, had been able to conquer the hatred of the Britiſh government, and therefore it was now come to the point, whether we ſhould have peace or war. To preſerve peace, the Treaty of Amiens muſt be fulfilled; the abuſe in the public prints, if not totally ſuppreſſed, at leaſt kept within bounds, and confined to the Engliſh papers; and the protection ſo openly given to his bittereſt enemies (alluding to Georges and perſons of that deſcription) muſt be withdrawn. If war, it was neceſſay only to ſay ſo and to refuſe to fulfil the Treaty. He then made the Tour of Europe to prove that in its preſent ſtate, there was no power with which England could coaleſce for the purpoſe of making war againſt France; conſequently it was our intereſt to gain time, and if we had any point to gain, renew the war when circumſtances were more favourable. He ſaid, it was not doing him juſtice to ſuppoſe, that he conceived himſelf above the opinion of his country or of Europe. He would not riſk uniting Europe againſt him by any violent act of aggreſſion; neither was he ſo powerful in France as to perſuade the nation to go to war unleſs on good grounds. The purpoſe of his diſcourſe was evidently to convince the embaſſador that on Mal a muſt depend either peace or war, and, at the ſame time, to impreſs a ſtrong idea of the means he poſſeſſed of annoying England at home and abroad.

Lord Whitworth, in the few ſentences he was allowed an opportunity of uttering, vindicated the conduct of the Engliſh government, repelled the charges made by Bonaparte, and inſiſted on the grievances complained of by Great Britain. Theſe Bonaparte treated with great indifference; Piedmont and

and Switzerland were trifles; the fate of them must have been foreseen while the negotiation for peace was pending, and was not now to be mentioned. Lord Whitworth also alleged as a cause of mistrust and jealousy, the impossibility of obtaining justice or redress for any of His Majesty's subjects. Since the signing of the Treaty not one British claimant had been satisfied, although every Frenchman of that description had been so within one month after that period; and not one satisfactory answer had been obtained to the innumerable representations made by Lord Whitworth and his predecessor, in favour of British subjects and property detained in the several ports of France and elsewhere, without even a shadow of Justice. Such an order of things was not made to inspire confidence; but, on the contrary, must create mistrust. This, Bonaparte said, must be attributed to the natural difficulties attending such suits, when both parties thought themselves right; but denied that such delays could proceed from any disinclination to do what was just. In conclusion, Lord Whitworth observed with respect to the most propitious moment for renewing hostilities, that his Majesty, whose sincere desire it was to continue the blessings of peace to his subjects, would always consider such a measure as the greatest calamity; but that if His Majesty was so desirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies; and the less so, as those means which it might be necessary to afford such allies, for perhaps inadequate services, would all be concentrated in England, and give a proportionate increase of energy to our own exertions. Bonaparte terminated the interview by declaring he would give orders to General Andreossy to enter into a discussion on the business with Lord Hawkesbury, and retired in apparent good humour.

Three days afterward, Lord Whitworth saw Talleyrand, who assured him the First Consul had been very well satisfied with the frankness with which he made his observations. 21st. Feb.

The British embassador reduced the whole purport of his portion of the conference to an assurance that his Majesty's Ministers were ready to remove all subjects of discussion, when that could be done without violating the laws of the country, and to fulfil strictly the engagements which they had contracted, inasmuch as that could be reconciled with the safety of the state. As this observation applied to Malta and Egypt, Talleyrand gave Lord Whitworth to understand, that a project was in contemplation by which the integrity of the Turkish empire would be so effectually secured as to obviate every cause of doubt or uneasiness.

It was however a remarkable circumstance, and did not escape the observation of the English embassador, that Bonaparte did not, like Talleyrand, attribute Sebastiani's mission to commercial motives only, but spoke of it as one rendered necessary in a military point of view by the infraction of the Treaty of Amiens.

In consequence of these interviews, Lord Whitworth, pursuing instructions received from home, observed to Talleyrand, that nothing approaching 4th Mar.

proaching to explanation or satisfaction had been thrown out by the First Consul, in answer to their just representations and complaints in consequence of the unwarrantable insinuations and charges contained in Sebastiani's Report against his Majesty's government, the officer commanding his forces in Egypt, and his army in that quarter. But that, on the other hand, the language of the First Consul had tended to strengthen and confirm the suspicions which that publication was peculiarly calculated to excite.

With respect to the charge advanced against his Majesty's government, of unwillingness to fulfil the Treaty of Amiens, the embassador observed, that the Treaty had been in a course of execution, on the part of his Majesty, in every article in which, according to the spirit of that Treaty, it had been found capable of execution. Egypt was at that time completely evacuated. The stipulations in the Article relating to Malta, (owing to circumstances which it was not in the power of his Majesty to controul) had not been found capable of execution. The refusal of Russia to accede to the arrangement, except on condition that the Maltese langue should be abolished; the silence of the court of Berlin with respect to the invitation to become a guarenteeing power; the abolition of the Spanish Priories, in defiance of the treaty to which the king of Spain was a party; the declaration of the Portuguese government of their intention to sequestrate the property of the Portuguese Priory, as forming a part of the Spanish langue, unless the property of the Spanish Priories was restored to them; the non-election of a grand master: these circumstances would have been sufficient, without any other special grounds, to warrant his Majesty in suspending the evacuation of the island, until some new arrangement could be adjusted for its security and independence. But when it was considered how greatly the dominion, power and influence of France had of late been extended, his Majesty must feel that he had an incontestible right, conformably to the principles on which the Treaty of Peace was negotiated and concluded, to demand additional securities in any new arrangement which it might be necessary to make with a view of effecting the real objects of that Treaty. And these considerations, sufficient as they might be in themselves to justify the line of conduct which his Majesty had determined to adopt, had received additional force from the views recently and unreservedly manifested by the French government, respecting the Turkish dominions and the islands in the Adriatic (and which had been in a great degree admitted by the First Consul, in his interview with Lord Whitworth) views directly repugnant, not only to the spirit, but to the letter of the Treaty of Amiens. If, however, according to Talleyrand's suggestion, a project was in contemplation, by which the integrity of the Turkish territory would be so secured as to obviate either doubt or uneasiness with regard to Egypt, his Majesty would consider the communication of such a project as indicating a disposition on the part of the French government to afford him explanation and satisfaction respecting some

ſome of the points which had been the ſubject of his repreſentations. But after all that had paſſed, his Majeſty could not conſent that his troops ſhould evacuate Malta, until ſubſtantial ſecurity was provided for thoſe objects, which, under the preſent circumſtances, might be materially endangered by their removal.

Before this communication to the French government took place, the *Expoſé* was publiſhed, wherein it was aſſerted, that England alone could not maintain a ſtruggle againſt France; a ſtatement which, coupled with Bonaparte's declaration that he had 480,000 men ready for the moſt deſperate enterprizes, and would, in caſe of a war, riſque them all, in repeated attempts to invade England; and with the naval preparations in the ports of Holland, perfectly juſtified Miniſters in the advice they gave his Majeſty and which produced the Meſſage of the 8th. of March. In the converſation on the 4th. when Lord Whitworth had diſcloſed the ſentiments of the Britiſh government, he preſſed Talleyrand to impart the project for inſuring the integrity of the Turkiſh empire, he anſwered. That what he had termed a project was nothing more than was expreſſed in the Firſt Conſul's Meſſage to the legiſlative body, where he ſays, 'there is a French embaſſador at Conſtantinople, who is charged to give every aſſurance of the diſpoſition of France to ſtrengthen, inſtead of weakening that government! Such an inconcluſive declaration could not be taken as ſatisfactory, and on Lord Whitworth's preſſing the point, the Miniſter ſaid the Firſt Conſul had five or ſix days ago, ordered inſtructions to be ſent to General Andreoſſy, by which he was to require an immediate and categorical anſwer to the plain queſtion—Whether his Majeſty would or would not, cauſe Malta to be evacuated by the Britiſh troops? He concluded this communication was already made, and expected to learn the reſult in a few days. All the Firſt Conſul wanted was, to know preciſely on what he had to depend.

To this peremptory demand, Lord Whitworth having returned a firm, though unaſſuming anſwer, Talleyrand took occaſion at a ſubſequent interview, to explain away the offenſive part of his information. He alſo endeavoured to convince the embaſſador, that the Firſt Conſul, far from wiſhing to carry matters to extremity, was deſirous to diſcuſs fairly, and without paſſion, a point which he admitted was of importance to both countries. He repeatedly aſſured Lord Whitworth that much as the Firſt Conſul might have the acquiſition of Egypt at heart, he would ſacrifice his own feelings to the preſervation of peace; and ſeek to augment his glory by improving and conſolidating the internal ſituation of the country, rather than by adding to its poſſeſſions.

Two days after the delivery of the King's Meſſage, General Andreoſſy preſented a Note to Lord Hawkeſbury, requiring ſome explanation reſpecting the protracted occupation of Malta by the Engliſh troops, preſſing particularly the Article of the Treaty which provided for that event within three months. In anſwer to this Note, the Miniſtry again referred to the ſyſtem 10th Mar.

ſyſtem of compenſations which formed the baſis of the Treaty of Amiens, the King's readineſs to wave his claim to equivalents, and his deſire to have given up Malta, could the guaranty have been completed. They renewed the complaints againſt Sebaſtiani's Report, ſtated the repreſentation which Lord Whitworth had been inſtructed to make, and the King's expectations on the ſubject; and repeated the declarations he had already made to Talleyrand.

On receiving information of the King's Meſſage, Lord Whitworth communicated it to Talleyrand, but found him already apprized, and extremely cautious in making obſervations. He ſaid, the Firſt Conſul was pacific; he had no thoughts of attacking his Majeſty's dominions, unleſs forced to do ſo by a commencement of hoſtilities on our part; but ſhould always conſider the refuſal to evacuate Malta as ſuch a commencement of hoſtilities; and as we had hitherto heſitated to do ſo, he was juſtified in adopting the meaſures which might eventually be neceſſary. He diſclaimed every idea of the armaments fitting out in the Dutch ports having any other deſtination than to the colonies, and could not comprehend the motives which had neceſſitated a reſort to ſuch a meaſure on the part of his Majeſty's government.

Meeting Lord Whitworth the ſame day at dinner, he ſaid, the Firſt Conſul, whom he had juſt quitted, was highly irritated at the unjuſt ſuſpicion entertained in England, yet he would not allow himſelf to be ſo far maſtered by his feelings, as to loſe ſight of the calamities which the preſent diſcuſſion might entail upon humanity. After Talleyrand had dwelt ſome time on theſe topics, Lord Whitworth explained the views of the Britiſh government.

"England," he ſaid, "did not wiſh for war; peace was as neceſſary to her as it could be to France; all ſhe deſired, and all ſhe contended for, was ſecurity; every thing proved that that ſecurity was threatened by the Firſt Conſul's views on Egypt; and conſequently the refuſal to evacuate Malta, was become as much a neceſſary meaſure of precaution as the defence of any part of his Majeſty's dominions." To this kind of reaſoning M. de Talleyrand oppoſed the moderation of the Firſt Conſul, his great ſelf-denial, and his determination to ſacrifice even the moſt favourite points to his ſincere deſire to avoid a rupture.

As a curious ſpecimen of the moderation and ſelf-denial of Bonaparte, the French Miniſter put into Lord Whitworth's hands a Note, which marks in indelible characters, the nature and ſyſtem of the French government. In this Paper the phraſe *it is natural*, is uſed ſo often as to ſeem almoſt intended to be facetious, while the projects it announces are ſo unjuſt and tyrannical, ſo hoſtile to treaties with all powers, that it occaſions ſurpriſe that they ſhould even be darkly intimated, but much more that they ſhould be unequivocally and authentically delivered. It advanced as a fact known to all the world, that the expedition at Helvoetſluys was deſtined to America, and that its failing was only countermanded in conſequence of the King's Meſſage. Unleſs ſatisfactory explanations of the

the Britiſh armament were given, it was natural that twenty thouſand troops ſhould be marched into Holland; natural that Hanover ſhould be threatened, and additional bodies ſent to join thoſe intended for America, to form new embarkations; natural that camps ſhould be formed at Calais, and on other parts of the coaſt; natural that a French army ſhould be continued in Switzerland; and natural that a freſh force ſhould be ſent into Italy, to occupy Tarentum. All Europe would be agitated; the French would have been obliged to take all theſe precautions in conſequence of Britiſh armanents; yet England would have been alarmed by threats of an intended invaſion; the whole Britiſh population would be obliged to put themſelves under arms for defence, and their export trade would, even before the war, be in a ſtate of ſtagnation throughout the countries occupied by the French arms.

13th Mar. Theſe communications of Talleyrand exhibit a great deal of ſtifled paſſion, affecting the tone of moderation; but at the court held at the Thuilleries the following Sunday, Lord Whitworth experienced from Bonaparte himſelf, all the violence of unbridled rage. The firſt Conſul, accoſting him evidently under conſiderable agitation, begun by aſking if his Lordſhip had any news from England; and on receiving an anſwer, immediately ſaid, and ſo you are determined to go to war. No! Lord Whitworth replied, we are too ſenſible of the advantages of peace. We have already, ſaid Bonaparte, made war fifteen years; to which the embaſſador ſaid, it is by far too long. Yet, the Firſt Conſul replied, you wiſh to make war for fifteen years more, and will force me to it. In the ſame ſtrain and on the ſame ſubject, he addreſſed himſelf to the Ruſſian and Spaniſh embaſſadors, exclaiming that the Engliſh wiſhed for war; they might be the firſt to draw, but he would be the laſt to ſheathe the ſword. "They do not," he ſaid "reſpect treaties; we muſt henceforth cover them with a black crape. Woe to thoſe he added who do not reſpect treaties," and after many threats, he retired to his apartment, repeating the laſt phraſe. All this paſſed loud enough to be overheard by two hundred people who were preſent, "and I am perſuaded" Lord Whitworth obſerves "that there was not a ſingle perſon, who did not feel the extreme impropriety of the firſt Conſul's conduct, and the total want of dignity, as well as of decency, on the occaſion." In conſequence of this boiſterous interview, Lord Whitworth was inſtructed to make a repreſentation to the French government, and to decline preſenting himſelf on days of ceremony, unleſs aſſured that he ſhould never be expoſed to a repetition of ſuch treatment. The Engliſh embaſſador had previouſly expreſſed his ſentiments on the ſubject, but Miniſters thought it their duty not to permit ſo public an aggreſſion to paſs unnoticed. 22d Mar.

Andreoſſy too remonſtrated with the Britiſh government on the topics contained in the King's Meſſage, in terms moſt abrupt and even inſolent. The King, he ſaid, was deceived in the report that his kingdom was menaced by preparations made in 29th.

the

the ports of Holland and France. The assertion in the Message that there were discussions of which the success was doubtful, was not better founded, for no discussion existed. It was an error to assert that France had increased in power since the Treaty of Amiens, for she had evacuated a considerable territory. "If His Britannic Majesty," he said, "is determined to make war, he may allege all the pretexts he pleases. He will find few less founded." He gave a fallacious colouring to the Mission and Report of Sebastiani, and concluded his letter by observing that Egypt being restored to the dominion of its lawful sovereign, the only object worthy of fixing the attention of the two nations was the execution of the Treaty of Amiens, as far as regarded Malta. His Majesty having engaged to restore it to the order, and intrust it to the Neapolitan army till the order should be in a condition to guard it, would reject all sophistry all distinctions, and mental reservations, and fulfil his engagements; otherwise no means would be left for the two nations to come to an understanding, and all would be chaos. The First Consul would not take up the defiance of war given by England to France, and as to Malta, he saw no subject for discussion, the treaty having foreseen every thing, and settled every thing.

The reply imported that his Majesty perceived with regret that the French government, continuing to withhold all satisfaction and explanation on the points on which he had complained; and evading all discussion on the subject of his representations, persisted in their requisition that Malta should be forthwith evacuated. He could never so far forget what was due to himself and his people, as to acquiesce in such a course of proceeding; and had therefore given instructions to his embassador at Paris, to ascertain distinctly from the French government, whether they were determined so to persevere, or whether they were disposed, without delay to give such satisfaction and explanations as might lead to an arrangement calculated to adjust the differences between the two governments.

This firm and spirited, though temperate proceeding, left no room to doubt that Ministers were fully aware of the policy of the First Consul, and determined not to be duped by it; not afraid of entering into hostilities where the national interest and national honour really demanded them, though far above that feverish irritability, most frequently the offspring of fear, which rushes into peril to be freed from the tortures of suspence.

The hostility of Bonaparte toward England had never been disguised, and his views respecting Egypt were authentically disclosed in his private conversation with Lord Whitworth. He disdained the subterfuge of Talleyrand, that the mission of Sebastiani was purely commercial, and avowed that it was necessary in a military point of view. Andreossy was instructed to give a new reason, and impute the voyage to the Isles, and the atrocious and disgusting calumnies contained in Sir Robert Wilson's History of the campaign in Egypt, and to assert that the researches of Sebastiani in that country arose from his astonishment at finding the British

British forces there. This account is full of gross falsehood and absurdity. Sebastiani sailed from Toulon in September 1802, Sir Robert Wilson's Book was not published till November; and far from being astonished at finding General Stuart at Alexandria, he went expecting to meet him there, and by his own account, remonstrated with him, according to instructions received from Talleyrand.

On the subject of armaments, the French answers were no less vague and contradictory. In his threatening Note on the King's Message, Talleyrand affirmed that all the world knew the armament at Helvoetsluys to be destined for America. Bonaparte, in his outrageous conversation on the 13th of March, furiously demanded, But why arm? against whom are all these precautions? I have not a single ship in the ports of France! Andreossy too, in his Note of the 29th of March, affirmed that the First Consul had made no preparation, and there were but two frigates in the roads of Holland, and three corvettes in that of Dunkirk. The latter observations appear rather evasive than satisfactory: it is not essential to the nature of a preparation extremely hostile to Great Britain, that an overawing naval force should be procured; but undoubtedly Ministers had good information, and such as they could confide in, of the strength and intentions of the armaments in France and Holland. They knew, and it was not to be driven from their memory by assertions however confidently made, or impetuously urged, that there was a fleet at Brest and another at Toulon. They had as guides to their sagacity the declaration of Bonaparte to Lord Whitworth that 480,000 men, ready for the most desperate enterprises, should be risked in an invasion of England, on the commencement of hostilities; and it appeared, both by the tenor of that conversation, and by the subsequent explicit declaration of Talleyrand, that a refusal to evacuate Malta would be considered as such commencement, and Ministers had explicitly refused to evacuate that Island, dearer to the First Consul than the Faubourg St. Antoine.

In the Paper delivered to Lord Whitworth on the 11th of March, the expedition was said to be intended for America, meaning that it was to take possession of Louisiana, and then on the point of sailing for its destination; but on the 30th of April, a Definitive Treaty was executed, by which the sovereignty of New Orleans and Louisiana was conveyed to the United States of America. This cession was purchased for money, and it must be apparent, considering the rapacity of France, and the caution of America, the distance between the two countries, and the difficulties inseparable from such arrangements, that this Treaty must have been in a very advanced state when Talleyrand made this declaration, and that France, if she had no other object in view, would not have gone on exhausting her beggarly exchequer, in equipping an armament to take possession of a place which in fifty days was definitively sold to another power.

The negotiation proceeded some time longer, but with little appearance of satisfactory adjustment. The British Ministry, never relaxing in their efforts to prepare

prepare such an armament as would place the nation in perfect security, pressed for satisfaction and explanations; Bonaparte and Talleyrand, on the contrary, disappointed in their hopes of succeeding by surprize, unprepared for an open assault, and yet resolved not to do justice, endeavoured by all the arts of chicane, to delay definitive decision, and to involve the British cabinet in the labyrinths of negotiation, without conceding any basis on which the hope of security could be reposed.

On the 4th of April, Lord Whitworth was instructed to ascertain distinctly, in the first instance, whether the French government was disposed to give reasonable satisfaction and explanations on the points on which his Majesty had complained, and to adjust differences. If they continued to evade all discussion, and confined themselves to a categorical demand that Malta should be evacuated, he was to declare the impossibility of the relations of amity continuing to subsist between the two countries, and the necessity he should be under of leaving Paris within a certain time.

As a proposal for the purpose of opening a negotiation, the embassador was instructed to demand that Malta should remain in perpetuity in the possession of His Majesty, who was to indemnify the order for their losses, and Holland and Switzerland were to be evacuated by the French. England was to confirm the island of Elba to France, and to acknowledge the King of Etruria, the Italian and Ligurian republics. In his first discussion of this proposition, after an interview with Bonaparte, Talleyrand did not strenuously object to the principle that Great Britain was intitled to a counterpoise against the acquisitions made by France since the Treaty of Amiens, but made vehement objections to the word satisfaction.

"He said," Lord Whitworth relates, "that the First Consul was hurt at the expression satisfaction, to which he gave an interpretation I had never understood belonged to it, as implying superiority; so that if the British government required satisfaction of the French, it arrogated to itself a superiority. I told him, what certainly must be understood by every one, that the demand of satisfaction implied that one party had been offended by another, and of course had a right to demand such satisfaction; that an inferior had an equal right with his superior to demand it; but in the case in question there was perfect equality, and, consequently there was no offence to be found, but in the conduct which rendered such an appeal necessary. The discussion of this point took up a considerable time, without producing any thing decisive."

On the subject of Malta, Talleyrand said, that although extremely anxious to avoid war, the First Consul insisted, and always would insist on the full execution of the Treaty. He would not, however, object to any mode by which Great Britain might acquire security; and the Minister intimating that means might be found to satisfy both parties, Lord Whitworth consented to forward a Paper delivered by him, in hopes that as an arrangement of the present dispute, a temporary possession of the island

island might be conceded to Great Britain.

It does not appear that Lord Whitworth entertained sanguine expectations from this overture, but if he had been so rash as to form them, they must have been dissipated when he received a letter, informing him of the forcible interference of the French chargé d'affaires at Hamburgh, with the senate, to compel the insertion in their Gazette of the most low, profligate, and scurrilous libel against the king and government of Great Britain, that had ever been issued by any Government but that of France in her furious revolutionary career. The embassador was instructed to express the King's unwillingness to believe that the French Government could have authorised so outrageous an attack upon him and his Government, and so daring a violation of the independence of a neutral state. But he was also to declare the impossibility of bringing the present discussions to an amicable conclusion, unless satisfaction should be given for the indignity which had thus been offered to him in the face of all Europe. This application was attended with the desired effect. Talleyrand explicitly disavowed the conduct of M. Rienhardt, and in the name of the First Consul, promised every satisfaction.

13th April.

The letter demanding reparation for this insult was accompanied by another, stating the pleasure with which the King learned that the justice of his claim was admitted; proposing, from a willingness to save the honour of France, if that was made a material point, to accept of the right of garrisoning Malta in perpetuity, giving the civil government of the island to the order, and reserving for the Maltese the privileges stipulated in the Treaty of Amiens. If neither this point nor the absolute possession of the island could be conceded, he would be content to retain possession for a limited term of years (ten was the number afterwards fixed), provided his Sicilian Majesty could be prevailed on to cede the sovereignty of the island of Lampedosa, for a valuable consideration. In that case, Malta should be given up to the inhabitants, and acknowledged an independent state; and his Majesty would be ready to concur in any arrangement for the establishment of the Order of St. John in some other part of Europe. Lord Whitworth was also instructed not to refuse to listen to any proposition made with a view to any equivalent security for those objects, in regard to which his Majesty claimed possession or occupation of Malta. If, however, he should be of opinion, that there were no hopes of bringing the negotiation to a favourable conclusion, he might inform M. Talleyrand of the necessity he should be under, after a certain time to leave Paris.

The first opportunity which Lord Whitworth gained of forming an opinion on the probable success of these propositions, was at an interview with Joseph Bonaparte, who rejected the possession of the island, nor could he consent to the tenure of the fortresses in perpetuity, but voluntarily proposed that Great Britain should hold them for a term; and the embassa-

dor did not diſſent, provided Lamdedoſa could be alſo obtained. A converſation to the ſame effect, with Talleyrand, gave hopes of a ſpeedy and favourable arrangement. Theſe hopes fluctuated during ſome days, in which ſeveral interviews took place; but at length, after conſiderable delay, Talleyrand delivered as the Firſt Conſul's anſwer, that no conſideration on earth ſhould induce him to conſent to a conceſſion in perpetuity of Malta, in any ſhape whatever; and that the re-eſtabliſhment of the order was not ſo much the point to be diſcuſſed, as that of ſuffering Great Britain to acquire a poſſeſſion in the Mediterranean.

This obſervation applied only to permanent poſſeſſion; but, on the following day, Lord Whit-

22d. April. worth received information from the ſame quarter, that the Firſt Conſul would, on no terms hear either of a perpetual or a temporary poſſeſſion of Malta; his object was the execution of the Treaty of Amiens; and rather than ſubmit to ſuch arrangement as was laſt propoſed, he would even conſent to our keeping the object in diſpute for ever. In the one caſe, there was an appearance of generoſity and magnanimity; but in the other, nothing but weakneſs and the effect of coercion. His reſolution being thus taken, he propoſed the poſſeſſion of Lampedoſa, or any other of the ſmall iſlands, of which there were three or four between Malta and the coaſt of Africa, which would be a ſufficient ſtation in the Mediterranean, as a place of refuge and ſecurity for any ſquadron Great Britain might find it convenient to keep in that ſea.

This propoſal Lord Whitworth poſitively refuſed to tranſmit. His Majeſty, he ſaid, would never conſider Lampedoſa equivalent, in point of ſecurity, to Malta. Poſſeſſion (either permanent or temporary) was neceſſary for our ſecurity, and was rendered ſo, not from any deſire of aggrandiſement on the part of his Majeſty, but by the conduct of the French Government; and ſo ſtrongly were we impreſſed with the neceſſity, that rather than abandon it, we were prepared to go to war.

To theſe and many other arguments, Talleyrand objected the dignity and honour of the Firſt Conſul, which could not admit of his conſenting to any thing which might carry with it the appearance of yielding to a threat.

Lord Whitworth anſwered, "It never could be admitted, that the Firſt Conſul had a right to act in ſuch a manner as to excite jealouſly and create alarm in every ſtate of Europe, and when aſked for explanation or ſecurity, to ſay that it was contrary to his honour or dignity to afford either. Such arguments might perhaps ſuffice when applied to ſome of thoſe governments with which France had been accuſtomed to treat, or more properly to dictate to, but never could be uſed to Great Britain; his Majeſty had a right to ſpeak freely his opinion, and poſſeſſed alſo the means, whenever he choſe to employ them, of oppoſing a barrier to the ambition of any individual, or of any ſtate which ſhould be diſpoſed to threaten the ſecurity of his dominions, or the tranquillity of Europe."

This converſation was, in fact, con-

concluſive, although three weeks afterward elapſed in conferences wherein no effectual arrangement was offered, and in correſpondences which rendered it obvious that France was ſolicitous only to create delays. After the poſitive declaration of Bonaparte, that his greateſt objection was founded on the poſſibility of an eſtabliſhment in the Mediterranean being acquired by Great Britain, it muſt be apparent that his offer of ſanctioning the purchaſe of Lampedoſa, without allowing a temporary poſſeſſion of Malta was not conſidered as the mean of affording ſuch an eſtabliſhment, or the ſecurity with which it was moſt deſirable that it ſhould be attended. Note after Note paſſed between Talleyrand and Lord Whitworth, exhibiting ſometimes hopes of an attempt to conciliate, but generally deſtroying them immediately by the production of ſome extravagant propoſition, or the refuſal of ſome neceſſary explanation. The chicanery of the French Government was even carried ſo far, as to withhold, on various pretexts, the embaſſador's paſſports; but at length Lord Whitworth, having accommodated himſelf to every delay, for which a motive in the ſlighteſt degree plauſible, could be aſſigned, quitted the ſhores of France.

On the embaſſador's arrival in London, his Majeſty publiſhed in his Declaration the motives of his conduct, and his determination to ſupport his rights and protect his ſubjects by force of arms.

In this Declaration, his Majeſty announced that his earneſt endeavours for the preſervation of peace having failed of ſucceſs, he entertained the fulleſt confidence that he ſhould receive the ſame ſupport from his Parliament, and that the ſame zeal and ſpirit would be manifeſted by his people, which he had experienced on every occaſion when the honour of his crown had been attacked, or the eſſential intereſts of his dominions had been endangered. A ſuccinct narrative was given of all the tranſactions between this country and France, from the negotiation which led to the Treaty of Peace, till the time of the rupture. After a calm, but impreſſive enumeration, it concluded in theſe terms. "Under all theſe inſults and provocations, his Majeſty, not without a due ſenſe of his dignity, has proceeded with every degree of temper and moderation to obtain ſatisfaction and redreſs, while he has neglected no means conſiſtent with his honour and the ſafety of his dominions to induce the government of France to concede to him, what is, in his judgment, abſolutely neceſſary for the future tranquillity of Europe. His efforts in this reſpect have proved abortive, and he has therefore judged it neceſſary to order his embaſſador to leave Paris. In having recourſe to this proceeding, it has been his Majeſty's object to put an end to the fruitleſs diſcuſſions which have too long ſubſiſted between the two governments, and to cloſe a period of ſuſpence peculiarly injurious to the ſubjects of his Majeſty.

"But though the provocations which his Majeſty has received might intitle him to larger claims than thoſe which he has advanced, yet, anxious to prevent calamities which might thus be extended to every part of Europe, he is ſtill willing, as far as is conſiſtent with

his own honour, and the interests of his people, to afford every facility to any just and honourable arrangement, by which such evils may be averted. He has, therefore, no difficulty in declaring to all Europe, that notwithstanding all the changes which have taken place since the Treaty of Peace, notwithstanding the extension of the power of France, in repugnance to that Treaty, and to the spirit of Peace itself, His Majesty will not avail himself of these circumstances, to demand in compensation all that he is intitled to require, but will be ready to concur, even now, in an arrangement by which satisfaction shall be given to him, for the indignities which have been offered to his crown and to his people, and substantial security afforded against further encroachments on the part of France.

"His Majesty has thus distinctly and unreservedly stated the reasons of those proceedings to which he has found himself compelled to resort. He is actuated by no disposition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other State; by no projects of conquest and aggrandizement; but solely by a sense of what is due to the honour of his crown, and the interests of his people, and by an anxious desire to obstruct the further progress of a system which, if not resisted, may prove fatal to every part of the civilized world."

CHAP. IX.

Demand of further Papers in both Houses; explanations of Ministers; The King's Message discussed in the House of Lords; an Address moved by Lord Pelham; seconded by the Duke of Cumberland; principal topics urged in the debate; the Address carried by a large majority. Debate in the House of Commons continued during two days; the Report on the first day defective; Address moved by Lord Hawkesbury; an amendment proposed by Mr. Grey; speech of Mr. Pitt, and of Mr. Wilberforce; course of the argument on the following day; speech of Mr. Fox; answer to it by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; animadversions on it by the Attorney General and Mr. Windham; the Address carried by a great majority.

IN the interval between presenting the Papers to Parliament, and the day appointed for discussing them, several motions were made for additional Papers, the greater portion of which was granted. On these occasions, Ministers explained several points incident to the negotiation, and satisfied those who inquired, on various topics with respect to which rumours were in general circulation. Lord Pelham admitted that a *contre projet* respecting Malta, and the conditions on which his Majesty would be allowed to hold it for ten years, had been communicated to Ministers; but then it was handed to them in so secret, so confidential, and

20th May.

and so unofficial a manner, that it would be highly improper to produce it, and he cautioned the House against relying on it as a basis of any negotiation.

20th. In the lower House, Mr. Grey required some Papers to explain the negotiations which he supposed to have taken place between the British Government, and the French embassador in London; but these, Lord Hawkesbury assured him, were confined to some very trivial points. Mr. Whitbread asked for an answer to the following question: Whether there were authentic accounts of Mr. Talbot having left Prias? or if Portalis was gone from London? Lord Hawkesbury said, no authentic accounts had been received respecting Mr. Talbot, nor did he know whether M. Portalis was gone from London, nor was there any truth in the report that they had remained for special purposes. In answer to another question from the same member, the Secretary of State assured the House, that since the departure of Lord Whitworth, no communication had been made on any practical point which Ministers thought themselves justifiable in disclosing.

Mr. Grey asked, whether, previous to the departure of the English and French embassadors, any new communications had been made? There was a report in town, he believed, in consequence of French Papers received that day, that the Emperor of Russia had offered his mediation, and he inquired whether it had any foundation? If any communication had been made, though in such a circuitous mode that it could not, in point of form, be laid before the House, yet he hoped, as such information would be highly important, the noble Lord would not refuse to impart it. Lord Hawkesbury said, that after Lord Whitworth left Paris, it had been communicated that an arrangement might be made for this country to retain Malta for a certain number of years, on condition of the French holding Otranto and the other situations they had before possessed on the Gulf of Tarentum; but the communication was altogether such, that Ministers did not think it consistent with the honour and dignity of the country to listen to it. He had heard, that the Emperor of Russia, just at the close of the negotiation, had expressed a wish and a hope that matters could be amicably terminated, but nothing of his personal mediation was mentioned.

Mr. Canning asked whether any formal answer had been given by the French Government as to the continuance of the French army in Holland, in defiance of the wishes of the people in that country, and of the terms of the Treaty of Amiens? Lord Hawkesbury answered, that no formal remonstrance had been made, neither had any formal answer been returned. There had been communications, but they evinced no disposition to give satisfaction with regard to the essential points in dispute, and in fact they appeared only to have been made with a view to gain time; they were certainly not such as Ministers conceived it would have become them to have laid before the House. Mr. Sheridan moved an Address for the communication of Papers on this subject, but on the remon-

ſtrance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, withdrew it.

Mr. Johnſtone having obſerved that in Lord Whitworth's diſpatch of the 4th of May, Talleyrand inſinuated a wiſh to cede Malta to Ruſſia, in anſwer to which note, the Secretary of State ſaid, "to Ruſſia alone England would give Malta, but the Engliſh government well knows Ruſſia would not accept it;" and General Gaſcoyne having demanded certain papers relative to Malta, and the Italian Republic, previous to the ſigning of the Preliminaries of Peace, a ſpirited debate enſued. In the courſe of it, Mr. Ward ſaid he thought it abſolutely neceſſary that thoſe infamous lies which had been propagated concerning Lord Hobart ſhould be done away. It was impoſſible to ſuppoſe he would have told the Malteſe deputies to come to his houſe to ſpeak to him, but not to ſhew themſelves at his office, leſt he ſhould give offence to the French Government. He wiſhed to know what foundation there was for ſuch a diſgraceful report? The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid, the only anſwer he had to make was, to repeat what he had already ſtated in the courſe of the debate: namely, that he never heard the imputation thrown out until he came to the Houſe that day. The motions for papers were negatived; indeed many oppoſition Members thought them ſuperfluous, and Mr. W. Smith ſaid he could not help acknowledging that Miniſters, had uniformly ſhewn a diſpoſition to comply with every reaſonable requiſition.

At the cloſe of the debate Lord Temple inquired whether it was true as reported, that Georges had been deported to Canada by the Britiſh government. Lord Hawkeſbury warmly noticed this as one of the violent attacks which that noble Lord was in the habit of making againſt Miniſters; they would have conſidered themſelves highly criminal, if they had compelled any individual to tranſport himſelf from this country to Canada.

On the day appointed for taking the King's Meſſage into conſideration, an Addreſs was moved by Lord Pelham, aſſuring His Majeſty that the Houſe obſerved with the ſtrongeſt feelings of indignation that his endeavours to preſerve peace had been fruſtrated by a reſtleſs ſpirit of ambition and domination, in the government of France, and of their fixed determination to concur in calling forth the reſources and exertions of the country, in ſupport of a cauſe in which were involved the honour of his Majeſty's crown, the rights and liberties of his people; and all that was dear and valuable to them, as a free and independent nation. 23rd.

The motion was ſeconded by his Royal Highneſs the duke of Cumberland, in a ſpeech of great ability, and ſupported by a great number of Peers; particularly the Duke of Clarence, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Melville, Lord Ellenborough, and the Earl of Roſslyn. Earl Spencer and Lord Grenville alſo ſupported the Addreſs, but expreſsly accepted a condition, made by Lord Pelham in opening the buſineſs, that the conduct of the miniſtry ſhould be reſerved for future diſcuſſion. Earl Moira adopted a

mode of conduct nearly similar, but indulged a greater latitude both of praise and censure. The Address was opposed by Earl Stanhope, in a speech on which Lord Mulgrave observed, that he had never heard a greater display of English feeling and French partiality. If the noble Lord had been a ventriloquist, and had taken upon himself to give, in his own person, a specimen of a debate in the House of Lords, the invisible gentleman in his belly answering and refuting all the arguments that issued from his mouth, he could not have done it better. At one time his speech was all English, at another time all French. An amendment to the Address was moved by Lord King, who proposed to omit some and substitute other paragraphs, the purport of which was, that the House would see with satisfaction that his Majesty would listen to any further offer of amicable settlement, consistent with the honour and interests of the country. The Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Lansdown, and the Duke of Norfolk also expressed an anxiety for the preservation of peace, but although they censured Ministers, did not oppose the Address.

The sentiments of the Lords on each side, on the various topics of discussion, are worthy to be preserved.

The Ministers urged that it was necessary the House should come to an unanimous vote, and deprecated the consideration of the present as a party question. The Papers on the table would prove that Ministers had no wish to conceal any part of their conduct, since the signature of the Definitive Treaty, and they had, to the best of their abilities and knowledge, acted a conscientious part during the whole of that period. For the fairness and moderation of this request, they received the praise of Earl Stanhope, who gave them credit for the candour with which they had introduced the motion, and hoped that all party feelings, and party distinctions, or sides of the House, would be banished at a period so perilous as the present was, whether the nature of the contest, or the enemy with whom it was to be sustained were to be considered.

From a perusal of the papers, the great and indeed the only question was, whether a distinct and legitimate ground of war had been established? or, in other words, according to the Duke of Cumberland, whether this country, which had so long held a proud and distinguished rank among the nations of the earth, should or should not cease to be independent? for if we were patiently to submit to that accumulation of aggression, injustice, and insult which appeared to have been the continued system of the French Government, we must descend from the station and rank which our ancestors always maintained in Europe, and take our place among the vanquished and feeble nations, which had been so unfortunate as to become the prey of French ambition and plunder, and the sport of French insolence. In support of these opinions, the different acts of the French Government which were disclosed in the papers were enumerated and enlarged upon.

The Duke of Richmond, how-

ever, conſidered theſe complaints as of ſmall importance, comparing them to the hundred grievances, which Spain brought before Europe at the commencement of the laſt Spaniſh war, which had never been heard of before, and were never heard of ſince.

Lord Pelham inſiſted that war was, by the conduct of the French Government, rendered inevitable. It was neceſſary to the ſupport of the national honour, and the protection of national rights. The intereſts of our commerce, the ſafety of our liberties; the exiſtence of our independence were all involved in the manifeſtation of effectual reſiſtance to French aggrandizement and ambition. Theſe obſervations were enforced by Lord Ellenborough, who ſaid that if we had not at preſent adequate juſtification of war, he knew not what inſults, provocations, or dangers could juſtify chriſtian men in appealing to the laws of ſelf-defence. It was a war to redreſs all our wrongs, and to repel all our dangers. We were going to war, not for inferior conſiderations, but the greateſt ſtake of civil ſociety—for every thing which an independent nation could prize—for the right of legiſlating for ourſelves, which the enemy had propoſed to ſubmit to the ſtandard of their arbitrary principles. Such valuable privileges ſhould never be abandoned to the dictates of any ſovereign, whether lawful or uſurping, or to any maſs of men however formidable in power.

The Duke of Richmond would not admit that war was of neceſſity to be reſorted to. Magnified as the various grievances ſtated in the King's Declaration were, and ſeriouſly as they were inſiſted on, they all vaniſhed when the *ultimatum* of Miniſters was read. Not one of them was therein noticed, but all the objects contended for in the negotiation were abandoned, and the controverſy was brought to the ſingle point, whether Great Britain ſhould obtain the ceſſion of the Iſland of Lampedoſa. Lord King too, doubted greatly the prudence of going to war at this juncture, without an immediate and preſſing neceſſity. He conſidered the war now entered upon as a war for correcting the errors of the Treaty of Amiens. Malta was an important object, but he did not think it worth being purchaſed at the expence of war. He therefore wiſhed that all means for effecting peace might not be abandoned. The Duke of Norfolk and ſome other peers, alſo expreſſed their wiſhes that means might be diſcovered for maintaining peace, and thought that if any opportunity ſhould offer, it ought to be embraced.

Theſe ſentiments were vehemently oppoſed by Lord Grenville, who declared the conteſt to be, not only for all our honours, but for all our rights and intereſts. It was a war of neceſſity, juſtice and expediency; it was in reſiſtance to a ſtate of aggreſſion, violence and inſult, that could not be endured, without ſinking the country to the loweſt ſtate of degradation; and he was happy to ſee ſuch a ſpirit reviving, as would enable us to meet a war with dignity, from which we could not recede without meanneſs—a war, which was not matter of choice on our part, but neceſſity. From the particular ſituation of this country

at

at present, and from the general circumstances of Europe, it was impossible that Great Britain could exist in degradation. She had now only the option between two evils—war, vigorous and determined war, or farther temporizing; and from the moment she should resolve on the latter, the whole frame of her existence would begin to fall into pieces; her resources would decline, her commerce would be annihilated; her importance would disappear, because her freedom and national pride would be no more: her people, indeed, might remain, but completely changed, and divested of every trait of the British character.

The defenders of Government, while they depicted the ambition, aggressions, incroachments, and evident hostile intentions of Bonaparte, cautiously abstained from the use of any language which might subject them to the charge of inflaming national rancour by unnecessary abuse.

Notwithstanding the clear statement made by the noble Secretary of State, the Duke of Cumberland would again go over in detail the wrongs and insults which this country had indured. I must trace, he said, those wrongs of the First Consul of France; and when I say the First Consul, I should wish, if it were possible, to avoid speaking personally; I should wish to speak of his acts as Consul, but to say nothing of the man. Speaking only of him as Consul, I must ask, which of the nations of Europe is it that he has not subdued or endeavoured to subdue, and place in the rank of an obsequious vassal, whose happiness and whose very existence should depend on his smiles or frowns? Where now is Holland, that for a century maintained, by its industry, a most respectable rank in Europe? That nation is trampled down by his legions, who, to add insult to injury, are pleased to call themselves allies.—Where is the free, the virtuous, and the gallant Swiss nation? For centuries they, too, in the bosom of peace, had cultivated the virtues, the sciences, and the useful arts. They had not meddled in the strife of nations; they always preserved the strictest and most honourable neutrality; but the destroyer came and swept away the produce of the industry of ages; and, what was dearer to them than their wealth, their independence and antient liberties. Where is Italy now? Italy, which for ages has not lifted its head among contending empires, but whose ambition has merely been to call back into civilized Europe the monuments of ancient arts, the sciences, and the taste of the early ages of Greece, refined by every improvement of modern times. Where now are those unoffending countries? They all lie at the proud feet of France, to endure either the anger or the clemency of their conquerors. Among their first acquisitions since the peace was Lombardy, which they pleased to call the Italian Republic; then followed the Isle of Elba, Piedmont, Parma, and lastly Switzerland. Holland, which was one of those nations whose independence they had acknowledged by their treaties, was now overrun with French troops; and as to this country, if it could submit to the insolence and unjust pretensions of France, it would soon

ſoon be in as degraded and humiliating a ſituation as any of thoſe ſmall nations which were now obliged to bow to the mandates of a French Miniſter, and obey his inſtructions. It was impoſſible for any one, who conſidered the conduct of the French Government from the ſigning of the Definitive Treaty, not to perceive that it was influenced merely by the luſt of dominion, and that ſort of vanity which might be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs thoſe who fancied themſelves the conquerors of Europe. They had ventured, in ſpeaking of this country, to ſay, "England is no longer able, ſingle handed, to contend with France."

Theſe obſervations were ably enforced by the Duke of Clarence, who animadverted with ſeverity on the declaration of Bonaparte, that the acquiſitions he had made were mere trifles; and lord Ellenborough declared, that by the law of nature and nations, even an aggrandiſement by ſucceſſion, or otherwiſe, might have been ground of jealouſy and ſuſpicion; but when that aggrandiſement had been obtained by violence and injuſtice, it could no longer be doubted that we were intitled to make new demands.

In addition to theſe topics the ſeveral ſpeakers on the ſide of Government treated on the points in diſpute between the two countries, as detailed in the papers. The arrogant manner in which Bonaparte demanded the tranſportation of the French nobility and clergy; his lofty requiſition that the liberty of the preſs ſhould be reſtrained; his unjuſt oppreſſion of our commerce; this laſt, it was ſaid, in a country like this, muſt be an object of the greateſt importance to the nation, and an object of the greateſt ſolicitude to its Government; but the French had in a time of peace, acted with the moſt inveterate hoſtility. They had not endeavoured to depreciate our manufactures, and ſubſtitute their own, by laying on any protecting duties, or any fair mode of rivalſhip, No; it was by force, and by injuſtice. They not only rigorouſly prohibited the entrance of our manufactures into their country, but excluded them alſo from every country which was under their influence, or, rather, which could be terrified by the conſideration of their power, joined to that of their rapacity and injuſtice: their tribunals had confiſcated our veſſels on the moſt frivolous pretences, they had refuſed, in every inſtance, juſtice to Britiſh claimants, and they were pleaſed to call this conduct the conduct of a nation at peace. This country too, had been told that it had nothing to do with the affairs of Europe, or with the oppreſſions and vexations that France might pleaſe to exerciſe on other nations, and that all our rights were derived from the Treaty of Amiens. When did France make this diſcovery, or when did Great Britain forfeit the rank and eſtimation ſhe had hitherto held among other nations?

Nor was the Miſſion of Sebaſtiani, or his Report forgotten. This Report boldly diſcloſed the ambitious projects of France with reſpect to Egypt, and ultimately with reſpect to India. This Report, at the ſame time that it announced projects of ambition, ſuch as hardly any other power had ever entertained, ſhewed, by this daring avowal, which

which was officially published in the Gazette of the First Consul, that the French Government no longer supposed there was any power which could thwart their schemes of conquest and plunder. Egypt was, in their opinion, already a colony of France. The first Consul himself said, that sooner or later it must belong to France; and his Minister confessed, that the possession of it must naturally affect the safety of our empire in India, and yet, when Ministers thought themselves not only justified, but bound in duty to retain Malta, not as a compensation for the unjust aggrandisement of France, but as a security against her designs in the Mediterranean, we are gravely told by the French Government, that although they are perfectly indifferent as to the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, or whether they ever recover the island or not, yet they will not permit England to retain Malta, because they do not choose that England should have any footing at all in the Mediterranean. But not to Egypt alone was the Mission of Sebastiani; it extended to the Republic of the Seven Islands, the independence of which was stipulated for in the Treaty of Peace. Here the sacred name of Religion was called in to answer the purposes of the French Government, and the First Consul was graciously pleased to take under his protection the church of this independent republic.

On the other side, it was alleged that all which had been said of Holland, of its distresses and sufferings, and of its intimate connexion with Great Britain as to common interest, had been very much exaggerated and twisted to serve particular ends, as the views of men, and the state of public affairs varied. There was nothing, at all events, of such necessity as to press this country into hostilities on account of Holland. With respect to Switzerland, notwithstanding its boasted independence, it was undeniable that it belonged in fact to other powers, and not to us to interfere for its deliverance. Austria had clearly a more intimate connexion with Switzerland, and a more powerful cause to interpose than we could possibly have; yet she was deaf to those complaints in which also her own interests were allowed by every one to be most materially implicated. No apology could be found for an act so tyrannical as the seizure of Parma and Placentia, but was there no other power more interested in the repression of that despotism than Great Britain? Were we, upon all occasions, to volunteer our resources and exertions when those more immediately interested did not think proper to interfere? Why was Russia quiescent, which openly avowed the deep concern she felt in the preservation of these countries?

But then, said the Marquis of Lansdowne, "another ground for going to war is discovered in the Mission of Sebastiani to Egypt. I beg leave to state, that in this very instance, which is made a strong cause for the renewal of hostilities, there is nothing that can justify us in appealing to arms, though it contained much that was offensive in the manner of it. Does not every noble Lord who hears me, know that the Governments of all countries are in the habit of sending persons abroad in order to collect information, sometimes

times of a commercial, and sometimes of a military nature? Are we now to learn, for the first time, that of all other governments that of the monarchy of France was most attached to that particular system, that it sent agents to distant parts to acquire intelligence relative to the trade, the geographical and political state of these parts, and that the information thus collected was carefully arranged and preserved? But it is maintained as another cause of war, that the First Consul has views upon Egypt. I have no doubt, my Lords, that he has, and I believe any one in his situation would be actuated by just the same views. I am, however, very far from thinking his designs are of a nature so very alarming as they are described, for it is nearly impossible he could have such views and make such a declaration as we are assured he has done, that Egypt sooner or later would belong to France." Was it to be expected that, in the situation of France and of Europe, all views of ambition should be extinguished in the breast of the First Consul. He was far from supporting the whole of that person's character. No honest man, he believed, could approve of his conduct. Yet it was not because the First Consul had developed views of ambition that we ought to conclude that he intended to go to war with us. Our business, however, was not to allow ourselves to be hurried away by disapprobation of the First Consul's measures, or by an exaggerated alarm at his ambition, but to follow a steady course of national policy.

The attacks of Bonaparte on the liberty of the British Press were in like manner palliated or defended. The Marquis of Lansdowne said he never could bring himself to think it stood in need of protection while the trial by jury was enjoyed by British subjects. Earl Stanhope said Ministers had a long string of complaints against the French Government, respecting the curtailment of the liberty of the press, the dismissal of emigrants, and the seditious publications of bishops. The insolence of Bonaparte, in requiring these concessions to his haughty demands, had been made a subject of very general complaint. He was ready to declare, that after having perused the papers with the utmost attention, he saw no proof of his insolence. If the French Government really required that the liberty of the press should be curtailed, that the freedom of discussion in both Houses of Parliament should be limited, then Ministers ought to have insisted on an immediate and distinct explanation. If the answer was not satisfactory, they ought to have recalled our embassador that day, and on the succeeding day our cannon ought to have roared to avenge the insult offered to the national honour. But while he was an advocate for the liberty of the press, he was not to stand up for its licentiousness. Some late publications were of a most mischievous tendency, and could not be justified on any principle of regard to the rights of independent states. It was of great importance that the liberty of the press, as it ought to be exercised, should be clearly and accurately defined. The criterion between what was false, scandalous, and scurrilous was, what would be tolerated

rated with reſpect to the Miniſters of the crown. What they would not bear to be applied to their conduct, it was unfair and criminal to apply to the conduct of the firſt magiſtrates of other ſtates. On this point he thought the Firſt Conſul had a right to complain, becauſe it did not appear that any ſpecific caſe of inſolence on the part of the government of France was eſtabliſhed. Earl Moira alſo ſaid, he did not mean ſo much to dwell on the ſentiments of the Engliſh newſpapers, as upon thoſe which appered in French newſpapers publiſhed in London, particularly the Courier de Londres, a paper underſtood to be in a great degree under the patronage of Miniſters; and in which the French Government was reviled in the groſſeſt terms. And why, he would aſk, ſhould a paper which could not be employed for any purpoſe of amuſing or informing the people of this country, be ſuffered to purſue a ſyſtem of conduct deſtructive of amity, eſpecially when Government had power, under the alien act, to ſend the editor out of the country, if it choſe to diſcountenance ſuch proceedings? Their declining to do ſo was not leſs a juſtification of the remonſtrances on this ſubject, than a ground of ſuſpicion as to the diſpoſitions of his Majeſty's Miniſters.

The mention of Sebaſtiani and of Egypt introduced much diſcuſſion relative to Malta, and the principle of retaining it becauſe Bonaparte had acquired ſo much additional power. "When I hear the value of Malta ſo very much cried up," the Marquis of Landsdowne obſerved "your Lordſhips will pardon me if I do not lay ſuch ſtreſs upon the acquiſition of that iſland. How comes it that the great importance of Malta has all at once ſtarted into notice? Your Lordſhips cannot but recollect that four or five years ago it was not thought of ſo much value, when it was offered to this country by the Grand Maſter. Beſides, as it is in our poſſeſſion, where is the abſolute neceſſity that compels us to go to war for it? Is it to ſecure that which might have been done by negotiation? The Duke of Richmond too while he admitted that Malta, as a key to Egypt, was of the utmoſt importance to us, contended that if Malta could have been obtained for a valuable conſideration, he ſhould have preferred that mode of ſecuring it.

Earl Stanhope carried his oppoſition on theſe points much further than any other peer. He did not think that, in the principle on which the retention of Malta was required, Miniſters were juſtified. Their argument was, that becauſe, ſince the ſignature of the Definitive Treaty, France had received a conſiderable acceſſion of power, therefore England was required to hold Malta, by way of additional ſecurity. To ſuch a principle he never could give his approbation; but, if, for the ſake of argument, he ſhould admit it, Miniſters could have no objection to his contending that it ought to be equally applied on all ſides. With this underſtanding he ſhould contend, that inſtead of the power of France being augmented ſince the peace, it had been materially decreaſed. In Europe it might, indeed, be ſaid, that it had been increaſed, but this was a neceſſary conſequence of antecedent events. After

the

the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden, all the ſubordinate ſtates of Europe were virtually under her controul, and any formal ceſſion was merely a nominal, not a real acceſſion. But, what was the decreaſe of their influence and power, in other parts of the world? Since the ſignature of the Definitive Treaty, the important colony of Saint Domingo, a colony, in point of real value and importance, ſuperior to all other French poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies, had been loſt. By means of the free people of colour in Saint Domingo, Bonaparte might have gained all the others, both Britiſh and Spaniſh. But Miniſters, after all this, ſtill reverted to the views of Bonaparte reſpecting Egypt. Was it meant to be inſinuated, that the predilection of Bonaparte for Egypt was any thing novel? Was it not well enough aſcertained that the poſſeſſion of it was one of his moſt favourite objects? The ſtrong inclination expreſſed on this head by Bonaparte was not a ſufficient ground for the retention of Malta, in the way in which it was by Miniſters propoſed to be retained. There was ſomething laughable in the whole arrangements relative to the retention of Malta. It appeared in a diſpatch dated the 12th of May, that at the time when Lord Whitworth was preparing to ſet out from Paris, M. Talleyrand brought forward a propoſition, holding out a proſpect of allowing us to retain Malta in perpetuity for a valuable conſideration. On this Lord Whitworth ſolicited his paſſports and left Paris without any explanation, a mode of conduct which violated the plaineſt principles of common ſenſe. In another diſpatch Lord Whitworth ſaid of Talleyrand, "I found him to day entirely diſpoſed to convince me that the Firſt Conſul was deſirous to diſcuſs fairly, and without paſſion, a point which he admitted was of importance to both countries. He repeatedly aſſured me, that much as the Firſt Conſul had the acquiſition of Egypt at heart, he would ſacrifice his own feelings to the preſervation of peace, and henceforth ſeek to augment his glory by improving and conſolidating the internal ſituation of the country, rather than by adding to its poſſeſſions." "Fair words theſe," ſaid Lord Stanhope, "I would not be induced to give up Malta for them; but when it is offered to give us that iſland, in perpetuity, for a conſideration, is it not worth endeavouring to find out what conſideration would ſuit him? Jerſey and Guernſey are ſtrong for the purpoſe of annoying him, but of little uſe to us. Why not, give theſe up? Is it not better, than that two nations ſhould deſtroy one another?"

This laſt propoſition met with vehement reprobation from all ſides of the houſe; from Lord Mulgrave, the Duke of Richmond, and Lord Grenville. It was with profound aſtoniſhment they heard the noble Lord talk of giving up thoſe iſlands, which had been ſo long united to, and were ſo ſincerely attached to Great Britain, the advantage of which we had ſo often proved in war, the benefit of which we had ſo conſtantly experienced in peace: thoſe iſlands which made a vigorous defence upon former occaſions againſt the common enemy, and whoſe exemplary rejection of every principle of Jacobiniſm, ought

ought to endear them for ever to every Englishman. But the noble Lord wished the country to forget their services, to forget their attachment, to forget the advantage derived from them, upon the most disgraceful principle that could be conceived. To deliver those islands into the hands of the French republic, would be an act of the greatest ingratitude and injustice, as well as an act of the greatest impolicy. The idea, Lord Grenville said, was not at all to be endured; and he would be sorry that it should go forth to the public from among their Lordships without being marked by the strongest reprobation. What! would the noble Earl, who professed himself an advocate for liberty, recommend to have so many thousands of British subjects transferred to the most severe and degrading slavery which at present exists in Europe? Was that the kind of protection he would grant in return for allegiance?

With respect to Malta, the conduct of Government was vindicated by the circumstances apparent in the papers; by the aggrandisement of France; the evident use to be made of the evacuation by turning it to advantage in an attempt on Egypt; and the impossibility, owing to the insidious intrigues of France of securing the independency of the Order, after their revenues had been sequestrated, and no great power would undertake to become their guarantees. On this point the sentiments of Lord Melville were particularly intitled to notice. This question he said was freed from much of the difficulty and perplexity in which it had been involved, and rejoiced most heartily that no man could stand up to deny that the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens was totally incapable of being carried into execution. He congratulated the House, he congratulated the Country, that it was so incapable of being executed; nay, he thought it matter of congratulation that the French, by their obstinacy, had prevented any new and adequate arrangement for the independence of Malta from being substituted in the room of that which circumstances had so completely rendered impracticable. What indeed would have been the situation of Malta with all its guarantees? Was the guarantee of Spain, of Prussia, of France to be relied upon? It would not be pretended that such securities were of any avail. The only guarantee of importance, and which could have any efficacy, was that of Russia, in conjunction with Great Britain. He spoke of the importance of Russia in such an arrangement with the greatest satisfaction, for he considered it mutually for the interest of the two countries to cherish the strictest union and alliance. Nevertheless, he was happy that the guarantee of Russia was not to be attached to an arrangement in every way so inadequate to the object it had in view. It was in fact most advantageous for Russia that Malta should be under the protection of Great Britain. It was Great Britain alone which, by its naval superiority, by its capacity to avail itself of the harbours and naval station of Malta, was calculated to be the custodier [illegible] every other plan for [illegible] and for its independ- [illegible] and inadequate. [illegible] was at liberty to contem-

contemplate the poſſibility of realiſing an object of ſo much importance as the ſettlement of Malta under Britiſh protection. Well did he remember the melancholy moments he had paſſed, when, after reading the Definitive Treaty, he found Malta expoſed to ſo much danger of falling into the hands of a power that would employ it for our deſtruction. The importance of that iſland had long appeared to him to be very great, and Europe had in the moſt deciſive inſtances witneſſed it. It was impoſſible that all the efforts of France, that all the armaments ſhe could ſend forth could obtain poſſeſſion of Egypt while we, with a ſuperior navy, had the opportunity of availing ourſelves of the harbours of Malta. Malta, therefore, was to be conſidered as of infinite importance to the ſtrengthening and ſecurity of our empire in India. He conſidered it as a rock or great tower, on which the flag of Great Britain, diſplayed and floating, would hold forth an invitation to the people of the Mediterranean, of the Adriatic, and of the Levant ſeas, to rally round it, and to avail themſelves of the protection of this country. It therefore was ſubject of congratulation that, without any charge upon our good faith, an opportunity had occurred in which the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens could not be executed. As we were now going to war, and as Malta formed one of the main objects of the war, he wiſhed that its value ſhould be fully underſtood, and that we ſhould likewiſe keep in view the neceſſity of availing ourſelves of its advantages to the utmoſt. He hoped to hear no more of the Order being reſtored; or of the independence of the iſland being in any manner guaranteed. While Great Britain was able to keep a ſuperior fleet in the harbours of Malta, in the protection of Great Britain it would be ſecure. We were alſo freed from any conſideration of the knights of Saint John. They had degraded and overthrown their Order by an act of perfidy; nor could they be reſtored without the ſevereſt injury to the people of the iſland. The Order was odious to the Malteſe for the act of treachery by which they had put them under the government of France, and it was doubtful whether the people would not have deemed themſelves leſs unfortunate in being transferred to France, than in being again placed under the command of an Order which they had ſo much reaſon to hate and to diſtruſt. Beſides, it was to be conſidered that we went to the aid of the Malteſe, previouſly engaged in the reduction of the French; and it was greatly againſt the wiſhes of the people that the Order was to be reinſtated upon any terms. We ought, therefore, to ſecure to the Malteſe a wiſe and ſuitable form of civil government, to be enjoyed by them under the protection of the Britiſh power. This object ought to be proſecuted and ſettled without any delay, ſo that whenever any new negotiation ſhould be ſet on foot, we might be enabled to ſay that the people of Malta, under a form of government agreeable to their wiſhes, were now eſtabliſhed under the protection of Great Britain. He wiſhed it to be underſtood that he conſidered the retention of Malta

for ever to be a moſt eſſential object, and one which, in the relative circumſtances of France and this country, we were fully entitled to proſecute by war. The attainment of this object would be of the utmoſt benefit to all the ſtates of the Levant, and under our protection alone, Malta could be rendered independent and happy.

Amid theſe diſcordances of opinion, peers on all ſides ſpoke the moſt animating language to the country; they cenſured every attempt to enfeeble the public energy by affected lamentations, and exaggerated deſcriptions of the privations and burthens to be incurred: the reſources of the country were equal to any neceſſity. If we had not the chivalry and gallantry of Creſſy, Poictiers, and Agincourt, we had to oppoſe to the enemy the heroes of Aboukir, of the Nile, of Saint Jean D'Acre, of Saint Vincent, and of Camperdown. Similar heroiſm and ſimilar achievements, would ſignalize the preſent conteſt; and with ſuch reſources ought we to ſubmit to inſults? To the energies of the people, Parliament would ſupply wiſdom, counſel, and unanimous reſolution, to withſtand the common enemy, without being influenced by any low conſiderations of party. If the war ſhould be of any long continuance, the conſequences of defeat would be the overthrowing of our altars, the deſtruction of our nobility, the degradation of the country, the extinction of the national honour, and the loſs of that character which had hitherto made our people reſpected among the nations; whereas, if we ſhould proſecute it with that vigour with which our former wars had been carried on, there would be no doubt of the ſame ſucceſs. We ſhould convince the world that we had not degenerated from the patriotic ſpirit of our anceſtors; and we ſhould teach France, that there is ſtill in Europe a powerful and unconquered nation, which, juſt and moderate in its own conduct, will not bear injuſtice or inſult from any other, and is always prepared to defend its own dignity, and to oppoſe unjuſt ambition, aggrandizement and encroachment.

The Houſe dividing on the queſtion for an Addreſs, there appeared Contents 142, Non Contents 10.

The diſcuſſion in the Houſe of Commons continued two days; Lord Hawkeſbury, opened the buſineſs in a ſpeech which is deſcribed as one of great ability and evident preparation, and moved an Addreſs, by which the Houſe aſſured his Majeſty of the juſt ſenſe they entertained of his anxious and uniform endeavours to preſerve to his people the bleſſings of peace, of their ſtrong feelings of indignation, that his Majeſty's endeavours had been fruſtrated by the reſtleſs ſpirit of ambition and domination in the government of France, and their firm determination to co-operate in calling forth the reſources of the United kingdom for the vigorous ſupport of his cauſe. 23rd and 24th.

Mr. Erſkine oppoſed the ſtatements of Lord Hawkeſbury, and was followed by Mr. Grey, who moved an amendment, limiting the Addreſs to aſſurances of co-operation, and an expreſſion of the ſatisfac-

tion with which the Commons received his Majesty's Declaration, that he was willing to afford, as far as might be consistent with his own honour and the interests of his people, every facility to any just arrangement by which the blessings of peace might be restored.

Of the debates on the first day, only an imperfect account is preserved, as the persons who took reports for the periodical publications were, by the throng of curious auditors, excluded from the gallery where they usually sit, and no memorial is preserved of any speeches but those of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Wilberforce.

The former, after being absent from Parliament during the Session, made a speech of extraordinary and unexpected brilliancy and force, surpassing the expectations, even of his warmest admirers; he supported the measures of government while Mr. Wilberforce expressed qualified disapprobation of them.

After noticing some of the propositions laid down by Mr. Erskine, Mr. Pitt treated at large on the various topics contained in the papers; and took it as a point admitted on the other side, that there was such clear evidence of views of aggression and hostility on the part of France, as justified this country in retaining Malta for its own security. This was, in fact, he said, the first great point on which the question turned, and he contended that the whole of Sebastiani's Report, and the circumstances of his mission to Egypt; the express and deliberate avowal by Bonaparte himself of his views and intentions, in a formal conference with Lord Whitworth, and the information of the same intentions through the official channel of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, afforded the clearest and most indisputable evidence that the First Consul had formed the determination, even while Malta was yet in our hands, of resuming his hostile projects against Egypt; that the pursuit of such a project was an undeniable act of hostility against this country, and aimed at some of its most important interests; that it was, besides, a direct violation both of the letter and the spirit of the Treaty of Amiens itself, under pretence of which Treaty alone our evacuation of that Island was demanded, although under circumstances which, in other respects, according to the letter of that Treaty, did not authorise such a demand; that the disclosure of this hostile project clearly justified this country in requiring fresh security against it, and if such security was refused, in having recourse to arms for that purpose, at the moment which appeared to be most for our advantage. Having exposed at length the futility of the pretences advanced by the French government, especially on the subject of Sebastiani's mission, and the unequivocal avowals of their further intentions, both by Bonaparte and Talleyrand; he observed that to all the evidence founded on these several documents he had heard but one argument opposed—the improbability of the French government thus disclosing its views, if it really entertained them. On this point it might be sufficient to observe, that it might indeed be difficult to account for such a disclosure,

cloſure; even on the ſuppoſition of ſuch a project being really intended; but that it was not only difficult, but impoſſible to account for it at all, on the ſuppoſition of its not being intended. The difficulty of accounting for the diſcloſure was removed, by referring to the new and peculiar policy which had marked the conduct of France on many extraordinary occaſions, from the very beginning of the Revolution; that where any meaſure was in contemplation more flagrant and atrocious than another, and more likely to ſhock the general feelings of Europe, and perhaps to excite vigorous and united reſiſtance, inſtead of carefully concealing it till the moment of execution, it had, on the contrary, been ſtudiouſly announced before hand; the effect of this policy had been gradually to familiarize men's minds to that which at firſt they could ſcarcely even believe, and that, thoſe ſchemes which, in the firſt inſtance, were received with horror, and would have been oppoſed with indignation, came afterwards to be contemplated with neglect and indifference; and that which at firſt no man thought it poſſible ſeriouſly to attempt, was by degrees conſidered as natural and probable, and, in the end, as that which it was hopeleſs and impoſſible to reſiſt. He therefore put it to the Houſe, whether, after having obſerved this practice, it was poſſible for us to be ſo credulous and childiſh as to act on the belief that Bonaparte would abandon the projects he had formed, only becauſe he had himſelf told us he would perſiſt in them; and whether we thought that if, for whatever reaſon, he had been led prematurely to diſcloſe this project, even while Malta, the great ſecurity againſt its execution, was ſtill in our poſſeſſion, he would renounce the attempt when that ſecurity had been ſurrendered by us, and put, in fact, into his poſſeſſion? He wiſhed the Houſe to conſider what was to be our future conduct, if after all the warnings given us, we were now to ſurrender Malta, and the attack upon Egypt were to follow in ſix or twelve months afterwards. Were we prepared for the ridiculous, but diſaſtrous alternative to which we ſhould be reduced, of either ſubmitting without a ſtruggle to national calamity and diſgrace, becauſe, foreſeeing our danger, we had voluntarily and wantonly ſacrificed the beſt means of averting it; or, when it was perhaps too late, were we to enter upon a difficult and almoſt hopeleſs conteſt, having by our own act given up the arms by which we could be enabled to conduct it to a ſucceſsful iſſue.

Mr. Pitt then took an able and ample review of the conduct of France in all particulars relative to Great Britain ſince the Treaty of Amiens, and declared himſelf convinced that there never was an occaſion on which it more clearly became the indiſpenſable duty of Parliament to concur with his Majeſty in the declaration of the neceſſity and juſtice of war, and to aſſure him of firm and effectual ſupport. But in giving theſe aſſurances, he truſted that other gentlemen felt impreſſed with the ſame ſenſe which he did, of the awful importance of the engagement into which they were preparing to enter, and that they conſidered thoſe aſſurances, not as formal

words of ceremony or cuſtom, but as a ſolemn and deliberate pledge on behalf of themſelves and the nation, whom they repreſented, knowing, and feeling to their full extent, the real difficulties and dangers of their ſituation, and of the arduous ſtruggle which it compelled them to endure, and being prepared to meet thoſe difficulties and dangers with every exertion and every ſacrifice which the unexampled circumſtances of the times rendered indiſpenſable for the public ſafety. The ſcale of our exertions could not be meaſured by thoſe of former times, or confined within the limits even of the great, and till then, unexampled efforts of the laſt war. He was convinced that ſome ſyſtem far more vigorous and effectual than any even then adopted, would be found neceſſary, both in our finance, and in the preparation for national defence. On the proviſions to be made for theſe two primary and paramount objects, it would principally depend whether we could effectually diſconcert the favourite projects, and diſappoint the main hopes of the enemy. It was evident that if they indulged themſelves in any expectation of ſucceſs in the preſent conteſt, it was built chiefly on the ſuppoſition that they could either break the ſpirit and ſhake the determination of the country, by haraſſing us with the perpetual apprehenſion of deſcent upon our coaſts, or that they could impair our reſources and undermine our credit, by the effects of an expenſive and protracted conteſt. To defeat the firſt of theſe purpoſes, it was not ſufficient to make thoſe naval and military preparations which would prevent any invaſion that might be attempted from being ultimately ſucceſsful (an event which he truſted he was juſtified, in common with others, in conſidering as utterly impoſſible), but to make ſuch vigorous and extenſive arrangements for national defence, as might diffuſe a ſenſe of the moſt complete ſecurity againſt even the temporary impreſſion to be produced by ſuch an attempt, and might enable every individual to lay down his head to reſt, in the perſuaſion and confidence that nothing was omitted which could enable us at once to meet and repel the danger, at any moment, and in any quarter, in which it might threaten us.

In order to diſappoint the ſecond object, that of wearing out our reſources, he truſted the Houſe would, from the beginning, form its ſyſtem of finance, not with a view only to the expence which might be neceſſary in the firſt year of the conteſt, but that they would look at once to the poſſibility of its being protracted to as long a period as that which was lately terminated—that they would conſider fully what, on the probable ſcale of the war, would be the whole extent of the burthens neceſſary to be impoſed on that ſuppoſition. He truſted that, if poſſible, not even a fortnight ſhould be ſuffered to elapſe without enabling Parliament to adopt ſuch meaſures as would convince both France and the world, that we had from that hour provided the means of ſupporting the force, and defraying the expenditure which might be neceſſary for maintaining our internal ſecurity, and for the vigorous and effectual proſecution of the war, to any period

to which it could reasonably be supposed to extend. We had not an option, at this moment, between the blessings of peace and the dangers of war—from the fatality of the times, and the general state of the world, we must consider our lot as cast by the decrees of Providence, in a time of peril and trouble—he trusted the temper and courage of the nation would conform itself to the duties of that situation; we should be prepared collectively and individually to meet it with that resignation and fortitude, and, at the same time, with that active zeal and exertion; which, in proportion to the magnitude of the crisis, might be expected from a brave and free people; and we should reflect, even in the hour of trial, what abundant reason we had to be grateful to Providence, for the distinction we enjoyed over most of the countries of Europe, and for all the advantages and blessings which national wisdom and virtue had hitherto protected, and which it would now depend on perseverance in the same just and honourable sentiments still to guard and to preserve.

Mr. Wilberforce, on the other hand, admitted that the general spirit of faithlessness, ambition and aggrandizement manifested by the French government towards all other countries, with the commanding tone and port which they had assumed in all their dealings; that their marked hostility towards this nation, combined with their formidable means of giving effect to that hostility; their views on Egypt, their obtaining of which, would be highly dangerous to our possessions in the East Indies; all these considerations, confirmed and heightened by the several acts of injustice and indignity, stated so forcibly in his Majesty's Declaration, constituted such a body of aggression, injury, and insult, and manifested such a rooted spirit of hostility towards us, as to give us a right, on principles of provident self-defence, to declare war against France, if, all circumstances considered, war should appear to be dictated by the principles of sound policy. But the real security, the true interest of this country strongly enforced the expediency of avoiding war, if possible, in the present situation of our affairs, and, he could not but believe that Ministers had plunged into it rashly and unnecessarily, and that the chief ground on which they had rested their cause, the main hinge on which all had turned; was not such as they could fully vindicate. All the dispute, he contended turned on Malta, and he declared that Ministers were not warranted in making the demand of retaining that Island, and had therefore acted unwisely, not to say unjustly, in putting the whole cause on this issue. Granting that difficulties had occurred, difficulties not only not created by us, but of which France had been the secret instigator, which by preventing the execution of the conditions by which we meant to provide for the independence of the island, had fairly prevented our evacuating it on the day fixed by the Treaty of Amiens; yet still, we should have used our endeavours to overcome those difficulties, and to provide other means of accomplishing the same end. On Sebastiani's Letter he would not say much, but it

would ſcarcely warrant the concluſion which had been drawn from it. The views of the Firſt Conſul on Egypt were not doubtful, but they were not unknown or new. Miniſters were aware of them at the time they concluded the Treaty of Amiens, and ought then to have guarded againſt them, inſtead of now requiring the poſſeſſion of Malta inſtead of its independence. Malta, ſaid Mr. Wilberforce, is indeed a valuable poſſeſſion, but the moſt valuable of all the poſſeſſions of this country is its good faith.

"It appears to me," he proceeded, "that the King's Meſſage to Parliament was a meaſure which tended to create a breach between the two countries. Certainly it has not been proved that any great armaments were making in the ports of France; but I will paſs over this topic—I confeſs that great allowances ought to be made for adminiſtration, who, it muſt be remembered, were in the painful ſituation of being reſponſible for the ſecurity of this country. But it was urged in defence of his Majeſty's Miniſters, that they muſt make a ſtand ſomewhere; they had been ſubjected to a long courſe of injury and inſult, and it was unfair to ſtate the point on which they at laſt took their ſtand, as if it were the only point of difference: true, but in proportion as it was neceſſary, in the circumſtances of his Majeſty's Miniſters, that they muſt take their ground ſomewhere, in that ſame proportion was it incumbent on them to ſelect the ground on which they could make their final ſtand, with more than ordinary caution and judgment. Again,—The conduct of Miniſters in the caſe of Switzerland, renders it almoſt impoſſible for me to concur in declaring in the words of the Addreſs, my ſenſe of their anxious and uniform endeavours to preſerve the bleſſings of peace. The conduct of government was, in that inſtance, unwarrantable, and they were not juſtified in expoſing this country to the manifold evils and dangers of war, for the ſake of the liberties of Switzerland."

Mr. Wilberforce then adverted to the diſadvantage of contending againſt France without allies, and inſiſted on the policy of poſtponing a conteſt. Bonaparte, he admitted, had declared he would regard our retention of Malta, contrary to the Treaty of Amiens, as a declaration of war; that declaration was made in an early ſtage of the proceedings; but what paſſed afterwards, afforded reaſon to believe, that the independence, at leaſt, of Malta, if not our retention of it for ten years, would have been acquieſced in, rather than the war ſhould be re-commenced. The difference between himſelf and Miniſters, he ſaid was, that they wiſhed to ſeek for peace through the mouth of the cannon, he through the mediation of the Court of Ruſſia.

In the debate on the ſecond night, the members of the new oppoſition; Mr. T. Grenville, Mr. William Elliot and Mr. Canning juſtified the war, and deſired an unanimous vote in favour of the Addreſs. Had only one of the cauſes contained in the papers been aſſigned, that alone it was contended, would have been ſufficient ground for the rupture. The mere act of ſending perſons to this country,

country, apparently invested with diplomatic characters, and under pretence of preserving the relations of peace, while, at the same time, they were actuated by motives of the most determined hostility against this country; while they were regarded and treated with all that hospitality and attention, which their supposed sacred characters intitled them to; the mere sending persons, who, when they were receiving that hospitality which a generous nation thought it its duty to show towards them, were at the same time tracing out the destruction of the country, was so scandalous, so shameful, and so unprecedented an act of aggression, that, instead of questioning whether it is a just ground of war, it might rather be asked whether it had been properly resented? But they who maintained these opinions carfully separated their support of the just rights of his Majesty and the nation from any approbation of the conduct of Ministers; and this separate mode of viewing the parts of the case was recommended by Mr. Whitbread, who while he supported the amendment moved by Mr. Grey, cautioned the new opposition against giving their countenance to Ministers so as to warrant a supposition that their measures were entitled to support.

Mr. Whitbread viewing all the topics of discussion separately, thought some of them not sufficient to warrant hostilities, and that others had been so long passed over, that the period for taking notice of them had definitively elapsed. For the violence of Bonaparte, he made an extraordinary excuse. The Chief Consul, he said, was a great man, and subject to the most violent gusts of passion; but what fell from him in such moments was not to be considered in the light of deliberate conversation.

Ministry were powerfully supported by Mr. Dallas, who, in a speech of some length, vindicated their conduct, and exposed that of the enemy; and by Mr. Serjeant Best, who considered that too much time had been occupied in discussing the Papers before the House; for, it was admitted on all hands, that they contained abundant and legitimate causes of war, and yet the House was still discussing whether they should agree in the Address to his Majesty upon the justice of the war. If he were asked, would he go to war for Malta, he would answer, No! he would not go to war for Malta, or a much more extensive possession, in the abstract: but it was the manner in which France demanded Malta, it was the disposition she had shewn, it was the designs which she had openly avowed, that in his opinion justified this country in going to war If the smallest spot of earth was demanded of us, in the manner, and under the circumstances that France had demanded Malta, he would refuse it, because he considered it as essentially connected with the safety and interests of the British empire.

The most formidable opponent of the measures of government was Mr. Fox, who, as if rouzed to a peculiar exertion by the brilliant and successful display which had been made by his old political antagonist, Mr. Pitt, poured forth an oration worthy the high character of the speaker. It was characterized by his friends as a master piece of oratory and political wis-

dom, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer noticed it as the moſt commanding piece of ſophiſtry he had ever heard delivered in Parliament.

Mr. Fox, would not, in a queſtion on ſuch an Addreſs as the preſent, conſent to poſtpone the conſideration of the conduct of Miniſters. The Addreſs propoſed to thank his Majeſty for his uniform efforts to preſerve the peace of the country; as the Papers exhibited quite the reverſe of any ſuch propoſition, he was far from feeling a diſpoſition to thank them for their uniform conſiſtency in endeavouring to avoid hoſtilities. As other gentlemen had laid down general principles, he would alſo ſtate ſome. He maintained, that, throughout the queſtion there was no juſt ground of war, except the refuſal of ſatisfaction. "If an injury be received," he ſaid, "the proper mode of proceeding is by the demand of reparation, and the juſtice of the quarrel will then depend on the refuſal or acquieſcence of the party ſaid to be the aggreſſor. Some who poſſeſs power will occaſionally take that reparation into their own hands, but it will ſcarcely be maintained that this is the moſt juſtifiable means of proceeding." The queſtion to be conſidered was, whether the conduct of France towards this country, had been unjuſtifiable ſince the concluſion of the Treaty of Amiens? As to any aggreſſion that might have been committed againſt other nations, he denied that it was a juſt cauſe of war to England. We had not, any guarantee to bind us to maintain the independence of Switzerland. The aggrandizement of a rival country to a certain extent, might furniſh a ground of quarrel for ſelf-defence, and induce a country ſuch as this to enter into a quarrel with another, circumſtanced as France might be ſuppoſed to be; but after the numerous partitions and ſpoliations witneſſed and ſanctioned in recent times, he would not admit that any thing of that kind which had happened ſince the peace would juſtify the renewal of hoſtilities. Had this country always gone on the principle of ſubſtantial ſecurity; inſtead of the few intervals of peace we occaſionally enjoyed, England would have been in a ſtate of perpetual and uninterrupted war for the laſt two centuries. Theſe principles Mr. Fox applied to Germany, Piedmont, Switzerland, Holland and Saint Domingo.

As to the complaints on the Liberty of the Preſs, Mr. Fox expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms. "I am unqueſtionably one of thoſe who would not diſturb the freedom of the preſs in England to pleaſe any foreign country, and ſhould, to the utmoſt of my power, equally reſiſt ſuch an attempt on the part of the government of England. Propoſals to that effect made by the government of France could only proceed from the groſſeſt ignorance of our laws and conſtitution; but being capable of explanation, they could afford no proper ground of quarrel. The preſs, at times, has no doubt deviated into licentiouſneſs, but that is no more than a partial evil, ſpringing from an univerſal good. In the ſyſtem of reciprocal abuſe, which ſeems to have been adopted, and which has the appearance of having been countenanced by the republican governments, there muſt neceſſa-

neceſſarily be ſome ſubject of emulation; but I ſhould recommend to both parties to attend to a paſſage in the very beſt of poems, and put by Homer in the mouth of the Goddeſs of Wiſdom. When two heroes were quarrelling, and prepared for battle, this goddeſs told them what may be thus tranſlated into Engliſh—"Gentlemen, put up your ſwords, and then abuſe each other as much as you pleaſe." This, in my opinion, was a very ſage admonition, whether from the lips of the Goddeſs of Wiſdom or the Goddeſs of Reaſon, of whom we have heard ſuch frequent mention. This reciprocal abuſe is certainly extremely ſcandalous; and while we ſay to the French you can controul your preſs, though we cannot reſtrain ours, we cannot expect from them the ſimplicity to believe that our Miniſters have not influence enough to reſtrain this abuſe, at leaſt in ſome of the papers. Our Miniſters tell us that all the influence they poſſeſs over the newſpapers is confined to the preference they may give ſome of them in furniſhing them with articles of intelligence. For the truth or falſehood of this I cannot anſwer; but ſurely Bonaparte might, if he pleaſed, allege the ſame excuſe."

The French princes to whom this country afforded an aſylum, were conſidered by Mr. Fox as on a parallel, at beſt, if not inferior to the Iriſh rebels who had taken refuge with Bonaparte. "If France," he ſaid "were to expel all the Iriſh who might in moments of careleſſneſs have been betrayed into ſeditious proceedings, and we to ſend off all the French in the ſame ſituation, it might ſo happen that ſome of the moſt virtuous men in the world would be hunted from the face of the earth. I do not pretend," he proceeded, "to entertain any great degree of reſpect for the princes of the Houſe of Bourbon, but I confeſs, that there is not one of them for whom I would draw the ſword and involve two nations, on whom ſo much depends the repoſe of the world, in all the calamities of war."

He conſidered Bonaparte's aſſertion that England was not able ſingly to ſtruggle againſt France, impertinent, but no very ſerious inſult. He thought much too great ſtreſs had been laid on ſeveral of the expreſſions of Bonaparte, by the commentaries of Lord Whitworth, in his account of the converſations between himſelf and the Firſt Conſul, and that the report, from memory of ſo long a converſation, muſt neceſſarily be, at leaſt, defective. He ridiculed the concluſions drawn from the tone and manner of Bonaparte, that he was proud and haughty in talking of an attempt on our coaſt, and ſaying it was an hundred to one that he would be deſtroyed in the attempt, and that he *deſpaired* of accompliſhing his end. This, he ſaid, reminded him of the moſt extravagant paſſage, in the moſt extravagant work, of the moſt extravagant, though admirable poet, Dryden, who made his wild hero Almanzor, ſay

"you ſhall not dare
To be ſo imprudent as to deſpair."

The Report of Sebaſtiani in the aſperſion thrown on General Stuart was highly indecent, but might be the more eaſily overlooked, as the talents and character of that brave officer

officer must prevent those charges from making any impressions injurious to him. If the French had seized any ships, as stated, merely because they had English merchandize on board, the great injury was to their own commerce, by affixing upon them an inhospitable character. If the persons sent over as commercial agents were in fact military officers, it was the duty of Ministers to send them away immediately, and then demand an explanation. If they had not done so, it was to be attributed to their own neglect. As to the publication in a Hamburgh paper, if the French Minister, Rheinard, availed himself of his political situation to compel the insertion of it, that was an act of aggression against that republic, not us. Talleyrand expressed his astonishment at it, and would no doubt have disclaimed it, if our ambassador had not been ordered so hastily away. He then proceeded to argue that the conversation at Court between Bonaparte and Lord Whitworth, only shewed how little stress should be laid on such representations. It passed certainly in the presence of a great number of witnesses, but it was equally certain that several of these persons related it very differently. All this, however, passed before the recess took place, and the Minister never thought it worth mentioning till he had first opened the budget, and spoke in such a manner of the prospect of a permanent peace as was calculated to delude the nation into an erroneous opinion of the state of public credit. This he considered as a proof that the conversation was not at that time considered by Ministers to be a cause of war. It had been argued, that although one circumstance may not furnish sufficient cause of war, the accumulation of many may, as it was said to be the last pound weight that broke the horse's back; but if the Minister foresaw that his back was so soon to be broken, he should not have made a financial representation so flattering as to produce a delusive effect

On the subject of Malta, Mr. Fox laboured with great assiduity, contending that, in the judgment of the persons best qualified to form an opinion, Malta was not the key of Egypt, nor Egypt the key of the East Indies, nor the East Indies a vital interest of this country, although it must be acknowledged to be a very important one. The French expedition to Egypt was a wild and extravagant scheme, which he believed would not ultimately, even had they obtained it, have been of service to them in an attack on the East Indies. We had expelled the French from Egypt before we were in possession of Malta, and he could no more value the former country for being the scene of our exploits, than he would the field of Blenheim in any continental arrangements. If France aggrandized itself in Europe, we did the same in the East Indies: and representing them as different, would be the same as the excuse of the Lady, suspected of gallantry in the East Indies, and on being taxed with it replied, "Never guilty, upon my honour, on this side of the Cape of Good Hope." The Ministers could not be actuated by a desire of keeping their faith with the order of Malta, since they had offered

to compromise the dispute, if they might retain possession of the Island ten years. As strong a desire of aggrandizement had been displayed on our part, when we delayed the evacuation of the Cape of Good Hope, as by Bonaparte in any of his projects relative to Egypt or India; and granting that Bonaparte retained his designs on Egypt, and thought the possession of Malta requisite for the furtherance of them, it would be idle to suppose, that by publishing Sebastiani's Report, he would have avowed that intention at the moment he supposed us to be on the point of surrendering the Island.

After ridiculing the conduct of Ministers on this subject, as wavering and indecisive, he adverted to the point in the negotiation when they determined on demanding explanations. The manner in which this part of the negotiation was conducted, he said, was of a piece with what preceded it. They tell Lord Whitworth to demand an explanation, and when Talleyrand asks what explanation is wanted, the negotiation is at a stand. Next, they will be satisfied with nothing short of security, and when the nature of this security is inquired into, it turns out that they are equally unprepared for a distinct reply. Last of all, comes their proposition for keeping Malta for ten years, as if ten years in a political point of view, were to be considered as any thing short of perpetuity. But the manner in which this negotiation was conducted, was peculiarly worthy of attention; the simple proposition about Malta would not, perhaps, have been at all palatable to the First Consul; there would have been an abruptness in it, which might have hurt his feelings. Ministers therefore determine to make the arrangement as easy a triumph as possible. The king of Sardinia had, eighteen months before, been stripped of his dominions. He had been consigned to neglect and oblivion. The Emperor of Russia had offered to exert himself in his behalf, and solicited the interference of Ministers; but they answered 'we have difficulties enough of our own; we can have nothing to do with him; we can afford to give him nothing but our good wishes.' Before this new drama of negotiation was opened, he was politically dead and buried. Ministers, however, are determined once more to bring him on the scene, and like the ghost of a king deceased, before the tragedy opens, he plays the part that Ministers choose to assign to him. Ministers go on pushing Bonaparte to agree to their demands about Malta, and the indemnities to the King of Sardinia fill up a niche in their ultimatum. If the King of Sardinia obtains nothing, he is left exactly in the same state which Ministers found him.

In a similar strain he reviewed the conduct of Ministers as connected with their professions of desiring peace, and remonstrating against the encroachments of French ambition. After leaving the continent in the state in which it was now placed, with Holland under the yoke, with Switzerland enslaved, with all the weaker powers under French influence, without the least prospect of continental support, he could not think a war for Malta, plain Malta, justifiable. He recommended with extraordinary

nary

nary energy the acceptance of the mediation of Ruſſia; it was important to obtain the guarantee of ſo great a power, not merely for the independence of Malta, but the deliverance of the weaker ſtates of Europe. In fine, he drew a terrifying picture of the horrors and privations which muſt enſue from war. The ſacrifices which the country would be called upon to make had been impreſſively deſcribed by Mr. Pitt, with all his uſual ſplendour of diction and richneſs of imagery. He deſired the Houſe to conſider that this was not information given by a novice. It was the communication of an artiſt. The mode of practice adopted during the laſt war was inapplicable to the preſent ſtate of the political body. Formerly he was contented with pulling the teeth, cutting the limbs, or attacking their extremities. Now he would be under the neceſſity of amputating the limbs, and probing them to the quick.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer complimented Mr. Fox on the ability diſplayed in his ſpeech, but combated the arguments it contained, and denied the concluſions it enforced; and he expoſed the fallacy of his general reaſoning reſpecting the propriety of interfering to prevent the ſubjugation or deſtruction of other nations, and in the inſtances of Switzerland, the liberty of the preſs, the expulſion of the emigrants, and the miſſion of Sebaſtiani, an event which was conſidered by his Majeſty's government as the avowal of an intention in the French, to violate the Treaty of Amiens, by endeavouring to overthrow the Turkiſh Empire. We were now at war; but, if any body could bring forward a practicable propoſition by which peace could be preſerved, the Miniſter would be an enemy to his country, who ſhould not accept it. He meant a propoſition that could give peace, and a fair proſpect of the enjoyment of its bleſſings. Under the preſent circumſtances, however, he would only be deceiving the country, were he to ſay, that he either ſaw or knew any thing in the French Government that warranted any ſuch expectation. We muſt expect and be prepared to meet, an arduous conteſt. If we ſuffered ourſelves to be unnerved, and diverted from the unexampled efforts, which the country was now called upon to make, we ſhould not only not diſcharge the duty due to the public, but we ſhould be obliged to make ſtill greater exertions at no great diſtance of time. He was deſirous, at this moment, of unanimity, but he could not aſk any man's ſupport to the Addreſs, unleſs he had made up his mind to great ſacrifices. We muſt provide for our domeſtic ſecurity, and ſubmit to great privations to guard the vitals of the country, as well as its extremities, from attack.

The Attorney General expreſſed his diſapprobation of Mr. Fox's ſpeech, in ſtronger terms, deſcribing his eloquence as a cloak to ſentiments calculated to deſtroy the unanimity of the Houſe. He had talked much of the value of the bleſſings attending peace; the Houſe alſo knew the value of peace as well as the honourable gentleman, but peace could not be valuable to the country when maintained at the hazard of our ruin, and

and perhaps the loſs of our exiſtence as a nation. He had alſo deſcribed the miſeries of war, but the Houſe was to be directed by wiſdom, not eloquence; let any man look over the Papers now on the table relative to the negotiation, and, he was ſure it would be acknowledged, that the French wiſhed to deſtroy the Britiſh power.

Mr. Windham, in language ſtill more ſpirited, cenſured Mr. Fox's arguments, "if arguments they might be called," as fallacious; they went like poiſoned arrows to each member, and were the effect of wickedneſs. He had uſed eloquence to deſtroy every thing that is valuable to ſociety.

After ſome obſervations and explanations occaſioned by theſe remarks, the Addreſs was carried by 398 againſt 67.

CHAP. X.

Mr. Fox gives notice of a Motion for accepting the mediation of the Emperor of Ruſſia; his Motion; his Speech; anſwer of Lord Hawkeſbury; obſervations of Mr. Pitt; after ſome explanations the Motion is withdrawn. Motion of Earl Fitzwilliam for cenſuring Miniſters; defence of their conduct; Motion of adjournment; obſervations of the Earl of Caernarvon; Lord Ellenborough; Earl Spencer; Lord Melville; Lord Hobart; Lord Grenville, and various other Peers; the Adjournment and vote of cenſure rejected. Motion to the ſame effect by Col. Patten in the Houſe of Commons; Speech of Mr. T. Grenville; anſwer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Pitt moves the other orders of the day; he is oppoſed by Lord Hawkeſbury, and by Mr. Canning; his Motion negatived by a great majority; Col. Patten's Motion ſimilarly rejected.

IT was a favourite notion with Mr. Fox, and he often adverted to it in the courſe of his ſpeech on the cauſes of the rupture, that Miniſters ought to have recourſe to the Emperor of Ruſſia as a mediator between this country and France. So ſtrongly was
25 May. his mind impreſſed with this opinion, that on the following day, he gave notice of a Motion on the ſubject; and as he declared that even the delay to be occaſioned by a few days receſs at Whitſuntide might be injurious to the effect of his propoſition, the Houſe fixed the next day but one for the diſcuſſion.

Mr. Fox moved for an
27th. Addreſs, praying that his Majeſty would avail himſelf of the mediation which the Houſe underſtood to be offered by the Emperor of Ruſſia, to bring to a termination, conſiſtent with the honour and dignity of his crown, and the intereſts of his people, the differences exiſting between this country and France; and which mediation might not only be the means of terminating war, but of conducing to the ſolid and permanent repoſe of Europe.

In offering this propoſition the mover declared, that, as on a late occaſion the opinion of the majority had been againſt him, he bowed with reſpect to that judgment. The country being now engaged in war, ſhould have his ardent ſup-

ſupport; but as he was perſuaded there could not be a diſſentient voice on the queſtion, that it was deſirable to bring it to an honourable termination as ſoon as poſſible, he thought it his duty to call the attention of the Houſe to a propoſition, which had been recently made by the Emperor of Ruſſia to interpoſe his mediation for the complete ſettlement of the differences ſubſiſting between Great Britain and France. Among the advantages which muſt reſult from the mediation of this powerful, reſpected, and much eſteemed ſovereign, Mr. Fox ſtated the following: Should the country be obliged to proſecute the war for the attainment of any objects of which that ſovereign ſhould approve, it would have the material ſupport of that approbation, which would add to the ſanction of his great name, the opinion of the world in our favour. We might, through means of this mediation, contrive to procure the adjuſtment, not merely of the queſtion reſpecting Malta, but in fact, of all the points in diſpute. The power and character of the mediator, and his rank in Europe would juſtify the ſtrongeſt hopes. His character, ſtood upon the moſt elevated grounds; and if the report of all men ſpoke true, that elevation was highly deſerved; juſt to the people committed to his government, and benevolent to all mankind, he was very much affected by the changes which had taken place in the ſituation of Europe; warmly attached to peace, he was highly diſguſted with the conduct of France, ſince the Treaty of Amiens. This mediation would tend to the ſatisfactory termination of the war, and alſo to a ſatisfactory regulation of the ſtate of the continent.

After detailing the motives which ſhould induce the Emperor of Ruſſia to aſſume the taſk of mediation, and deſcribing the language he might hold to each of the contending parties, Mr. Fox earneſtly adviſed Miniſters to attach themſelves to that power from which alone they could expect to derive any material aſſiſtance towards accompliſhing the ends they had in view, either of an honourable and immediate peace, or a ſucceſsful war. "With that power, alone" he ſaid "if you could contrive to form a cloſe alliance, you would be able to protect all the other ſtates of Europe from unjuſt attack. I perfectly coincide with thoſe who maintain, that this country ſhould not ſubmit its claims to the arbitrary deciſion of Ruſſia, or any other power; but will it not be wiſe to explain the juſtice of thoſe claims, and to intereſt a powerful ſtate in your cauſe. If, after having done ſo, the French government ſhould refuſe you a fair ſatisfaction, and its ſyſtem ſhould appear to lead to the ſubverſion of the continental powers, do you think it improbable that Ruſſia would connect herſelf with you, on fair defenſive principles, to repel ſuch injuſtice? Acting in concert with ſuch a power, and for a juſt object, you could have little danger to apprehend. With ſuch a junction, Europe would have little to fear from the ambition of any man"

In corroboration of this opinion, Mr. Fox adverted to the general ſtate of Europe, to ſhew that none of the powers which remained free were likely to join with France againſt ſuch an union. Pruſſia, although

although he could not praiſe her conduct for ſome late years, was pacific; and Auſtria, from prudence and neceſſity, not leſs ſo. From the laſſitude occaſioned by the laſt war, from the diminution of her reſources, and from the change of her councils, ſhe did not ſeem at all diſpoſed to warfare. That reſpectable, and univerſally reſpected character, the archduke Charles, after the immortal glory which he had acquired in war—a glory not to be reduced by defeat, now, happily for mankind, ſeemed to conſider his beſt glory to conſiſt in diſcharging the obligations which he owed to the people, through whoſe aſſiſtance he had been enabled to eſtabliſh his fame, by endeavouring to ſecure to them the enjoyment, and ſtudying to promote the advantages, of peace. Beſides; the interference of Ruſſia would even induce a good opinion of our cauſe in the minds of the people ſubject to the authority of the French Government. We could, at all events be certain of the good wiſhes of the people of Holland, Switzerland, and many parts of Italy. It might be ſaid, that theſe people could give us no aſſiſtance. Under the preſent circumſtances, perhaps, they could not; but the caſe would be materially different, if we had the co-operation of Ruſſia. Were the preſent opportunity neglected, the ſame power might be ſlow to come forward, and there was no other to which we could refer, becauſe there was none that could or would aſſiſt in checking the aggrandizement of France.

Lord Hawkeſbury oppoſed Mr. Fox's Motion, conſidering that as it reſted on no grounds acknowledged in Parliament, the Houſe would not interfere with the exerciſe of the Royal prerogative. The grounds which would juſtify ſuch an interference were, when Miniſters had neglected to do what the Houſe might be of opinion ought really to have been done; and when the conduct of Miniſters, in various particulars, ſeemed to be totally at variance with what it manifeſtly ought to have been in the caſes which might be ſo ſcrutinized. But as, in the preſent caſe, no ſuch charge had been made or even intimated, the Secretary of State, although he concurred in almoſt all the leading principles of policy advanced by Mr. Fox, would not aſſent to his motion. He alſo denied that any offers of the nature alluded to had been made by Ruſſia. After a long, irkſome, and critical negotiatiou of ſeveral weeks; after witneſſing the ſituation in which this country was placed; after the moſt frank and full explanation of every circumſtance during the negotiation, which was now completely fruſtrated by groſs evaſion on the part of France; the only diſpoſition which had ſince been ſhewn towards accomodation was, that the Emperor of Ruſſia ſo far interfered, as to propoſe again opening the negotiation, with a view of allowing the government of France to explain their ſentiments. On the whole, Mr. Fox's conduct on the preſent occaſion, far from having a beneficial effect to the country in general, rather had a contrary tendency, in injuring his Majeſty's Miniſters in the public opinion; and therefore, not on account of its general principles, but principally becauſe there could be no neceſſity, at the preſent moment, for making any ſuch motion, and becauſe nothing but evil

ſeemed

seemed likely to arise from it, his lordship was determined to oppose it.

Mr. Pitt declared his perfect acquiescence in the general principles laid down by Mr. Fox, and with great satisfaction heard Lord Hawkesbury's approbation of those principles, because it left on his mind no doubt that if any effect could be given to those principles, (and it belonged to the executive government in the first instance, to give them application,) no favourable opportunity would be lost of putting them in practice. He rejoiced to be able, on this occasion, to agree with the honourable gentleman in his general principles, though he could not but remember there had been times when the honourable gentleman differed from him, on the application of those principles, with a vehemence that looked very like a condemnation of them.

If there could arise out of the mediation of the Emperor of Russia, any chance of producing a general system on which peace could be restored, and confirmed by respectable guarantees; a peace by which not only the objects in dispute between Great Britain and France, but other points relative to the state of Europe, could be adjusted, it would be a consummation so important, that to obtain it some arrangement even less advantageous to this country in a separate view would be admissible. What that arrangement should be, either as to the general system, or our particular interest, it was impossible beforehand to determine. It would depend upon all the circumstances of the case. On the other hand, if that system were not attainable, our interest would prescribe other views and other precautions. Though unwilling to separate ourselves from the continent; though not unwilling to make some deduction from the sum of our own demands, and from the means of separate security, to augment the strength of the general system, it might happen that we should be left, without any fault of our own, to maintain a separate struggle.

Yet although Mr. Pitt so strongly felt and so explicitly acknowledged the justice of Mr. Fox's general principles, he did not approve of the motion he had brought forward, and assigned his reason in these terms. "Unless some practical benefit is to be derived from pressing the motion, I hope the honourable gentleman will be inclined to withdraw it. To press it to a division at the present moment, would be attended with one of two inconveniences: either the previous question would be carried, by which there might be room for the misconstruction that one part of the House was hostile to the principles on which the honourable gentleman argued; and on the other hand, if the motion were carried, it would imply a doubt that the House entertained an opinion that ministers did not concur in the principles so well laid down, and were unwilling to give them effect; a suspicion for which, after what has been said by the Secretary of State, there appears no foundation."

Mr. Fox, in reply, vindicated the consistency of his political principles, and said, if it could be stated by Ministers that there was at this moment, a disposition to accept of the mediation of Russia, he had no objection to withdraw his proposition; but unless he received

ceived a more distinct assurance from Ministers of their readiness to accept of the mediation than was contained in Lord Hawkesbury's speech, he should feel it his duty to press the motion.

In consequence of these remarks Lord Hawkesbury explained the nature of the mediation offered by Russia at length. The impression on the mind of the Emperor Alexander was, that there was a certain degree of reluctance on the part of the two governments, to explain distinctly the points in dispute. It had, accordingly, been proposed that the Russian Ministers in London and Paris should interpose their good offices for procuring this explanation. A desire was also expressed on the part of the Emperor, to do all in his power to facilitate an amicable adjustment; but as, at this time, Lord Whitworth was on the eve of quitting Paris, Ministers considered the offer far too loose and general, to be then adopted. At the same time they did not conceal from the court of St. Petersburgh, that with reference not only to the particular points in dispute, but also to the establishment of a guarantee for the general independence and security of Europe, they were ready to accept of the mediation of Russia. They had also declared their readiness to explain, in the most frank and explicit terms, the views which they entertained on the points in dispute, and the mode which to them appeared best calculated to bring about an amicable arrangement. In end of his Majesty's Declaration, an express assurance was given of his readiness to listen to any proposal for restoring the blessings of peace, and Ministers were now ready to receive any offer of mediation on the part of Russia, or to offer to her mediation the points in dispute.

Satisfied with this explanation, Mr. Fox withdrew his motion.

The propositions for an inquiry into the conduct of Ministers, which had been threatened before Easter, were now made in both Houses. The Lords first took up the subject, on the motion of Earl Fitzwilliam, who submitted three Resolutions, importing, that it appeared from the king's Declaration, that the conduct of France toward this country since the peace had exhibited "one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult;" and necessarily created a "thorough conviction" of a system deliberately "adopted by France for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting his Majesty and his Government;" and that Ministers having throughout this whole period, neither communicated to Parliament any knowledge of the sense they entertained respecting the conduct and system of France, nor any regular information of the particulars on which the same was founded, or the steps taken thereupon, had withheld from the House the necessary materials for the due and full discharge of its constitutional functions; and that by encouraging throughout the country an unfounded security and confidence in the permanence of peace, they had embarrassed and perplexed our commerce; deceived the expectations, and unnecessarily harassed the spirit of the people; and materially increased and aggravated

2d June.

the difficulties of our actual situation. His third resolution contained a vote of censure.

The speech which introduced these Resolutions contained, without a variance, all the topics which had been alleged against the conduct of Ministers since the signature of the preliminaries of peace, beginning with Piedmont, the Italian Republic and Parma, and ending with the negotiation concerning Malta. His Lordship declared he was actuated by no motives of personal hostility to Ministers; on the contrary, for many of them, individually, he felt the greatest respect, and no man was more ready to do justice to the respectability of their private character; but as, during the whole course of these transactions, they had withheld from Parliament all information, he could not, without deserting his duty to his country, refrain from making his present motion.

The Earl of Limerick defended the conduct of Ministers, and Earl Grosvenor, in concluding a speech on the same side, moved the previous question on Earl Fitzwilliam's motions; Lord Borringdon, the Earl of Fife, the Duke of Cumberland and the Earl of Westmoreland were also heard in vindication of Ministers, and Lord Darnley and the Earl of Suffolk against them. The debate, although maintained with great ability, presented little novelty, when Lord Mulgrave, deprecating the agitation of any question which could divert the attention of the country from the great objects which ought now to engage their attention, or weaken the general disposition to resist the invasion threatened by France, moved an adjournment.

This motion gave a new turn, and additional spirit, to the debate. The attack and defence of Ministers were continued on the same grounds, but although the proposition for an adjournment proceeded from a peer who had spoken in their favour, the Ministers themselves deprecated it, with as much vehemence as was shewn by some of the peers in opposition, and one peer at least, Lord Melville, who had not before been supposed hostile to administration pressed the adjournment with his utmost ability. By these means, the friends and opponents of Government spoke in terms not exactly conformable to their party associations, as to the measure to be finally adopted, although they maintained their usual sentiments with respect to the conduct of Ministers.

The Earl of Caernarvon supported the motion of Earl Fitzwilliam. After vehemently censuring the proceedings of Ministers during the peace, he continued. "They have again plunged the nation, weakened by concessions, into a war, with an enemy grown stronger by their indiscretion. They found the country (when they had the presumption to undertake the management of public affairs) at the conclusion of a war, though not successful to the extent of our wishes, yet not unproductive of glory and valuable acquisitions, the produce of many victories, a situation which may well be illustrated by the old emblematick oak in Lucan,

"Sublimis in agro
Exuvias veteres populum Sacrataque portans
Dona Ducum."

and after two years miserable experi-

periments, the nation is placed by them in the melancholy reverſe of the ſame picture,

"Nudos ad æthera ramos,
Extolleus, trunco non frondibus efficit umbram."

The queſtion now immediately under our conſideration is, whether we ſhall ſilence, by an adjournment, an examination into the conduct of Miniſters, in whoſe care, their own peace, fortified by their own conceſſions, and ſupported by their own ſubmiſſions, has never taken root, before we ſuffer them, without remonſtrance, to practiſe on our laſt reſources, in a war as truly experimental in their hands, as their late unfortunate and ill-omened peace."

Lord Ellenborough, on the other hand, reprobated the attacks on Miniſters, and the cauſes from which they proceeded. The reſpect and eſteem which he felt for his Majeſty's confidential ſervants, both in their public and private capacity, made him indignant at the frequency of ſuch reflections, made by thoſe who, from day to day, rang the changes on the hacknied charge of the incapacity of Miniſters, their weakneſs and their imbecility; ſo that, forſooth, in a moment of great emergency, they were to learn capacity from the incapable, ſtrength of the weak, and knowledge from the completely ignorant. The whole conduct of his Majeſty's confidential Servants, he contended, was regulated with a greater degree of propriety, and ſupported with more ability, than if it had been aided by the Herculean ſhoulders of ſome perſons who ſeemed to be pointed out at preſent as their ſucceſſors.

Earl Spencer ſaid, they were not mere vague charges that were made againſt Miniſters. They were arraigned of incapacity and miſconduct upon ſpecific facts and circumſtances preſented to the attention of the Houſe in the papers on the table. Thoſe who brought forward and ſupported the reſolutions propoſed, did ſo from feelings of public duty.

Lord Melville, in a ſpeech which contained ſome praiſe and ſome cenſure of Miniſters, ſupported the motion for an adjournment. He objected to the reſolutions as tending to impair the energy, by affecting the unanimity of the country; but in another view he was adverſe to the reſolutions. It was admitted that they were equivalent to an Addreſs for the removal of Miniſters, and ſhould be ſo followed up. Now granting that the Houſe might concur in ſuch a motion, was there any reaſon to believe that the Sovereign had ceaſed to repoſe confidence in his Miniſters? After ſaying who are not fit to be Miniſters, are we ready to ſay who are? Are we ready to ſay that, ſhould any intermediate danger or ſtruggle occur, the ſtate ſhall be endangered by a ceſſation, as it were, of all vigorous and ſtable adminiſtration? Was the Houſe then prepared to ſay who were to be Miniſters, in order to ſecure a vigorous adminiſtration, in caſe the preſent were removed? Thoſe who might ſee in the conduct of Miniſters, as it appeared in the papers, ſomething to commend, ſomething to be cleared up,

and something perhaps to regret, could not approve or disapprove in the lump.

Lord Hobart anxiously resisted the adjournment; Lord Carysfort supported the original resolutions, and Lord Alvanley complained of the unfairness with which Ministers were treated. The usual mode, he said, of bringing forward propositions of this sort, was by moving that a Committee be appointed to examine into the conduct of Ministers, and then the House would judge whether there was sufficient ground for appointing such a Committee. For want of such a mode of proceeding, the House had wandered from the question; for they were now debating about an adjournment, while the principal point in question was almost lost sight of.

Lord Grenville denied the position maintained by Lord Alvanley, and after pressing his usual complaints against Ministers, enforced by topics derived from the papers lately laid before Parliament, declared his assent to the original Resolutions.

After some observations from the Lord Chancellor in vindication of Government, and from Lord Mulgrave by way of reply, together with short speeches by Lord Grantly and the Earl of Warwick, the House divided; the motion of adjournment was lost by a majority of 88, and the original proposition by nearly an equal number, the peers who divided against Government being only eighteen.

3d. June. On the following day Colonel Patten made his motion in the House of Commons, proposing Resolutions to the same effect as those moved by Earl Fitzwilliam in the Lords. His argument contained no new matter, nor was it combined or arranged with any peculiar force. He was supported by Lord Kensington, Lord Temple, Sir William Young, and several other members, whose observations were opposed by Mr. Isaac Hawkins Browne, Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Foublanque, Mr. Archdall, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, and some others, when Mr. T. Grenville addressed the chair in a speech of considerable force and length.

He treated as false, malicious, and unfounded, the insinuation that the motion originated in mean considerations of party spirit; in the mere wish of one set of gentlemen to drive others from confidential situations under government, with the view of occupying their places. He maintained there was no impropriety in bringing this matter forward at the present time. He was anxious that, at a moment when we were engaged in a contest more trying and more hazardous, a contest in which great exertions and great sacrifices would be more powerfully required than in any former struggle, that an inquiry should be instituted into the capacity of those who were to direct the application of the national resources, and the national strength; to ascertain whether the battle which was to be fought would be fought with proportionate energy and courage; to see that every department of the public service was properly administered; to take care, that if the country was to submit to extraordinary sacrifices, the exertions which were made were directed by those to whom all ought to look up with

with confidence. He would not pretend to deny that the object of the Reſolutions was to call in queſtion the conduct of Miniſters, throughout the whole of the negotiations and diſcuſſions which had taken place, from the time the peace was concluded.

In this view, he adverted to the conduct of Miniſters during the whole period in queſtion, affirming, according to Mr. Patten's ſecond Reſolution, that they had not made to Parliament ſuch full and ample communications as could lead to any eſtimate of the real ſituation of the country, and therefore the Houſe was debarred of the conſtitutional right of giving any opinion on the ſtate of public affairs. On the 14th of May, 1802, Mr. Addington had uſed theſe expreſſions; "I am impreſſed with a thorough conviction that the peace which has now been concluded will, in all probability, be of as long duration as any of the pacifications concluded at various periods of the laſt century. I ſee nothing in the appearance of the preſent times, in the preſent Government of France, or the character of the individuals of whom that Government is compoſed, which at all induces me to think that the peace will not be laſting." At the ſame time, he had reſiſted a motion for an Addreſs requiring the immediate adjuſtment of various points which were ſtill left open for diſcuſſion; he had then held out that there was a proſpect of the continuance of peace, and a recommendation was given to cultivate the advantages which a ſtate of peace preſented. With this general impreſſion the laſt Parliament was diſſolved.

On the meeting of the new Parliament, no information of the real ſtate of the country was afforded, and yet, every one of the grounds of war enumerated in his Majeſty's Declaration had then taken place, and were as well known to Miniſters as at the period when the Declaration was publiſhed. To ſhew that this aſſertion was well founded, he obſerved, that from the documents on the table, it appeared, that from December 1801, to the ſame period in the following year, a ſeries of theſe complaints had been preferred to Miniſters, and no ſpirited remonſtrance had been offered on the ſubject. The viſit of the military Conſul was known before his Majeſty's Speech was delivered, for it appeared by a paper which was a few days ſince laid before the Houſe, that the inſtructions of Talleyrand to Fauvelet, who had been ſent to take ſoundings of the harbour of Dublin, that they were dated at an early part of the month of November, and conſequently were known to Miniſters when Parliament was opened. That the deſigns of the Firſt Conſul with reſpect to Switzerland were known, was a matter of general notoriety; Miniſters themſelves had preſented a remonſtrance long before that period. Of the annexation of Piedmont to France, Miniſters were not uninformed. The confiſcation of the revenues of the Spaniſh priories of the Order of Malta, there was alſo every reaſon to think that Miniſters were acquainted with, even before the definitive Treaty was concluded. The Miſſion of Sebaſtiani, Miniſters were fully apprized of long before they thought proper publicly

to allude to it; they were not ignorant of the time when he left France, and on the 29th of November, a diſpatch from General Stewart announced his arrival in Egypt. Thus did it appear, that all the principal grounds of the Declaration were perfectly well known to Miniſters, long before the Declaration made its appearance.

But, he would not confine himſelf to theſe circumſtances, but would refer to others of not leſs importance, though they were not introduced into the Declaration, and very materially implicated the conduct of Miniſters. The firſt of theſe points, was the arrangement of the German indemnities, which to a conſiderable degree, involved Britiſh intereſts. When he ſaid this, he meant to allude to the inſult which had been offered to his Majeſty, by mulcting a part of his Hanoverian dominions, to ſatisfy the avarice of the greater powers. Complete myſtery had almoſt wholly covered the buſineſs of the indemnities to the Houſe of Orange. For this arrangement an article had been introduced into the Treaty; but till the papers were laid on the table, the Houſe had been totally ignorant in what train the negotiation on this ſubject had been left by Miniſters. The whole buſineſs about the Order for the evacuation of the Cape, and its ſubſequent retention, was intirely paſſed over in ſilence. By papers ſubſequently called for, it appeared, that on the 16th of October, Miniſters had diſpatched Orders to retain the Cape, though by a ſolemn Treaty, it was to be given up within a limited period. Under ſuch circumſtances, Miniſters had taken on themſelves to violate a direct ſtipulation of the Treaty. They had choſen, particularly, to diſpatch orders to ſuſpend the execution of the Treaty, and of conſequence to declare the country in a ſtate of war. This extraordinary ſtep had been taken by Miniſters, juſt about one month from the time that Parliament aſſembled. Did Miniſters, when Parliament aſſembled, inform the Houſe of the extraordinary meaſure to which they had reſorted? They had not ſaid a ſingle word on the ſubject. In a very few weeks after, it had appeared proper to them to evacuate the Cape, and then a war virtually intervened: ſtill Miniſters continued to obſerve the ſame ſilence. The ſyſtem purſued by Miniſters would, under the cloak of reſponſibility, deſtroy every Conſtitutional principle of Parliamentary right of diſcuſſion, and inquiry. He ſincerely believed, for himſelf, that if the negotiation, which had lately terminated, had taken a favourable turn, we ſhould have heard nothing of the whole of the orders and counter orders of Miniſters; the whole would, in a ſhort time, have been reſolved in the darkeſt night. He then reviewed at length the conduct of Government on all the ſubjects of diſpute noticed in the King's Declaration, and after recapitulating and enforcing all his arguments, concluded by giving his cordial vote for declaring his Majeſty's preſent Miniſters unworthy of the confidence of Parliament, and unfit to manage the affairs of the Empire at ſo perilous a criſis.

In vindication of his own meaſures, the Chancellor of the Exche-

quer obſerved, that with reſpect to the Treaty of Amiens, he ſhould now only repeat what he always felt and ſaid reſpecting it; that conſcientiouſly and deliberately he entertained the ſame opinion of it as he did at the time it was immediately under diſcuſſion, and that opinion prompted him to pronounce, that it was a meaſure not only wiſe, prudent, and neceſſary at the time it was adopted, but that it had ſince been productive of the moſt beneficial conſequences; nor would he heſitate to affirm, that he ſhould not have now to congratulate the Houſe, and the Country, on the ſpirit, the vigour, and the unanimity, which the preſent emergency had called forth, were it not for that very Treaty which was ſo loudly arraigned and ſo ſeverely ſtigmatized. He and all the other members of Government had been anxious to maintain it, but ſince their wiſhes in that reſpect had been fruſtrated, and war had neceſſarily ariſen, he was prepared to meet the criſis with the feelings of an Engliſhman; and, deſirous as he was to ſheathe the ſword, he ſhould now be found no leſs determined to unſheathe it, until it ſhould appear that the honour of the country remained untouched, and that its ſafety and independence were more effectually ſecured.

As to the temper of Miniſters, he obſerved that their deſire of peace had, no doubt, induced them to manifeſt no inconſiderable ſhare of patience and forbearance; but they felt that the ſituation of France itſelf, and the circumſtances in which was placed the perſon who held the chief rule in that country, called for ſome allowances. His mind was ſo pampered with victories; it was ſo dazzled with the additional ſplendour that was ſhed upon his name, that it might not be fair to expect he would immediately ſit down quiet, and ſoberly examine what might beſt belong to his new ſituation. Under that impreſſion it was judged wiſe to obſerve a certain degree of forbearance with reſpect to what ſhould otherwiſe be noticed in the French Government at other times and under other circumſtances. A deſire to make theſe allowances produced the forbearance which had marked the conduct of Miniſters; a conduct to which was now owing the ſpirit and the energy which the country ſeemed prepared to diſplay. That forbearance which ſome Gentlemen were ſo prone to cenſure, Miniſters had reaſon to boaſt of. It had produced no bad conſequences, if we were to go to war: it had neither delayed too long, nor had it brought it on one hour too ſoon.

On the charge of withholding communications, he ſaid that both he and Lord Hawkeſbury had ſtated that they had no reliance at any time on the continuance of peace, but ſuch as aroſe from a view of the ſituation of the enemy, and the conſciouſneſs of our own ſtrength. France might have diſcovered the ſame reſtleſs ſpirit of ambition that had ever marked her character. Yet, on the occaſion which had been referred to, Mr. Addington allowed he did ſay, that the peace might laſt as long as any other; and then alſo added, that the only chance of its continuance aroſe from the energy of our ſtrength, and the impregnable

ſecurity of our reſources. He was of the ſame opinion when the Preliminaries were diſcuſſed; the the ſame language had he held in the debates of laſt ſeſſion. But it was obſerved, that the conduct of the French Government ſhould have inſpired different apprehenſions. "I am ſure," ſaid the Miniſter; "I am not very much diſpoſed to flatter and compliment the perſon who is now at the head of the French Government; but ſtill I muſt ſay, that I could ſee nothing in his conduct which led me to believe that it was his policy to renew hoſtilities. In this, I am willing to allow that I may have been deceived; but his ſending, at the time, the remaining navy of France to Saint Domingo, his expoſing ſo a large portion both of his naval and military force, were ſurely pretty reaſonable indications of a pacific ſyſtem; nor can they well be accounted for, but on a principle of peace. It has alſo been aſſerted, that in the diſcuſſion on his Majeſty's Speech, on the 23d of November, an aſſurance was expreſſed by me, that there was no probability of a rupture. What I then ſaid was in anſwer to an honourable Gentleman, who obſerved that he was concerned to ſee that it was likely hoſtilities would be renewed. All I aſſerted on the occaſion was, that I ſaw no probability of an immediate rupture at that time. Similar language is ſaid alſo to have been uſed by me when the queſtion reſpecting the income of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales was under diſcuſſion. I am ſuppoſed then to have obſerved that we were in profound peace. That I mentioned our being at peace, I readily agree, but I do not think I made uſe of the word *profound*. The circumſtance which led me to make uſe of the expreſſion was an alluſion to the language that was uſed in 1796, when the ſame ſubject was under the conſideration of Parliament. It was then obſerved, that it was right to continue the reſtrictions on the expenditure of his Royal Highneſs, on account of the extreme difficulties of the times. But I obſerved, on the occaſion alluded to, that the reſtrictions that might be proper in time of war, might as properly be done away in time of peace, and if I added the word *profound*, it was probably only from the uſual combination of the two words. No other expreſſion of the nature hinted at has eſcaped my lips. Another converſation has alſo been referred to, which took place in a diſcuſſion on the conſolidated Fund. In that converſation I am again ſuppoſed to have ſaid, that I had no expectation that the war would be renewed. What I ſaid then, merely refered to the ſtate of our national and military ſtrength, which I aſſerted was not intended to anſwer any views of ambition and aggrandizement, but had only in contemplation the aſſertion of our juſt rights, and the maintenance of the bleſſings of peace. But I am eager now to releaſe the Houſe from any further reference to any language uſed by me. I wiſh them to reſt their opinion on better authority; let the Houſe, therefore, conſult the records of Parliament, and they will there find what were the real ſentiments of Miniſters. Let them conſult the Speech of his Majeſty at the beginning of the ſeſſion,

ſeſſion, the Addreſs, and even the amendment to the Addreſs, which were moved on that occaſion. Do they imply any thing like the opinion which I am aſſerted to have uttered? On the contrary, did not the ſentiments there expreſſed, create great anxiety in the minds of ſome Gentlemen? Is it to be ſuppoſed that I ſhould have expreſſed a perfect conviction that no renewal of hoſtilities would take place, at a time when I was agreeing to a large naval and military eſtabliſhment? Why then ſhould thoſe who propoſed ſuch precautions, be imagined to be wholly without apprehenſion of war? This ſurely would argue a ſtrange and unaccountable inconſiſtency between their opinions and their meaſures. The preparations then adviſed and purſued, are therefore the beſt proof of what were the real ſentiments of Miniſters; and if that proof were not ſufficient, an additional one might be found in the obſervations which I made at the time it was propoſed to renew the reſtriction on the caſh payments of the Bank; that the ſtate of Europe was the beſt argument that could be urged in favour of its adoption."

Miniſters, he added, were alſo accuſed of not making formal communications to Parliament of the matters that gave riſe to the diſcuſſions. Such communications might be attended with the worſt effects, and therefore it was prudent to withhold them until the time came for making them with ſafety. In like manner, Mr. Addington exculpated himſelf from the charge of not making proper communications on each topic of diſpute with France as it aroſe, ſhewing that on every occaſion, ſuch diſcloſures muſt have produced great evils, without being attended with any advantage.

"Miniſters," he ſaid in concluding, "anxiouſly wiſhed to preſerve peace, but notwithſtanding that anxiety, the honour of the country was never committed, as the documents on the table will abundantly prove. They will exhibit, indeed, ſtrong marks of forbearance, but not one of unbecoming weakneſs. While there remained a hope of peace no communication was made to Parliament, becauſe it was deemed, and I think juſtly, that ſuch communications would fruſtrate, rather than promote, the attainment of that deſirable object. What the conduct of Miniſters has been throughout, I hope that the Houſe have now before them full and ample communications, and if a ſingle document be wanting, by the help of which the conduct of Miniſters may be better elucidated, they will feel it their duty to the Houſe to furniſh it without delay. In my own and their name, I am now ready to ſay, that in whatever light the Houſe may be induced to behold their conduct, Miniſters are ready to meet their deciſion. We only call for a deciſion; we do not venture to aſk for approbation: we are anxious, however, to eſcape cenſure; if it be merited, we ſubmiſſively acquieſce in the ſentence of the Houſe: but if it be unmerited, let our minds be relieved from the charges which the Reſolutions now propoſed hang over us, and let them go unfettered to the diſcharge of thoſe arduous duties of which they are deſirous to acquit themſelves with zeal, diligence,

diligence, and fidelity. Let us know that we do not go forth in the eyes of the country branded with the ſtigma of the diſpleaſure of the Houſe; or, if we have unfortunately incurred their diſapprobation, let it be proved by a direct charge; if the Houſe ſay the charge is not founded, our gratitude will be unbounded; if they ſay it is, we ſhall bow to the deciſion with the conſciouſneſs of having exerted our beſt endeavours to deſerve a better fate."

The general attention of the Houſe was moſt powerfully excited when Mr. Pitt aroſe to deliver his ſentiments, and the purport of his ſpeech occaſioned no leſs ſurprize than pain to the friends of the Miniſtry. He declared the difficulty he felt in giving a decided opinion, and the more eſpecially ſo, after the manly appeal of the Right Honourable Gentleman who had juſt ſat down, to the poſitive deciſion of the Houſe. "If I was prepared," he ſaid, "to give it in the ample manner called for, I ſhould certainly do ſo according to the direction of my conſcience. If, on the contrary, I was to give it according to the the opinion of the Right Honourable Gentleman who ſpoke laſt but one, and that I ſhould be induced to addreſs his Majeſty for the removal of his preſent Miniſters, I hope I ſhould be as ready to make a ſacrifice of my perſonal feelings as any other Member of this Houſe. If on the other hand, I could feel as the Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Addington) feels, that the declaration made by his Majeſt's Miniſters is, throughout all its bearings, ſo clear and deciſive, as to draw forth that unqualified approbation they ſeem to demand, I ſhould not heſitate to deliver that ſentiment with all the freedom which the peculiar nature of the caſe requires. If in a caſe of ſuch difficulty, I could ſee the matter ſo clearly as to have no doubt, I ſhould then ſay it is a title to approbation. But to that extent I cannot concur in the propoſitions; nor am I prepared to agree with the expreſs negative propoſed to be put on them."

Among the reaſons for his difficulty, he aſſigned his unwillingneſs to interfere with the juſt prerogative of the Crown, or adopt reſolutions which muſt compel a change of Miniſters. "To diſplace an adminiſtration at ſuch a moment," he ſaid, "is not the work of an hour, or of a day; and it is highly important for the Houſe to reflect on the interval that it may produce, with an Executive Government interrupted and deprived of its efficient means of conducting its moſt eſſential concerns." Thus forbearing abſolute cenſure, from motives of loyalty and prudence, and refuſing intire approbation, becauſe not convinced that Miniſters were intitled to it, he moved that the other Orders of the day ſhould be read.

Not leſs ſurprized than affected at this ſpeech and motion, Lord Hawkeſbury, declared, that with every wiſh to do juſtice to the feelings of his Right Honourable Friend, in making the motion with which he had concluded his ſpeech, he and his colleagues ſhould be ſhrinking from their duty to themſelves, if they could accept the compromiſe offered, between a direct cenſure and a total acquittal. A charge of crimination, founded upon

upon papers laid on the table, had been brought forward. He asked, if there was an instance in which propositions founded on such documents, and involving the conduct of Ministers, had not been met either with a direct negative or affirmative? A motion of inquiry might be got rid of by a previous question; but, when a direct charge was made, grounded on facts, arising out of public documents, a previous question was not the fit way of disposing of the subject. Those who wished to destroy the administration ought to vote for the Resolutions, because that was their obvious tendency; while the vote which his Right Honourable Friend had proposed, would have the effect to discredit Government, to leave them discredited, in possession of functions which they could not exercise with honour to themselves, nor advantage to the public. On the Russian armament, he well remembered that his Right Honourable Friend and himself had not thought it sufficient to get rid of a motion of censure, by a previous question, but in circumstances when the Government in one point had given up, yet the charges were met boldly, and directly negatived. He wished that, on the present occasion, Ministers might either be acquitted or condemned. If it were the desire of Ministers to retain their places at all hazards, they might accept the compromise which had been offered; but he could say for himself and his colleagues, that they had no desire to remain in office longer than they could be useful to their country.

Mr. Canning also opposed Mr. Pitt's proposition, but in a long speech, he strenuously urged the adoption of the original Resolutions. After the debate had continued some time longer, the House divided, when the numbers for Mr. Pitt's motion were 56, against it 333. The House being resumed, Mr. Pitt, with several of his friends, went away, and Mr. Fox having declared that it was not his intention to vote for the Resolutions, though, at the same time, it was impossible for him to approve of the conduct of Ministers, also departed with some of his adherents. The question being then put on Colonel Patten's motion, the numbers were, for it, 34, against it, 275.

CHAP. XI.

Holland becomes a party in the War—The King's Message to Parliament on the Subject. Preparations in England for defence; the supplementary Militia called out; Message for an additional force; debate on it in the House of Lords; the Secretary at War proposes in the House of Commons to raise fifty thousand men as an army of reserve; opposed by Mr. Windham; the bill supported in principle, but opposed in many of its details by Mr. Pitt. Progress of the bill through the Upper House. Bill for enabling the King to require the Military service of all his subjects, commonly called the levy en masse;

en masse; observations of Mr. Windham; of Sir Francis Burdett; the bill is amended in the House of Lords; renewed debate in the House of Commons; observations of Mr. Windham, Mr. Sheridan, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Alteration in the Mutiny Act. Commissioners appointed to inquire into abuses in the Navy.

IT is one of the misfortunes arising out of the overgrown power and influence of modern France, that independence in nations is growing more and more imaginary. States, which by the form of their governments, and the effect of treaties ought to be perfectly free, and to form compacts of peace, or issue manifestoes of hostility, according to their own opinions of propriety or convenience, are now dragged into wars contrary to their inclinations, and in opposition to their real welfare, merely because their activity may be deemed advantageous, or their neutrality might be found detrimental to the interests of a more powerful neighbour. Thus it was with the once really, and still nominally, free and independent states of Holland in the present contest. Policy and inclination equally disposed them to peace, and the British Government was perfectly inclined to leave them in repose, but the irresistible mandate of France involved them in a war, in which they could foresee nothing but misery and loss, while peace presented every prospect, not only of ease, but of profit and happiness.

17th June. Parliament was informed of this fact by a royal Message, in which his Majesty stated, that from an anxious desire to prevent the calamities of war being extended to the Batavian Republic, he communicated to that Government his disposition to respect their neutrality, provided a similar disposition were manifested on the part of France, and their forces withdrawn from the Dutch territories. This proposition not having been acceded to by France, and measures having been taken in direct violation of the independence of Holland, his Majesty had directed his Minister to leave the Hague; and he had since, with regret, given orders, that letters of marque and general reprisals should be issued.

On this Message both Houses voted an Address without debate.

As Bonaparte openly disclosed the intention of hazarding a large portion of his military force in the invasion of Great Britain, and as preparations for effecting that object were ostentatiously made, the attention of Government and of the nation was irresistibly drawn to the adoption of proper measures of defence.

When the British embassador was ordered to withdraw from the French Court, measures were taken to complete the quota of the counties, and facilitate the raising of the Supplementary Militia, and a bill for this purpose was brought in by the Secretary at War, and passed. A Message from his Majesty speedily followed, announcing, that he had taken the lawful measures for causing the Supplementary Militia to be raised, enrolled, drawn out, embodied, and marched as occasion might require.

20th May.

25th.

After

18th June. After the war with Holland had been announced, his Majeſty, by another Meſſage, ſtated, that, for the more effectual defence of the united kingdom againſt the avowed deſigns of the enemy, and for the purpoſe of providing ſuch means as might be beſt calculated for a vigorous proſecution of the war, it was important that a large additional force ſhould be raiſed.

The motions for an Addreſs on this Meſſage were oppoſed in both Houſes, or rather the plans diſcloſed by Miniſters for giving effect to the King's recommendation were ſeverely arraigned.

In the Houſe of Lords, the buſineſs was opened by Lord Hobart, who ſtated that a large force was neceſſary to be collected in this country for reſiſting the enemy; every exertion had been made, and was making, to increaſe the regular army; but thoſe exertions could not produce the force which it was deſirable to have ſtationed in the country. To obtain ſuch a force by ordinary means would be ſo difficult, and he was ſorry to ſay neceſſity required that means of a compulſory nature ſhould be reſorted to. In the laſt war, there were raiſed for the Militia 114,386 men, including Scotland. The number now raiſed for the eſtabliſhed and Supplementary Militia, amounted to 72,963 men, to which it was propoſed by the preſent plan to add 40,000 for Great Britain: this would make the whole force for this country 112,963, being 1,423 leſs than during the laſt war. It was the intention of Miniſters, that the army to be raiſed ſhould conſiſt of 40,000 men for Great Britain, and the iſlands of the Channel (Guernſey and Jerſey), and 10,000 for Ireland:—The ſervice of the troops to be reciprocal, thoſe raiſed in England to ſerve in Ireland, and thoſe raiſed in Ireland to ſerve in England. It was propoſed, that the Officers ſhould be perſons who had held rank in the army, and had ſerved either in the fencible corps, or in the Eaſt India Company's ſervice, which would produce an effectual ſupply. This force was intended to be raiſed, on the principle of the Militia, by ballot, to be taken out of the counties and diſtricts, with the addition of ſuch volunteers as thought proper to offer their ſervices, and enrolled for Great Britain, Ireland, and the Iſlands in the Channel. The age of the perſons to be from 18 to 45; and as there was nothing in any act of Parliament to prevent men raiſed for the Militia, from entering into the regular army, this meaſure would operate as a means of increaſing the diſpoſable force of the country.

As this ſpeech referred to levying a force in augmentation of the Militia, and to be provided by ſimilar means, the debate turned chiefly on the merits and defects of that mode of armament. The Duke of Clarence, while he expreſſed the moſt thorough conviction of the juſtice of the war, and the moſt ſanguine confidence in the unanimity and valour of the nation, did not think the propoſed force ſufficient, and as he was of opinion that offenſive, not defenſive warfare was moſt proper under the circumſtances of the country, he conſidered 50,000 men, to be raiſed according to the plan propoſed, leſs efficient than 40,000, raiſed to

go

go all over the world. Earl Grosvenor and the Earl of Caernarvon censured the Militia system in general, and particularly that part which allowed the supplying of substitutes, and the exemption of the clergy, the universities, women, and some other classes of subjects. A ballot, it was said, is a tax to raise money, under the pretence of raising men; it is calculated only to discharge the public purse from the expence of the levy, and throw it on any individual, rich or poor, without consideration of justice, without attention to any principle of equitable distribution of public burthens according to the abilities to bear them; it is a tax founded on no sound principle of taxation. The pretence that men, not money, is sought; is a fraudulent artifice. The earl of Suffolk recommended that there should be a military survey, and that 20,000 men should be raised and placed in the centre of the country. He was of opinion, that a force should be assembled which, by means of carriages, might be at any point of attack in thirty hours. If this plan was adopted, we might always have a greater force than France could bring together at any one time. He had stated, that plans should be arranged for enabling Lords Lieutenants to raise troops, and that an efficient deputy Lieutenant should be appointed, who should give orders for every thing necessary to be done. He hoped there would be an army of reserve, commanded by an officer of whom the country had an high opinion. For this purpose he named Earl Grey and Earl Moira.

The lattter nobleman declared himself perfectly satisfied with whatever destination his Sovereign had graciously been pleased to allot to him, and were his Majesty to call upon him to serve in the ranks as a private, he should, in that subordinate station, unsheathe his sword with the same cheerful alacrity and ardent zeal, as if called to the chief command of the most numerous and gallant army. He was of opinion that the hands of Ministers should be left unshackled, and their power wholly uncontrouled; for more danger might be apprehended from harassing them in the plan they laid down, than benefit could be derived from projecting a better plan, which could only protract the execution of the former. "There is not," he said, "an hour, not a moment to be lost. While your Lordships are debating, the enemy is acting; while we are devising plans of defence, they are executing means of attack; while we are idly preluding in a war of words, they will come on us in a war of action; they will surprize us unprepared, and overpower us slumbering at our fire sides.

"Occupat incautum, patriasque obtruncat ad aras."

His Lordship also blamed the tardiness of Ministers, who being thoroughly acquainted in the month of March with the designs of France, came late in the month of June to propose measures of security, the execution of which was still to be delayed, in hopes of their being improved by parliamentary discussion.

Several other peers had delivered their sentiments, when Lord Grenville

ville declared he could not but join with thoſe who complained of the want of activity of Miniſters in not coming earlier forward with this or ſome more efficient meaſure of defence. Lord Moira's ſtatement of their neglect, did not comprize the whole; they had known ever ſince the ſigning of the Treaty of Amiens, that every act of the French government had been an act of aggreſſion and inſult. They had known this for a whole year, and yet they did not preſerve in exiſtence a force, of which they might, on the declaration of war, immediately have availed themſelves, but they contrived to call out the Militia, at the very time it was neceſſary to recruit the army. The two ſervices could not go on together. The whole conduct of Miniſters was of a piece; it was all neglect and protraction. Something, he ſaid, had fallen in debate on the ſubject of conſcription; however unpopular the opinion might be, he was willing to bear his ſhare in the unpopularity, by avowing that it was of the very eſſence of all governments, and the very compact of all ſocieties, that the government had a right to call upon the whole, or any part of its ſubjects, for common defence againſt a common enemy. It was already the caſe with ſeamen, and was equally juſtifiable towards any other claſs of ſubjects, when public danger required it.

Lord Hobart, in reply, ſarcaſtically thanked the noble Lord for his readineſs to take a ſhare in the unpopularity of a meaſure, to which he truſted there would be no occaſion to reſort, and vindicated government from the imputation of delay in embodying the Militia. In this ſtatement he was ſupported by the evidence of the Duke of Richmond, who declared, that, as Lord Lieutenant of the county of Suſſex, he had received the Secretary of State's letter in the laſt Autumn, to ſummon his Militia to be ballotted for; and the delay in bringing them forward was not imputable to Miniſters nor to Lords Lieutenants, but to the Act of Parliament itſelf, which rendered it neceſſary to ſummon ſo many meetings to call for liſts to be produced, and to take all the neceſſary ſteps previous to forming the regiments.

In the Lower Houſe, the Secretary at War opened the ſame plan, in a ſpeech of great ability and method, ſtyling the 50,000 men intended to be raiſed, an army of Reſerve. "In other times," he ſaid, "and under other circumſtances, when we might be menaced with ordinary dangers, I do not heſitate to expreſs my opinion, that with a force nearly amounting to 140,000 men in Great Britain and Ireland (for ſo much it will amount to when the Supplementary Militia ſhall have been raiſed), and that force combined with our powerful Navy, I think we ſhould have been entitled to look with contempt on the impotent preparations of the enemy, which would ſcarcely have dared to quit their ports, from the certainty of either being ſent to the bottom of the ſea, or daſhed in pieces, ſhould they reach our ſhores, by the cannon and arms of the brave men whom they would there find ready and eager to receive them. Without over-rating the danger of the preſent times, I believe it poſſible that

that ſome of the enemy may reach England or Ireland; but if they do, I have no doubt but the ſame fate eventually awaits them; and therefore, when our ſecurity is ſo avowedly threatened, and when offers of aſſiſtance towards effecting a deſcent are made by many of the provinces of France, I cannot but ſmile at the audacity which dictates the deſign, and lament the abject folly and weakneſs which propoſes to contribute to its ſucceſs. I have no doubt that the paſſage of the enemy to this country, with all the means of effecting it which they can bring together, will be regarded by all the generals of the French army (and even by thoſe who have ſo lately and ſo earneſtly ſolicited the honour of accompanying the Firſt Conſul in the veſſel which is to bear to the ſhores of this country the deſtinies and the vengeance of France) as equally hazardous and tremendous with the paſſage of the Styx itſelf,

Stabant orantes primi tranſmittere curſum,
Tendebantque manus ripæ ulterioris amore.

— — — — —

Fata obſtant triſtique palus inamabilis unda
Alligat et novies Styx interfuſa coercet."

After ſome further obſervations on the diſpoſition and projects of the Firſt Conſul, he proceeded; "If whole armies and fleets are to be ſucceſſively ſacrificed, in order, at laſt, to obtain the precarious chance of throwing a few thouſand men upon our ſhores, to introduce confuſion, and bloodſhed, and fire and rapine, and deſolation into this land, ſo long and ſo happily exempted from ſuch miſeries—when, I ſay, ſuch enterprizes are denounced to us from high authority, it ſurely becomes the bounden duty of the ſtate to leave nothing to chance, but to provide moſt ſeriouſly and efficaciouſly againſt every poſſible contingency. Upon this ground, therefore it appears expedient to take the neceſſary meaſures without delay, for immediately levying, aſſembling and equipping a large force, in addition to the army now in the field, in order that it may be ready to ſupport ſuch points as occaſion may require; and, upon conſultation with the beſt military opinions, it is conſidered, that an army of Reſerve of 50,000 men, in addition to what is at preſent on foot (which may be calculated, excluſive of India, at 110,000 regulars, and 90,000 Militia) will not only give the moſt complete ſecurity and protection to the United Kingdom, but enable his Majeſty to employ much larger portion of his regular and veteran force, in offenſive operations.

The Secretary at War then proceeded, with much preciſion and ability, to unfold the nature and ſcope of his plan, inſiſting that it would be adviſeable for Parliament to keep their eyes ſteadily fixed on three leading principles.

1. That the force ſhould be levied as ſpeedily, and be made as efficient as poſſible.

2. That it ſhould be made available for the general defence of Great Britain and Ireland, ſo as to enable us, in the ſhorteſt time to ſet at liberty a large portion of the regular army for offenſive operations.

3. That as far as might be conſiſtent

fiſtent with the two former objects, it ſhould be levied with the leaſt poſſible preſſure on individuals, and in a manner the moſt uſual and accuſtomed.

"With theſe views," he ſaid, "I would propoſe, that the army of reſerve ſhould be formed by a levy on all the male inhabitants of the kingdom, between 18 and 45, fit to bear arms, (with certain exemptions) that when levied, it ſhall be immediately aſſembled, on certain points to be fixed upon by the Executive Government, armed, clothed, and equipped, in all reſpects, for the field, and placed under the command of officers, taken, as much as poſſible, from the regular forces, or from half pay, to be appointed and commiſſioned by his Majeſty. I ſhould further propoſe, that the ſervices of the army of reſerve ſhall extend to every part of Great Britain and Ireland interchangeably, as well as the iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey; and that the men ſhall be held to ſerve for four years, that is, the ballotted men; and where ſubſtitutes are provided, they ſhall be held to ſerve for four years, and for one month after the ratification of any definitive treaty of peace. And further that the levy in queſtion ſhall be made, upon the foundation, and according to the practice and machinery of Militia ballot, wherever practicable."

After deſcribing the various means for giving effect to this levy, and the purpoſes to which it was to be directed, he ſtated that the exemptions would be generally the ſame with thoſe of the ſupplementary Militia, with a few alterations. The exemption was not to extend to peers. All commiſſioned officers, officers on half pay, all non commiſſioned officers and privates in his Majeſty's ſervice were to be exempted. The exemption was alſo to include all reſident members of the univerſities, all clergymen, and licenſed preachers, but this under certain reſtrictions. No articled clerk was to have the benefit of the exemption, whoſe articles had not been ſigned on the 16th of June, 1803, the day on which his Majeſty's Meſſage was brought down. He was of opinion that the regulations reſpecting apprentices was of too wide and extended a nature, and very proper for the interpoſition of Parliament, as it created much difficulty in the recruiting ſervice. Seamen and ſea-faring men would be exempted, but great caution would be uſed in wording the clauſe with reſpect to them. All perſons muſtered, trained, and doing duty, in his Majeſty's dock yards would be exempted, with a ſimilar caution. Alſo every poor perſon having more than one child under ten years of age, making ſome diſtinctions. He then noticed the regulations to be adopted with reſpect to ſubſtitutes, and in concluſion, moved an Addreſs, and for leave to bring a Bill or Bills accordingly.

This motion occaſioned a debate of conſiderable duration, in which the ſpeech of Mr. Windham claimed peculiar attention. He agreed in the neceſſity of extraordinary exertions at this time, and had waited impatiently to hear what plan the right honourable gentleman meant to propoſe for the defence of the country; but confeſſed himſelf moſt grievouſly diſappointed in the expectations he had formed. "My

firſt and principal objection to this plan," he ſaid, "is this: it tends to do away, and completely cut up the army; and will make it utterly impoſſible that we ſhould ever have a ſtanding army. For many years paſt we have had the Militia raiſed, not by the perſons ballotted for, but by ſubſtitutes: the conſequence of which has been, that ſo large a bounty has been given for ſubſtitutes, as to do away all competition between the army and militia. It has therefore become almoſt impoſſible to recruit the army, and that difficulty will be increaſed by the preſent meaſure. There is one point, however, of the preſent plan which I approve of, and that is, the part by which the force to be raiſed is to be commanded by officers of experience. But, at the ſame time, I muſt deny, that this can ever be conſidered as a diſpoſable force; or that any of thoſe advantages can be derived from it which we might expect from a ſtanding army. Inſtead, therefore, of purſuing ſuch a plan as this, I would recommend, that a commutation ſhould be made for perſonal ſervice for a fixed fine; and that all ſubſtitution in the Militia ſhould be abolished for a fixed time. I would by that means increaſe the army as much as poſſible." Mr. Windham allowed the great merits of the Militia, but ſtill contended that after they had done the utmoſt, which zeal, activity, ardour, and courage, could do, it was from the very nature and conſtitution of that force, impoſſible they could poſſeſs the qualities of a regular army: they could not have either the diſcipline or the experience of an army. It might as well be ſaid, that men could become ſailors before they get into deep water. We never could rely on them as we could on veteran ſoldiers; nor expect that they could do as much as men taken from a diſtant ſervice, and who had been in different parts of the world. As the enemy muſt know all this, and muſt alſo know that he could, whenever he pleaſed, come and attack us here, in a ſtate of inactivity, reſting on our oars, and waiting for his approach, therefore, Mr. Windham contended that this ſpecies of force was inefficacious and miſchievous; and that a ſtanding army was the only force on which the country could place a full and complete reliance, whether meant for the purpoſes of defence or attack.

"I have the ſame objections," he proceeded, "to officers raiſing men for rank, namely, that they will, in order to get their rank, give large bounties to procure men. There is a danger that they will do ſomething worſe, that they will ſtoop to improper practices to obtain men. The officers of the Britiſh army have never done ſo; and I am happy to ſay they have this great ſuperiority over all other officers in the world, that they are better gentlemen. The meaſures now propoſed will no doubt tell very well in Parliament, as being the firſt time they are broached; but I am convinced that they will not be approved of by thoſe people who have acquired experience in ſuch matters, nor will they afford ſatisfaction in the end. They put me in mind of goods expoſed for ſale in the windows of our ſhops, which ſhew to great advantage when artfully and judiciouſly placed, and pleaſe the gazing

gazing paſſenger; but which, on trial, do not afford that degree of benefit or ſatisfaction which was expected, nor at all anſwer the purpoſes intended. Volunteers, raiſed upon the footing of thoſe we have already reaped ſome conſiderable advantage from, are not at all to be looked upon as a proper body of men to oppoſe a French army. They are, I muſt confeſs, very uſeful in regard to rendering internal ſervices to their country; but we all know that they are, in general, men who, from their conſtitutions, mode of life, and reſpective profeſſions, are ill adapted for the oppoſition of an enemy. After making the army as great as you can, then is the time to reſort to Militia; and after this laſt mode has been found prudent and expedient, then you may have a volunteer force of a different deſcription, and ſuch as would be no burthen to the country, nor be the means of drawing men from their homes. I allude to the moſt efficacious and ſpirited ſtep of raiſing the country *en maſſe*; and I think we ought, at the preſent moſt alarming criſis, to be employed in adopting ſuch means as may be neceſſary for that purpoſe. By this mode we might be enabled, upon all neceſſary occaſions, to command our armed peaſantry. I am well aware that a force of this ſort can do nothing of itſelf; and I know that a regular army may do without ſuch aſſiſtance: but where that regular army happens not to be ſufficient for the exigencies of the ſtate, the other may afford very great and important aid."

Mr. Windham dilated with great wit and great ability on the advantages to be derived from ſuch a force, and refuted many arguments which he ſuppoſed might be raiſed againſt it; he inſiſted that it would diffuſe a general knowledge of tactics, and a general deſire to defend the country. Every motive of action, every principle, every fear, he contended, ought to be excited for that purpoſe, and every perſon reſorted to who was likely to promote the general ſecurity. Every thing ought to be done that the mind can invent or genius plan. Every officer of conſideration in the country ſhould be called on to give his opinion; not ſlightly, or in words, but deliberately, and in writing; and for ſuch opinion he ought to be reſponſible. A number of new ideas which no ſingle man could produce, would thus be ſtruck out.

Many other Members ſpoke in the debate, but the motion was carried without a diviſion.

The Bill occaſioned conſiderable diſcuſſion in all the ſubſequent ſtages of its progreſs. On the ſecond reading, Mr. Pitt declared, that he had, after the matureſt conſideration, determined to give his decided approbation to the principle of the Bill. It was generally on the ſame principles on which oppoſition to the meaſure had been founded, that he felt himſelf called on to give it his warm ſupport. He maintained this opinion in a long and able ſpeech, and in ſubſequent ſtages alſo repelled the arguments advanced againſt the meaſure; the Houſe of Commons was never divided during its progreſs.

In the Upper Houſe the Bill alſo occaſioned ſeveral debates. The Duke of Cumberland conſidered ſubſtitutes, who received money

for entering into the Militia, as on a footing with regulars, who had a bounty for inlifting, and maintained that they ought to be equally ſubject to ſerve wherever wanted. Earl Moira repreſented the urgent neceſſity for maintaining a large diſpoſable force, as it would oblige the enemy to garriſon his coaſt at all points, and thus diſtract his operations. On the third reading the Earl of Suffolk made ſome objections to the Bill, but it was ſupported by the Earl of Clifton, who declared he had no particular predilection for his Majeſty's Miniſters, nor any deſire to over-rate their abilities. He thought abler men might have been found, but from many votes of that, and the other Houſe of Parliament, on different parts of their conduct, it was evident that they had the confidence of Parliament, and it was clear, that they alſo had the confidence of their Sovereign; he had no right, therefore, to conclude, that they had not likewiſe the confidence of the country; and he felt, under theſe particular circumſtances of the moment, that it was his duty, as it was that of every man who could do it with a ſafe conſcience, to afford them every ſupport and aſſiſtance in his power. With regard to the preſent Bill, he thought it a wiſe and efficient meaſure, and he approved of it the more, becauſe, in his conſcience, he believed it to be the only practicable mode of ſuddenly raiſing a numerous body of forces for the internal defence of the kingdom. He truſted it would be found to be a moſt uſeful Bill, and the effect extremely beneficial to the public ſervice. His Lordſhip alſo cenſured, in ſtrong terms, the ſentiments of apprehenſion, and even deſpondency which ſome Peers had expreſſed. Far from coinciding in their childiſh alarms, he would, for the ſake of argument, admit for a moment, that the enemy did effect a landing; nay, more, that he made his way, in ſpite of all our forces, and all our endeavours; that he reached this rich and luxurious metropolis, laid it in aſhes, put a momentary end to trade and commerce, made bankrupts of all the wealthy jews, and brokers on the Exchange, and annihilated the three per Cents; ſtill he would not abandon himſelf to deſpair, and think the cauſe loſt. He ſhould, even then, feel hope, from a conſciouſneſs that there remained much worth fighting for, and that the ſpirit of the people would ſtill exert itſelf, and with renewed energy and undaunted valour purſue the foe, till they drove him out of the country.

The Bill paſſed: ſeparate acts were framed extending ſimilar proviſions to Scotland and to Ireland.

The Secretary at War next moved for leave to bring in another Bill, to enable his Majeſty more effectually to exerciſe his ancient prerogative in requiring the military ſervice of his ſubjects. The Act already paſſed contained proviſions for enabling the King to take ſuch preliminary meaſures for aſcertaining the ſtrength and reſources of the different parts of the kingdom as were neceſſary, with a view to further meaſures of internal defence. It likewiſe provided a compendious mode of acquiring poſ-

18th July.

poſſeſſion of ſuch property, on the part of the public, as might be neceſſary; and there were proviſions for giving a ſummary mode of indemnifying thoſe who might ſuffer either by the preparations, or by actual invaſion; but, upon mature conſideration of that Bill, which was ſimilar to the Bill paſſed laſt war, in the year 1798, it did not appear to him to go quite far enough. It was particularly defective in one point, namely, in enabling his Majeſty to command the aſſiſtance of all his ſubjects fit to bear arms, for the purpoſe of repelling the invaſion of a foreign enemy. This, the Secretary at War contended, was the ancient and undoubted prerogative of the crown, and he cited a paſſage from Blackſtone, ſhewing its derivation from the Saxon Conſtitution, and ſeveral acts of Parliament and acts of ſtate proving its frequent exerciſe.

He apprehended he ſhould not be required to urge the neceſſity of ſuch a meaſure. The ſituation in which the country at preſent ſtood was perfectly known. It was threatened by a moſt formidable and vindictive enemy; an enemy not only threatening invaſion, but making preparations for it; not only having the inſolence to menace us with contaminating our ſhores, but with actual ſubjection. True it was, our force, both by ſea and land, was powerful; but when he conſidered that the enemy poſſeſſed a conſiderable portion of the continent, and was every day extending his influence; when he reflected that powers unable or unwilling to reſiſt, were compelled to grace the car of the Firſt Conſul, it was not enough to rely on the force we had, great as it was. When he turned his eyes to the continent, and ſaw the great preparations that were making; when he conſidered that France was maſter of the whole coaſt of frontier from Holſtein as far as the ſhores of the Adriatic, with the exception of Portugal, it was impoſſible to ſay that ſhe might not poſſeſs herſelf of the courſe of all the great rivers and the moſt conſiderable ports of Europe. Under theſe circumſtances although every one muſt have a reliance on the ſkill and vigilance of our navy, the moſt powerful in the world, and capable of ſuſtaining a conflict with that of the whole world —a navy that, perhaps, could blockade every port the enemy had, and burn, ſink, and deſtroy all the ſhips they ventured to ſend out, yet this was not enough; we ought to have the means of overwhelming and exterminating any expedition that might be directed againſt our ſhores. Though with the army we had, it was poſſible to line the whole coaſt of Great Britain and Ireland, it however could not be done in ſuch a way as to prevent the enemy from taking a temporary poſſeſſion of ſome part of it. No one could ſuppoſe, that, with our preſent army, we could do any more than aſſemble the main body at ſuch points as were moſt material, with a view to a general plan of oppoſition, and the ultimate deciſion of the conteſt; but the enemy might, undoubtedly, be able to throw a conſiderable force on the coaſt. In caſe of an actual invaſion, the operations in the field would, of courſe, be extremely active, and

the conflict severe; we therefore, ought not to look to the slow mode of recruiting by ballot, but we ought to resort to the ancient law, and to those powers of the prerogative, by which the King could command all his subjects to bear arms. We could not contemplate a better period of history than the days of the Plantagenets and Tudors. Let any one consider those armies which had been produced in the field by some of the wisest Princes on the Throne. Let us see how Queen Elizabeth was supported, when she was attacked by the Spanish Armada, an expedition not dissimilar to the present one. How was that army which begirt the Throne produced? By having recourse to the ancient prerogative of the Crown.

He next proceeded to develope the out-lines of his plan, which divided itself into two heads, the first related to the enrolment, and assembling the men when enrolled; and the second to the exercising and drilling them. He proposed to make use, as much as possible, of the machinery of the Militia, and to avail himself of the powers entrusted to the Lord Lieutenants and deputy Lieutenants. The Lieutenancy, in every county, should meet as soon as possible, for the purpose of directing an enrolment of all the men in every parish, between the ages of 17 and 55. The men comprehended in the enrolment should be divided into four classes, in a way something similar to that which took place in the Militia. The first would contain all between 17 and 30, unmarried, and without children of the age of ten years; the second all between 30 and 50, who were in the same predicament; the third all between 17 and 30, who were married, and had no more than two children; and the fourth class should include all the rest. He then stated the order of enrolment, rights of exemption, and modes of appeal, with some subordinate regulations, and proposed that these forces, when assembled, should be subject to military discipline, and be sent to any part of Great Britain, into any existing corps, or any new corps that might be raised; that the time of their service should be limited to the period of the invasion, and that as soon as the enemy were exterminated, or driven into the sea, they were immediately to be set at liberty to return home; that upon assembling, every man should be entitled to two guineas, to furnish necessaries, and when their services were over, and they were at liberty to return home, one guinea over and above the usual sum allowed in the Militia, should be paid them. He should also propose, that when these men were so assembled, they should take an oath of fidelity during their service, which should extend not only to repelling foreign invasion, but to quelling any rebellion or insurrection.

He then proceeded to the mode of training. His Majesty was to be enabled to direct the Lord Lieutenants to make preparations for exercising the young men of the first class once a week in the different parishes. For this object, the King might order sufficient arms to be provided. These arms might be lodged in the churches or other

other convenient places, and ſhould be kept in order, at the expence of the pariſhes, and pariſh officers and conſtables appointed for the cuſtody of them. There were other proviſions in the Bill he intended to ſubmit, directing the Lord Lieutenant and the Deputy Lieutenants to appoint officers to command the men, dividing them, as much as poſſible, into companies of pariſhes; or where the pariſhes were too ſmall, uniting ſeveral. He ſhould recommend that over every 120 men, the Lord Lieutenants ſhould appoint officers. That every perſon in the firſt claſs ſhould attend once a week for the purpoſe of being exerciſed, provided the diſtance of his abode from the place of exerciſe, did not exceed three miles. Perſons omitting to attend were to pay a fine, proportioned to their circumſtances in life, from five ſhillings to one ſhilling, the fine to be increaſed on repeated omiſſions. There were proviſions enabling the Deputy Lieutenants and commanding Officers to agree with out-penſioners to train the men. When any part of theſe men were called out, if any young man was deſirous of ſerving in the cavalry, he ſhould be at liberty to do ſo, upon his appearing equipped as a dragroon. If, however, there were volunteers in a pariſh, equal to half the amount of its population, the remainder, though not exempted from enrolment, would not be required to ſerve perſonally. In ſuch an emergency, no man deſerved the name of an Engliſhman, who did not march out to meet the enemy; he ought to be ſet up as a mark of infamy; and therefore, no corps ſo volunteering ſhould refuſe to march under their own officers to any part of Great Britain, where their ſervices might be required. This plan was to extend to the whole of Great Britain, but it could not be made applicable to Ireland, where the parochial diviſions were not carried to the ſame perfection as in England; beſides the powers given for raiſing volunteers had been carried to ſuch an extent, by the zeal and courage ſo natural to the people of that country, that the meaſure was not neceſſary.

The Secretary at War then diſplayed at great length the benefits to be derived from this meaſure, and in concluſion moved for leave to bring in the Bill.

Mr. Windham, far from diſapproving the principle on which the motion proceeded, ſolemnly accuſed the the Miniſtry of a groſs neglect of duty for having, while apprized of the danger of invaſion, ſo long omitted to reſort to this moſt neceſſary meaſure. He decried thoſe who affected to believe that the invaſion would never be attempted, repreſenting their quietude as proceeding from want of information, and producing the effect of impairing the national energy. What he aſked, were thoſe deſcription of perſons who ſpoke moſt confidently on there being no danger from invaſion? He found amongſt them many very eminent lawyers, many very orthodox divines, many worthy, well-meaning country gentlemen, many very reſpectable merchants, many very induſtrious agriculturiſts, and many, very many beautiful women. People of theſe deſcriptions, ſaw nothing in the leaſt alarming in the French undertaking a deſcent,

while, on the other hand, the General and Admiral, the Soldier and the Sailor, ſaw nothing but their immenſe extent of coaſt, from the Texel to the Adriatic; their numerous and formidable armies; their ſkilful and enterprizing Generals; and their number and variety of modes of effecting a deſcent. Put the queſtion, however, to a man who never ſaw the ſea but from ſome watering place, and never embarked in any thing more than a bathing machine; talk of invaſion to ſuch a man, and he would laugh the idea to ſcorn. He would make nothing of ſuch a danger, and would diſpatch his 30,000 invaders as faſt and as eaſily as Captain Bobadil would his twenty men. Let the ſame queſtion be aſked, however, to an Officer of ſcience and experience, and he would tell you that it was much eaſier to ſay it than to do it. Thoſe, indeed, were competent judges, and he believed it would be found that no perſons derided enterprize ſo much as thoſe who poſſeſſed none of it themſelves.

After dwelling on various points, in which he conſidered the means of national defence inadequate, and thoſe which ought to be reſorted to for the purpoſe of exciting public ſpirit neglected, Mr. Windham pointed out the urgent neceſſity for a great military Council, to divert the warlike operations of our enemies. Such an inſtitution might be formed without diſparagement to any Officer, however high, or of the Commander in Chief himſelf, of whoſe induſtry, talents, and meritorious exertions, no one entertained a higher opinion than he did. From the combined efforts of a ſkilful and well ſelected Council, more might be expected than from the utmoſt exertions of any individual, however great his ability. He next adverted to the project of driving the country, and the inſtructions ſent on that ſubject to the Lords Lieutenants of the counties. In this he perfectly concurred in the ſentiments expreſſed ſometime ſince by an honourable officer (Col. Craufurd); for although it might be of advantage to have officers in convenient ſtations for *depots*, and rules laid down for the incidental uſing of them, yet he conceived the plan propoſed to be utterly impracticable, and productive of the greateſt confuſion, ſo that a town might be trampled by the weight of its own bullocks, and the military operations very much impeded. The ſcheme of the Miniſter would, in all probability, realize Major Sturgeon's deſcription, "dogs barked in the rear, bullocks advanced in the front, and threw us all into confuſion." Mr. Windham then deſcribed, with great force and fervour, the views and means of the enemy, the one embracing the entire deſtruction of the Britiſh community, the other comprizing all the ports, ſhores and rivers of the continent. Their object was to drive us again like ſavages into the woods; and they would conjure up for our deſtruction all that had ever been ſaid of Carthage. He did not approve of many regulations in the outline of the Bill; and he particularly regretted that Government tried to do ſo much by compulſion and law, and endeavoured to do ſo little by national energy.

A long debate enſued, in the courſe of which both Mr. Pitt and Mr.

Mr. Fox declared their perfect concurrence in the principle of the Bill. Sir Francis Burdett declared that in his opinion the beſt and only effectual ſcheme of defence at this criſis, might be comprized in one meaſure, namely, a repeal of all the acts applying to Conſtitutional topics, which had been paſſed ſince the acceſſion of the preſent King, and then we might rationally hope to rouſe the ancient enthuſiaſm of the people, and furniſh them with real motives to fight for the bleſſings of conſtitutional freedom and perſonal ſecurity. This oracular effuſion, though uttered early in the debate, was not noticed by any one. The motion paſſed without oppoſition.

In the ſubſequent ſtages of the Bill, many alterations were made from the original draft, and many Members delivered their ſentiments on the effect of this meaſure in particular, and on the proper means to be adopted for defence of the country, but no ſerious oppoſition was attempted.

In the Houſe of Lords there was leſs difference of opinion, but Miniſters having found it neceſſary to make ſome further alteration in the Bill, during its progreſs, it came, according to the forms of Parliament, back to the Houſe of Commons to be paſſed again in its amended ſtate. On this occaſion, Mr. Windham and Mr. Sheridan diſplayed a memorable difference in opinion with reſpect to the ſyſtem of defending the country by means of volunteer forces, and on ſome other ſubjects.

4th Aug.

Mr. Windham maintained that the ſyſtem of volunteering was eſtabliſhing a dangerous ariſtocracy in the country, which would defeat the object of the meaſure. There were many men who would be reſtrained from entering into volunteer corps by the inability of ſome to purchaſe the neceſſary uniforms; and the natural modeſty of others, which would make them tenacious of entering into the ſame corps with their ſuperiors in rank. The opinion he entertained of the ſubject was very much ſtrengthened by ſome pertinent remarks in the public prints; their contents were not, in general, of that deſcription.

Mr. Sheridan ridiculed the Right Honourable Gentleman's ſarcaſms on the public prints, obſerving, that in compliment to his friend, Mr. Cobbett, he probably preferred the weekly to the diurnal publications. He praiſed the readineſs, zeal, and alacrity of the volunteer corps, and remarked, that, with the exception of the regulars, there was not a corps in the kingdom on which the late Secretary at War had not caſt ſome degree of odium. He approved of this Bill, becauſe it encouraged volunteer exertions, and pointed out the ſtation in which every man in the country ought to place himſelf. It had been ſtated by the Right Honourable Gentleman, with reſpect to the General Defence Bill, that its object ought to have been to march companies to the army, and that their firſt deſtination was to be that of filling up the regiments of the line. He had ſpoken to gentlemen upon that ſubject, who thought that a nobleman, gentleman, tradeſman, or farmer, all of whom were liable to the operation of the Act, if they did not volunteer, would be very much ſurprized to find themſelves, perhaps

haps in the courſe of a month, in a regiment, and liable to be tied up to the halberts. It was impoſſible for any man to make a compariſon between the volunteers and thoſe who were drilled on compulſion. Could the latter be compared with thoſe patriotic volunteers, who were ſacrificing their time in perfecting themſelves in their exerciſe? But the Right Honourable Gentleman had ſaid, he diſliked that ſuperiority and ſpirit of ariſtocracy in towns and villages, which it was the tendency of the Bill to introduce. He denied that it would have any ſuch effect. The only effect of the Bill was that of allowing perſons to volunteer inſtead of being compelled to ſerve. They were not obliged to wear an uniform. If in villages they voluntarily came forward without uniform, they were exempted from the operation of the General Defence Bill. He was ſatisfied with the power this Bill gave his Majeſty, with regard to the acceptance of volunteer ſervices. We ought not to ſtop while any thing was left to be done. We ſhould look forward to the poſſibility of the moſt diſaſtrous, calamitous, and diſgraceful events again occurring. The ſtate of Ireland was ſuch, that although every man muſt rejoice at its preſent ſecurity, we ought not to calculate on its remaining free from diſturbance.

Mr. Windham, in alluſion to the part of the Houſe from whence the Honourable Gentleman had ſpoken (the Treaſury Bench) deſcribed him as a new convert, and obſerved, that like a young ſoldier, he had fired his muſket too ſoon. When a meaſure was brought forward that was new, various in its operations, and depending upon a thouſand different cauſes, the effects of which were impoſſible to be foreſeen, time ought to be allowed to diſcuſs it. This Bill had been read a firſt and ſecond time the preceding day; not a moment's time was to be loſt in debating it; but it was impoſſible that a meaſure like that of arming the nation could be carried on with ſuch ſpeed. It muſt proceed with regularity; it was like the Seven Ages deſcribed by Shakeſpeare. The Bill muſt firſt be prepared; it muſt then be brought in; it had to go through the forms of the Houſe; firſt and ſecond readings; committed; third reading; and the ſame ſtages in the other Houſe; it muſt then be paſſed, after which it was to be ſent into the country to be carried into execution. Then there followed ſuch a clattering, ſuch a buſtle, and tumult; what with the various duties of the tything man, the Lord Lieutenant, and the Deputy Lieutenants, the whole buſineſs was as confuſed as a horſe race. The tything man was going to the ſchoolmaſter to read the Act, and the ſchoolmaſter to the juſtice to underſtand it. In ſhort, before this Bill could produce the men, the enemy might be at the door. It would be ſome time before we had the men in their ſhoes, but how long it would be before they became ſoldiers, "ſeeking reputation in the cannon's mouth," he could not ſay. At preſent we had an army only on paper, but he wiſhed for ſomething better than paper bullets. The country was not to be defended by the Chancellor of the Exchequer coming

vapour.

vapouring down to the Houſe, exclaiming Don't be afraid! I am the man. Something like him, who, when he was told up ſtairs, the Houſe was on fire, ſaid, What! and I here! After the Right Honourable Gentleman had ſet the four corners of the world on fire, it was not his coming down with his little bucket, or thimble full of water, that would extinguiſh the flame. He next referred to the writings and principles of Mr. Cobbett, on whom he pronounced a high panegyric, ſtating, that he had met every bad revolutionary principle by principles of the moſt good, loyal, and virtuous tendency, and that he deſerved to have a ſtatue of gold erected to his honour. As to the mode of carrying the Bill into execution, he was of opinion, that if Miniſters combined the higher orders, and left the lower orders to themſelves, they would put the defence of the kingdom upon a bad footing. He deſired to know how the volunteers were to be combined. Was it to be a mixture of the old and the young, the robuſt and the weak, the huſband and man of family, and the ſingle man, the enervated with the ſtrong? If this was to be the ſyſtem, the volunteer corps would be merely places of refuge from that ſervice which the prerogative of the King might call upon every man for. It was providing a place of retreat for thoſe who wiſhed to avoid ſervice.

Mr. Sheridan replied to theſe obſervations in terms of ſpirited ſarcaſm, and after anſwering ſeveral of Mr. Windham's arguments on the meaſures before the Houſe, referred to what he deſcribed as the Right Honourable Gentleman's ſilly panegyric upon Mr. Cobbett, and the erection of a ſtatue of gold to his honour. The Right Honourable Gentleman, he ſaid, ſeemed to mutter at this; nay, he groaned; he was glad to hear him groan. However he hoped, he would go on with his ſtatue of gold, and make it a coloſſal ſtatue; but he adviſed him not to ſolicit ſubſcriptions at the Royal Exchange; it was not likely he would be very ſucceſsful there, for, he believed, in one of that Gentleman's papers, he had obſerved, that the ſtocks could not exiſt if the monarchy exiſted. It was not very probable that the writer of ſuch a ſentiment would be very popular in that wealthy city, where alone any ſubſcription could be raiſed with effect.

Mr. Archdall warmly cenſured Mr. Windham for his panegyric on Cobbett, and referring to the ſtatements of that journaliſt reſpecting Ireland, aſked, if for them he ought to have a ſtatue of gold.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer alſo reprobated the courſe of oppoſition purſued by Mr. Windham. There was not, he ſaid, one mode of defence of which he had not ſpoken of with contempt, except the regular army. Fortunately his authorty was not equal to his zeal, or his obſervations might do conſiderable harm. Of the Militia and Volunteer Corps, he had ſpoken in a manner that had excited diſguſt, and had produced inquiries reſpecting the conduct of the Militia in Ireland, the reſult of which had been moſt ſatisfactory. He never would ceaſe to be of opinion that the Right Honourable Gentleman had, throughout the whole period that had

elapſed

elapſed ſince the preſenting his Majeſty's Meſſage on the 8th of March, done every thing that was calculated to diſpirit and diſmay the people, and to add to the hopes of the enemy. The Right Honourable Gentleman himſelf muſt have read with mortification, that importance was attached to his opinions by the French Journaliſts, and that they were ſources of exultation to them, as they were of regret to ninety-nine out of a hundred in this country. If he had moved an Addreſs to diſmiſs his Majeſty's Miniſters, he could only have ſaid, that in the courſe of eleven weeks, they had laid the foundation for the largeſt force that ever exiſted. If, notwithſtanding their efforts, and they had not been wanting, he was of opinion that they were unworthy the confidence of the King, let him claim the opinion of the Houſe; but it was not conſiſtent with his public duty to be continually endeavouring to weaken the confidence of the Houſe towards thoſe in whom his Majeſty placed confidence.

Separate Acts provided for the raiſing a military force in the city of London, in Scotland, and in Ireland, and proviſion was alſo made for the cloathing and equipment both of the accuſtomed troops and ſuch of the new levies as ſtood in need of ſupplies.

In the courſe of the Seſſion too, an alteration was made in the law for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion. Formerly deſerters might be ordered on foreign ſervice, for life, at the diſcretion of the Court Martial before which they were tried; but by the new Act, they might be tranſported as felons, for life, or for a ſhorter term, according to his Majeſty's pleaſure.

As connected with the intereſts and welfare of the navy, on which the ſafety of the nation ſo materially depends, it may be proper in this place to mention, that at an early period of the Seſſion, Captain Markham introduced a propoſition for correcting certain abuſes which were known to prevail in ſome departments of that ſervice. The late adminiſtration, he ſaid, had inſtituted an inquiry into theſe abuſes, and many reports, ably drawn up, had been preſented; but their time and attention were ſo engroſſed by the preſſure of the important buſineſs which they had to tranſact during the courſe of a long and labourious conteſt, that it was impoſſible for them to find leiſure to purſue, as they wiſhed to do, a ſyſtem of correction. The Bill he ſhould bring in, would proceed on the ſame principle as that which they had then in contemplation; it was printed by the ſelect Committee of Finance, and it would have in view the naval department only, which, however, it was the object of the Bill to examine from top to bottom. What were the motives which now induced the Admiralty to bring forward this meaſure, it was not neceſſary for him, perhaps it were improper, to detail. He could ſafely ſay, however, that its great and only object was the public utility. The inveſtigation of ſo complex a matter involved a long and laborious enquiry, which the Admiralty had not ſufficient leiſure time to embark in. Beſides, the Board of Admiralty did not poſſeſs the neceſſary powers for proſecuting ſuch an enquiry with effect, as they could

could not examine witneſſes upon oath, or call for papers and records which might be indiſpenſable for a full and ſatisfactory inquiry into the ſubject. This object could be adequately attained only by the appointment of a commiſſion named by Parliament, and veſted with all the requiſite powers for bringing to light the irregularities and abuſes complained of, and for deviſing the moſt effectual means of correcting and preventing them in future. This Bill was oppoſed by Lord Temple, and ſome other Members, as unneceſſary, becauſe the navy board always had ſufficient authority for the required purpoſe, and as veſting in the commiſſioners an undue and unconſtitutional authority; his Lordſhip ſaid no ſuch powers had been attempted to be given, ſince the days of the Star Chamber. The Chancellor of Exchequer anſwered theſe aſſertions by ſhewing that powers of greater extent had been conferred by the Act of 1785, and the Bill paſſed.

In the Houſe of Lords, however, it was vigorouſly attacked by the Duke of Clarence and ſome other peers; the Lord Chancellor expreſſed his jealouſly of the extraordinary powers confided to the Commiſſioners, and, at his ſuggeſtion, amendments were introduced, ſaving to the ſubject the right of refuſing to anſwer queſtions, when his anſwers might tend to criminate himſelf. His Lordſhip, although aware that Parliament had, in caſes of aggravated abuſe, gone beyond this Bill, and in caſe of the South Sea buſineſs, thought it neceſſary to compel the parties interrogated to confeſs their guilt, ſtill contended that in the caſe of the preſent Bill, which was not intended to operate as a Bill of puniſhment, but merely as one of inquiry, there was no occaſion for departing from the ſacred principles of the common Law of England.

Lord Ellenborough ſaid, he thankfully received the Noble Lord's clauſe, becauſe he agreed completely with him as to the propriety of its adoption in the preſent inſtance; but he truſted Parliament would never think itſelf warranted to part with the right, in flagrant abuſes, of compelling the offender to reveal the guilty ſecret that lay lurking in the wretch's boſom; the enormous frauds which had come to his knowledge, while he held the office of Attorney General, made him feel it neceſſary to make that declaration.

The Commiſſioners named in the Act were, Sir Charles Maurice Pole, Hugh Leyceſter, Ewan Law, John Ford and Henry Nicholls, Eſqrs. Before the end of the Seſſion they were called on for Reports, and preſented ſome which gave conſiderable information and much ſatisfaction.

CHAP. XII.

Meaſures of Finance; the Chancellor of the Exchequer brings forward a Plan for conſolidating various Duties in the Cuſtoms; Plan for completely eſtabliſhing the Bonding and Warehouſing Syſtem; Acts for conſolidating

ing the Duties of Excise, Stamps, and the assessed taxes; Details respecting the Excise; the assessed taxes; and the Stamps. Budget; observations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; tax on property; Discussions on that subject; observations of Mr. William Smith; and of Mr. Pitt; the Bill much altered; objections made against it by the Duke of Norfolk; who proposes an amendment; which is rejected. Finance of Ireland; attempt to perpetuate the temporary taxes; retracted; the Bank of Ireland prohibited from paying in Cash; Irish budget; reasons for not laying a property tax on Ireland

THE measures of finance adopted during this Session were numerous and of considerable importance; some being calculated to meet temporary exigencies; others to improve the established revenue, and facilitate the collection of it.

At an early period of the Session, the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave notice of his intention to bring forward a plan for consolidating the duties in various departments of the revenue, and, 21st April. after considerable time spent in maturing the plan, he stated the nature of the proposition he meant to submit. His object was, to simplify, consolidate, and amend the mode of collecting the revenue arising from Custom House duties, and he wished it to be clearly understood that this was only a part of a general system for consolidating, simplifying and amending the mode of collecting every branch of the public revenue; for removing obstacles which embarrassed its regular and easy collection at present; for laying down such clear and precise regulations, as would be equally useful to those collecting the revenue, and convenient to those by whom it was paid. In 1787, all the revenue acts, from the time of William, were consolidated, and particular taxes appropriated to the payment of the interests of loans contracted in different years; at this time the whole revenue so consolidated and appropriated received the designation of the consolidated Fund. To this Fund the public creditor looked for his security, and after his claims were provided for, the surplus was applied to other parts of the public service. With the advantage of the example of that wise measure, it only remained for him to form the proposition he was about to submit, on the same principle. Its object was to consolidate all the duties raised under 170 Acts. When consolidated the fractional parts were to be raised to integral sums in some cases, and diminished to integral sums in others. In the book of rates it was intended that considerable alterations should take place. Some duties, which were at present levied *ad valorem*, were, by the new schedule, to be levied at a precise rate; others, which were now rated, were henceforth to be *ad valorem*. It was also intended, that with the view of securing the regular payment of interest, certain articles which were at present duty free, should be submitted to a duty of very inconsiderable pressure. He then entered into some of the details of his plan, referring for more exact particulars to a schedule which would

would be added to the Bill, for the preparation of which he acknowledged his high obligations to Mr. Fruin. As the principle of this measure was evidently wise and beneficial, no serious opposition was made, and as the passing of the Bill was sufficiently slow, it received such corrections in the Committee, as the various subjects, and the interest of individuals seemed to require.

1st June. While this measure was pending, the Minister announced his intention to relieve the commercial world from the heavy disbursement of duties by having recourse to the system of bonding and warehousing, a system which Sir Robert Walpole had been prevented by mere force of faction from carrying into effect, and the utility of which had been acknowledged ever since his days, although it had, as yet, only partially been brought into practice. In answer to some observations of General Gascoyne, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that it had been thought expedient to call upon the House to ascertain what the particular duty upon exports and imports should be fixed at, previous to making any regulations with regard to warehousing, and it was in contemplation to bring in a Bill to that effect, whenever the present one should have received the Royal assent. On this subject, he said considerable pains had been taken, in order to diffuse through every part of the country a knowledge of the system, so far as it was now before the House. With respect to the other part, it was intended that no duty should be charged immediately on the importation of articles, but they were to be warehoused and bonded, both for the security of the merchants themselves, and of the revenue. It was only when the goods were taken out for consumption, that the duty was to become chargeable. But in order to prevent any injury which might otherwise arise from this regulation, to the peculiar branches of trade already established in particular parts, it was intended, that before any considerable quantity of a particular commodity was allowed to be warehoused and bonded in any particular port, proofs must be first afforded, that such port had for some time previously been in the habit of importing and trading in such commodity. It would also be provided that the mere proofs of such ports being furnished with warehouses, although submitted to the Lords of the Treasury, should not be sufficient to permit their lordships to grant commissions for the warehousing of goods, without resorting to Parliament. The application, it was intended, should be first submitted to the Board of Customs and Excise, and afterward to the Board of Trade; and if the conditions required by Parliament did actually exist, the Commissioners should then be empowered, by the authority of Parliament, to bond the goods. This Bill did not pass during the present Session.

In pursuance of the plan announced, Bills were brought in and passed, for consolidating the duties of Excise; the Stamp duties, and the assessed taxes. On the consolidation of the Excise, the Minister observed that it was not intended so much to increase the revenue,

revenue, as to ſimplify and facilitate its collection, and thereby expedite the buſineſs of the trader. There was no branch of the revenue ſo complicated in its nature, or to which ſo many regulations were directed, as to that of the Exciſe duties, or relatively to which ſo many Acts of Parliament had from time to time paſſed. Throughout the whole of its details, regulation had ſo accumulated upon regulation, and Act of Parliament upon Act of Parliament, that there was ſcarcely an officer, in the collection of this branch of the revenue, competently acquainted with the extent and correct limits of his duty. The buſineſs of ſimplifying a ſyſtem ſo complex, had long been a *deſideratum* anxiouſly wiſhed for; but the taſk was thought ſo difficult, as to be deemed hopeleſs. Fortunately, however, two Gentlemen were found in the revenue department, whoſe talents, perſeverance, and indefatigable induſtry, proved competent to the taſk; they were Mr. Burton, of the Exciſe department, and Mr. Jackſon. Although no conſiderable augmentation of revenue was intended, the principal change would be in raiſing the duty, where it made a fraction, to the next integral ſum above it. There were, however, ſome principal points on which material alterations were intended. And firſt, with regard to the breweries; it was intended to place the country brewer, as much as poſſible, on a footing with the town brewer, by making his allowances the ſame; and to impoſe duty on what is called table drink. In other branches, it was intended to reduce the duty on cocoa-nuts and coffee, coming from Britiſh territories abroad, and give them a preference (on the ſame principle as that adopted laſt year upon ſugar) over all ſuch articles coming from other parts of the world; to raiſe the duty on cyder and perry from 18s. 6d. to 20s.; to impoſe a duty on mead, manufactured for ſale, the ſame as on Britiſh wines; and to grant a duty of 2s. 6d. per cwt. on ſalt in Scotland, in order to countervail the advantage of ſalt proviſions coming from that country.

On the aſſeſſed taxes, Mr. Addington obſerved, that under the exiſting ſyſtem, many errors had obtained, as well with the aſſeſſors of thoſe taxes, as with thoſe who paid them, to the great inconvenience of both. Many, without ſuſpicion of intentional fraud, had through error, made falſe returns which ſubjected them to penalties; and again, many whoſe duty it was to aſſeſs the taxes had erred in their conſtruction of the laws, in a manner extremely vexatious to thoſe on whom the aſſeſſments fell. The leading purpoſe of the preſent Bill, therefore, was, to render the meaning and object of the aſſeſſed tax laws as clear, diſtinct, and unambiguous as poſſible; ſo as to leave no room for error or miſconſtruction, either with the aſſeſſor or with the aſſeſſed. As the propoſed regulations had the advantage of being reviſed by the Judges (whoſe experience was extenſive in the many deciſions which had taken place under their juriſdiction upon the tax acts) they would now, properly, become part of the law of the land. Beſide the conſolidation of the ſeveral duties, the Act was intended to include ſome modifications chiefly calculated to pre-

vent

vent evaſion, as by regulating the ſize of windows, and fixing the proper duty on thoſe who employed certain ſervants not permanently, but occaſionally. A tax was alſo propoſed on race horſes, of two guineas per annum, over and above the ſaddle horſe duty; and in the duty on carriages, there was a fair ground of increaſe, as many gentlemen in fact paid but for one carriage and ſet of wheels, yet it was known that they had ſeveral bodies to the ſame carriage; as for inſtance, barouches, ſociables, landaus, &c. Now as it was fair, that in a tax avowedly impoſed on luxuries, the rich ſhould pay for the additional comforts they enjoyed, he would propoſe one half the duty on the original carriage to be paid for each additional body occaſionally attached to it. The next alteration the Bill propoſed, was one guinea annually to be charged upon every rider, or travelling clerk, book-keeper, warehouſeman, or ſhopman, employed by perſons in trade; a regulation which would tend to create a preference for the employment of females.

Each of theſe meaſures occaſioned ſome debates, and received ſome modifications, but the conſolidation of the ſtamp duties was effected with leſs difficulty. Its object was ſtated by the Miniſter to be a mere conſolidation, without any alteration of the amount. A new ſchedule would be conſtructed, by which the trouble of the officers would be diminiſhed, at leaſt two-thirds, and the collection of the duties, of courſe, greatly facilitated. The only new regulation which required notice, was one relative to the employment of improper ſtamps. Great inconvenience had ariſen to many perſons, from uſing them inadvertently. Where the ſtamp was inferior in value to that which ought to have been uſed, it was his intention that the inſtrument ſhould in all caſes, remain illegal; but where the ſtamp was of equal value, though not applicable to the deed, it was evident that there could be no intention to defraud, and ſome relief ſeemed due to the parties. Such a ſtamp ſhould therefore be made legal on paying a double duty. A contract having an improper ſtamp, though not inferior in value to the right one, was not to be conſidered valid, but might be rendered ſo. When this meaſure was completed, the Houſe would have the conſolation to reflect, that in the courſe of one Seſſion four great branches of the public revenue had been greatly improved by the adoption of a ſyſtem of conſolidation. It was true that the preſent meaſure involved only a detached part of the ſtamp duties, but it would lay a foundation for the conſolidation of the whole.

The general view of the expences of the year, with the means of meeting them, or what is generally called the Budget, was laid before the Houſe of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who, in his ſpeech reminded Parliament of the unanimous reſolution by which they had engaged to ſupport his Majeſty in the proſecution of the war, againſt an enemy who had profeſſed his hope of being able to wear us out by the accumulation of expence in the proſecution of the conteſt. After a few more obſervations he proceeded to a 11th June.

ſtatement of which the following were the heads.

SUPPLY.

Navy (inclusive of Ordnance for Sea Service - - - -	10,021,000
Army - - - -	8,721,849
Army Extraordinaries, to be voted on a future day - -	2,000,000
Extraordinaries of the preceding year -	1,032,151
Ordnance - - -	1,280,000
Vote of Credit - -	2,000,000
Corn Bounties - -	524,000
Miſcellaneous Services	1,300,000
Total	26,879,000

Joint Charges of Great Britain and Ireland.

SEPARATE CHARGES FOR GREAT BRITAIN.

Deficiency of Malt	118,842
Deficiency of Ways and Means laſt year	171,431
We had alſo to pay under the proviſions of a treaty between us and the United States of America, entered into in the year 1794 - - -	330,000
And it would appear by the accounts on the table, that there was an engagement ſubſiſting between Government and the Eaſt India Company, in conſequence of expeditions carried on on the Continent, on which there was a conſiderable balance, for which he propoſed to vote - -	1,000,000
Exchequer Bills already voted - - -	2,781,000
Intereſt on ditto -	920,000
Remains of Exchequer Bills of 1798, advanced by the Bank	1,500,000
Total ſeparate charge of Great Britain	6,821,679
Total of the Supplies	33,730,679
Two ſeventeenths for Ireland - 3,162,235	
Additional for Civil Liſt, &c. 170,224	
For Ireland, - -	3,332,459
Leaving on account of England for Supply,	30,398,220

WAYS AND MEANS.

The means of providing this ſum will, he ſaid, conſiſt of three parts. The taxes voted annually —the growing produce of the Conſolidated Fund, and iſſue of Exchequer Bills; and laſtly, an augmentation of the duties of Exciſe and Cuſtoms and a ſeparate tax on Property. The laſt I wiſh to be conſidered ſolely as a reſource applicable to the war. The Ways and Means then will be as follows:—

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and Malt voted annually- - -	2,750,000
Exchequer Bills—Although authority has been given by Parliament for an iſſue of four millions, take only - -	3,000,000

Sur-

Surplus of the Consolidated Fund - - 6,500,000

Before Christmas I ventured to calculate upon this sum as the produce of the Consolidated Fund. That calculation was formed upon the estimate and returns, as far as then ascertained, of the taxes laid in 1802, and it is fully justified by the accounts now upon the table. This, however, is not the proper time to enter into a discussion of the correctness of the estimate, because I do not now ask the Committee for a vote upon the subject. I merely submit the statement as part of the means for raising the resources of the year. When it comes to be voted it may be inquired how far the amount is likely to accord with the estimate.

It is proposed to liquidate certain advances made by the Bank by an issue of Exchequer Bills, which, it is hoped, that the Bank, with that spirit of accommodation to the public service which they displayed last war, will from the same motive, be now inclined to accept. The Debt due to the Bank on this head would therefore be paid by an issue of Exchequer Bills, on aids of 1804, to that extent - - - - - 1,500,000

Money in Treasury, residue of Bounties on Hemp, &c. - - 37,782

Lottery - - - - 400,000

I now come to the Ways and Means by which I propose to raise the amount of the sum which I have stated to be necessary for the service of the year. The three great objects to which I look as the sources of this revenue are the Excise and Custom Duties, on which I intend to submit to the Committee a large augmentation; and a tax upon property. If it should be the pleasure of the Committee to agree with me as to the propriety, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I consider these duties as applicable to war only, and I intend to propose that they should cease within a certain period, probably six months after the restoration of peace.

CUSTOMS.

IMPORTS.—An increased Duty on *Sugar* imported, of 20 per cent. on the duty now paid; and an increased duty of 12½ per cent. on the duty now paid,

on other goods imported; with the exception of Cotton, Wool, Tea, and Wine - - - -	1,300,000
EXPORTS.—On all Articles exported to any part of Europe, a duty of 1 per cent. *ad valorem*, and, to any other part of the world, a duty of 3 per cent. *ad valorem* - - - -	460,000
On Cotton-Wool exported 1 penny in the lb - - - -	250,000
Tonnage. — An additional Duty on Tonnage - - - -	150,000
	2,160,000
Deduct increase of drawbacks - -	160,000
Produce of Customs -	2,000,000

EXCISE.	
Tea.—An additional 15 per cent. *ad valorem* on the lower sorts, and 45 per cent. *ad valorem* on the higher* - - -	1,300,000
Wine.—An additional duty of £10 per Pipe - - -	500,000
Spirits.—50 per cent. on the present duty on all Foreign and British Spirits -	1,500,000
Malt. — Additional Duty of two Shillings a bushel -	2,700,000
	6,000,000

PROPERTY TAX.	
A Tax of 1 Shilling in the Pound, on the actual rent of all Land in England, to be paid by the Land Owner, and 9d. in the Pound to be paid by the Tenant. In Scotland, the Tenant to pay only 6d. in the Pound. Besides this a tax of 5 per cent. on the net produce of all Trades and Professions; and also of 5 per cent. upon the dividends due on the public funds, except upon such dividends as are due to Foreigners residing out of this country -	4,500,000

With regard, he said, to that species of property arising from Government Securities, I know perfectly well the delicacy which has always been felt upon this subject, but I am sure that it will not be expected, at the present time, that that kind of property should not be called upon to bear its share in the general contribution when every other species is called upon to contribute so heavily. The question now is, not what species of property shall be exempted, but in what proportion each species shall contribute? It certainly is intended that this kind of property shall be made contributory though it is not in

* It has already been charged to 45 per cent: on all sorts of tea.

every

every inſtance. I mean, however, now to propoſe, that all perſons poſſeſſing property in the Funds ſhall be required to make returns to Commiſſioners by whom this Bill is to be carried into execution. Theſe Commiſſioners will not be all of them reſident in London, as under the Income Bill, but they will be appointed in different parts of the country. They are to have the ſame powers for certain purpoſes as the Commercial Commiſſioners. All perſons having property in the Funds are to lay their accounts before theſe Commiſſioners; and if they do not do it before a certain day, they will be held to have made their election, in which caſe proviſion is made that they ſhall be charged in another way. It will be underſtood that no perſon can be charged except according to the firſt proviſions to which I have alluded, unleſs it is by his own choice. If the perſons do not make their returns to the Commiſſioners at a proper time, then, and in that caſe only, the proviſions are to be executed at the Bank. All agents for Foreigners, and perſons not being Britiſh ſubjects, having property in the Funds will be exempted: the Committee will feel that they could not with juſtice have been included in this impoſt When I ſay foreigners, I mean thoſe not reſident in England.——I ſhall now, for the ſake of clearneſs, give a ſummary recapitulation of the taxes.

On the Cuſtom Duties	£2,000,000
On the Exciſe Duties	6,000,000
On the Land and Property - - -	4,500,000
Making in all	12,500,000

The Committee, however, muſt be aware, that though Parliament may determine to raiſe ſo large a part of the ſupplies for the ſervice of the year, yet it muſt be obvious, that a very conſiderable part of this ſum cannot be raiſed within the preſent year. I will, therefore, only calculate upon the ſum to be produced by theſe taxes in this year, at 4,500,000l. there would then remain, 10,000,000l. to be provided for the ſervice of the preſent year; this ſum muſt be raiſed by way of

LOAN,

and I have this day entered into an agreement with ſome reſpectable Bankers of the City of London, for a Loan for 12,000,000l. 10,000,000l. of which was for England, on the following terms: —For every 100l. 80l. 3 per cent. Conſols, which at 58½, the price of Saturday, would be 46l. 14s. 0d. —80l. reduced at the ſame price, 46l. 14s. 0d. The bidding was upon the Long Annuities; they were taken at 6s. 5d. which at 17 years and a half purchaſe, was 5l. 12s. 3d.—The diſcount was 2l. 6s. 3d. which made the whole amount to 101l. 6s. 6d. The bonus to the Contractors is therefore 1l. 6s. 6d. and the intereſt to be paid by the Public, 5l. 2s. 3d. per cent. I have to congratulate the Houſe, I have to congratulate the Country, that, under ſuch circumſtances, ſo beneficial a bargain has been made; and I am convinced it will be found no leſs advantageous to the perſons contracting than to the public. But I am the more diſpoſed to congratulate the Houſe on this bargain, becauſe there are very few inſtances of any

contract ever having been made on terms equally advantageous with a reference to the price of ſtocks. There were indeed only two inſtances of bargains in which the advantage to the public had been greater. Thoſe inſtances occurred in the years 1799 and 1800. In the firſt of theſe years the Government had a clear premium of 6s. 7d. and in 1800 the bonus was 10s. 5d. Theſe were, in fact, the only inſtances in which the public had derived more advantage from the terms of the Loan than the preſent. But in what circumſtances were thoſe Loans made? The firſt took place under the operation of that Act, which was the firſt attempt to raiſe a conſiderable proportion of the Supplies within the year. The ſecond took place under the actual operation of the Income Tax. Theſe were years too, in which all the taxes, which can be regarded as the beſt criterions of the proſperity of a country, were the moſt productive. What inference is to be drawn from this fact? Is it not evident that thoſe wiſe meaſures inſpired confidence in thoſe who were willing to become the creditors of the country? Theſe examples are therefore ſufficient to encourage us to follow the ſame ſyſtem now, which cannot fail to be attended by ſimilar beneficial effects. I have now to ſtate the means by which I propoſe to provide for the intereſt of the Loan.—I mean the 10 millions for Great Britain, which create a capital of above 12 millions of ſtock, and the intereſt on which amounts to - - - - 480,000

To which add the charges for management, and one per Cent for the Sinking Fund - 190,000

And the whole ſum to be provided for will be - - - - - 670,589

This ſum I propoſe to raiſe by an increaſe of the duties on certain articles of the Cuſtoms, which I have calculated, will amount to 250,000l. The increaſe in conſequence of the conſolidation of the Aſſeſſed Taxes will amount to 220,000l. But there will ſtill be a conſiderable ſum wanting. The meaſure by which I propoſe to make it up is one which has often been recommended. I mean a change in the mode of collecting the Receipt Tax. I mean to propoſe, that in all caſes where money is to be paid, it ſhall be competent for the perſon paying to demand a ſtamp from him who is paid. The price of the ſtamp uſed, it is intended, ſhall bear a very minute relation to the ſum paid; but that in no one inſtance ſhall it be leſs than 2d. or more than 5s. The produce of this regulation I eſtimate at 220,000l. Thoſe three ſources of revenue will produce 690,000l. applicable to the payment of the above 670,589l. being the amount of the intereſt and expences on the Loan. I ſhall now recapitulate the different heads of Supply and Ways and Means.

SUPPLY.

Navy (excluſive of Ordnance for Sea Service) - -	10,021,000
Army - - -	8,721,849
Army Extraordinaries, to be voted -	2,000,000

Extraordi-

Extraordinaries of the preceding year remaining unprovided for	1,032,151
Ordnance	1,280,000
Vote of Credit	2,000,000
Corn Bounties	524,000
Miſcellaneous Services	1,300,000
Total	26,879,000

Joint Charge of Great-Britain and Ireland.

SEPARATE CHARGES FOR GREAT-BRITAIN.

Deficiency of the Malt Duty	118,840
Deficiency of Ways and Means	171,431
American Commiſſioners	330,000
Expedition, Eaſt-India Company	1,000,000
Exchequer Bills	2,781,000
Intereſt on ditto	920,408
Exchequer Bills remaining of 1798	1,500,000
Total ſeparate Charges of Great-Britain	6,821,679
Total Supplies	33,730,679
Two ſeventeenths for Ireland	3,162,235
Additional on account of Civil Liſt, &c.	170,224
For Ireland	3,332,459
Supplies to be provided for	30,398,220

WAYS AND MEANS.

Malt Duty, Tax on	
Penſions, &c. and remains of Land Tax	2,750,000
Exchequer Bills	5,000,000
Surplus Conſolidated Fund 1804	6,500,000
Exchequer Bills for Bank Advances	1,500,000
Bounties remaining in Exchequer	37,782
Lottery	400,000
Loan	10,000,000
Produce of the new Taxes in the preſent year	4,500,000
	30,687,782
Supplies	30,398,220
Overplus	289,562

The Committee will perceive that the great object I have in view is to raiſe a large part of the Supplies within the year. The extent to which I wiſh to carry this principle is this, that there ſhall be no increaſe whatever of the Public Debt during the courſe of the war. In the firſt place it will be neceſſary to aſcertain the probable amount of the annual charges of the War, and then to make proviſions for carrying on a vigorous and even protracted conteſt, without making any greater addition to the Public Debt than what will be annually liquidated by the Sinking Fund. The annual Charge of the War, unleſs demands ſhould be made upon us by the intervention of Foreign Powers who may wiſh to make a common cauſe with us, I think will not exceed 26,000,000l. I do not mean to deny that this is a great, an enormous ſum, but certainly not greater than the object for which we have now to con-

tend. If then the Houſe think fit to adopt the meaſure I am now propoſing, if I am right in my eſtimate of the growing produce of the Conſolidated Fund, which I have conſidered at about ſix millions, and if my calculation of the Annual Taxes be correct, which I have eſtimated at 12,500,000l. but which for this purpoſe I will only take at 10,000,000l. there will only remain a ſum of 6,000,000l. to be borrowed, which will be more than covered by the Sinking Fund, which now produces conſiderably more than ſix millions. The growing produce of the Conſolidated Fund is alſo likely to increaſe, unleſs we are again viſited by thoſe calamities with which the country has been afflicted. If then my calculations are correct, we ſhall be enabled to meet a War Expenditure of Twenty-ſix Millions without any increaſe to the Public Debt, an object ſo deſirable, that no difference of opinion can be entertained upon the ſubject. I truſt, therefore, this ſyſtem will be adopted; it is one which has been before tried, and of which the effect is known: it has inſpired confidence at home, and created reſpect abroad.—But the pecuniary effect is not all, it will be a difference in another reſpect, the difference between a temporary and a permanent tax: it will have another effect alſo, that of convincing the enemy of this country, that it is hopeleſs for him to contend with our finances, that it is not in his power to effect us in that reſpect:—it will have a ſtill farther effect, that of convincing the other Powers of Europe, that they may ſafely join with us in a common cauſe of reſiſtance againſt the common enemy, for that the reſources of this country are ſuch as to give full ſecurity for the punctual diſcharge of any engagement it may enter into, and this is an object for which I have in view ſome proviſions. I will not fatigue the Committee, by ſtating all the advantages of ſuch a ſyſtem; they are ſuch as the neceſſity of the times exacts of us, and ſimilar efforts are to be found in early periods of our hiſtory. I deſire the Committee to look at the mode adopted for raiſing the Supplies for the ſervice of the year: they will find on Land a conſiderable duty impoſed, as well as upon Perſonal Property. They will find, at an early period of our hiſtory, taxes were raiſed within the year on all deſcriptions of property, deſcending even to the wages of Servants. To illuſtrate this I will refer to the times of King William and Queen Anne, when the Funding Syſtem was firſt introduced; let it be recollected, that then not only 4s. in the pound on Land was impoſed, but alſo 50s. per cent on ſtock in trade; 5s. on all ſalaries, offices, perquiſites or penſions; 4s. in the pound on all annuities and penſions, and all perſons of any profeſſion were charged 4s. in the pound for that which was received or got by any practices, or emolument whatſoever. It is to be recollected that thoſe times, although they were arduous, and the object for which we were then contending was conſiderable, yet they were minor to the objects which we have now in view, and therefore the exertions which we now make ought to be ſo much the greater. That was a great and a glorious period in the hiſtory of this country, but not ſo great as

as the present, the contest being very different, *for the present contest is for the existence of this country as a free state, and the question now is, whether we shall maintain and support that existence, or whether we shall abandon the people of this land as a prey to the French?*

In conclusion, he made an advantageous display of the commercial prosperity of the country, and moved his resolutions according to the usual form.

June and July. Several of the measures of finance proposed by the Minister occasioned discussions in Parliament, but none so much as the tax on property. It was resisted, at first, by Mr. William Smith and a few others, as oppressive and vexatious, and however it might be modified, extremely detrimental to the public. It was open to all the objections which had been advanced against Mr. Pitt's income-tax, as to its inequality, to the mode of collection, and to its operation, particularly on the landed interest. The Funds certainly ought to be taxed according to the objects of this bill; but they ought to be taxed in a larger proportion than land, because the latter was subject to many burthens from which the former was intirely exempted. As to the tax on trade, if it was to be levied at all, it should be equally collected, and that appeared impossible, unless by the establishment of an inquisition, which would be much more intolerable than any tax, and this inquisition too to be renewed yearly, in the same way as that under the former Income Bill. To such means of raising the supply, every wise statesman and every benevolent man, must be adverse; for it would almost unavoidably tend to irritate the passions and to depress the spirits of the people.

If the tax, was to be persisted in, equality of payment was desirable, but how was that to be obtained?—By disclosures which could not be enforced, but by a violation of every principle of freedom, and an outrage upon every feeling of pride. It would press on the trading community very little indeed, for they would make the consumers pay, as they uniformly did, every tax levied upon them; they would remunerate themselves in their increased profits for any burthens imposed on them. If traders could not compensate themselves so in this instance, the tax would be more unequal. The House was therefore placed in this dilemma, that it must either impose a very considerable burthen on the consumers, or a very unequal tax on the traders, upon the higher class of whom this tax would not press much.

Mr. Pitt defended the principle of the Bill, but strongly disapproved many of its provisions. He carried this disapprobation to the length of moving for an instruction to the Committee to insert a new clause with respect to exemptions; he argued the point with considerable heat, and pressed it to a division, wherein the numbers for him were 50, against him 150. The clause of exemptions was however afterward so modified as to obviate his objections. So many alterations were made in the Bill during its progress, that it was found necessary to re-commit it, and at last, much inconvenience

was

was apprehended from its great length, and the difficulty and perplexity of ſome of its clauſes.

5th Aug. In the Houſe of Lords, the Bill occaſioned little obſervation; the Duke of Norfolk objected to the exemptions in favour of foreigners poſſeſſing money in our Funds. This muſt be either on the ſcore of good faith, or of policy. When property of all kinds, belonging to perſons in this country was taxed, and particularly when the Funds were taxed, conſidering the diminution that might reſult from frauds, the queſtion of good faith ought not to enter into conſideration. As to policy, he conceived the only reaſon for not taxing the property of foreigners in the Funds was, that it was adviſable they ſhould have a ſtake in them; but from the niceſt calculation he had been able to make, the whole property poſſeſſed by foreigners in our Funds did not amount to more than a tenth of the intereſt of the national debt, eſtimating which at twenty millions, their ſtake would only amount to two millions, which was chiefly poſſeſſed by Dutch and French; and a ſum ſo truly inſignificant could not be ſuppoſed to have an effect in a queſtion of peace or war; at leaſt the money of foreigners in our Funds, in caſes of purchaſes made after the paſſing of this Bill, might very fairly, and ought to be taxed. He therefore propoſed an amendment, conformable to this laſt ſuggeſtion.

The Lord Chancellor although he admitted that a tax of this kind would not, according to the ſtrict ſenſe of the word, be a breach of national faith; yet contended that if ſuch conſtruction might be put upon it, conſidering the fair character of this country had always maintained, with regard to its pecuniary tranſactions with foreign nations, though we might be conſiderable loſers from the want of the tax, yet he ſhould by no means be inclined to accede to the amendment propoſed by the noble Duke. A diviſion was however taken and the amendment negatived by 7 to 3.

Early in the Seſſion, an attempt was made to render perpetual the taxes impoſed on Ireland, which had heretofore been granted annually, and were only laid on for a ſingle year by the Iriſh Parliament before the Union, but after ſeveral debates, the meaſure was withdrawn. A Bill was paſſed reſtraining the Bank of Ireland from paying in caſh, in the ſame manner as that affecting the Bank of England.

20th June. Mr. Cory, the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, in bringing forward the ſcheme of expenditure and ſupply for that part of the United Kingdom, paid the higheſt encomiums to the people for their good ſenſe and patriotiſm, but, he ſaid, as the war was ſo young, it was obviouſly impoſſible that Ireland could adopt, upon this occaſion, that ſpecies of noble exertion of which Great Britain had ſet the example. From the diſtance of that part of the United Kingdom, from the lateneſs of the Seſſion, and from the recent commencement of the war, he ſhould be obliged to purſue the old track in raiſing the ſupplies. He ſubmitted to the Committee, the following ſtatement,

SUP-

SUPPLY.

The whole of the joint charges for England and Ireland, as had been ſtated by his right Hon. Friend on a former day was 27,000,000l. Of which the proportion of Ireland, in Iriſh money, was - - - - - - 3,602,000l.

The ſeparate charges for Ireland were, intereſt of debt, Sinking Fund, &c. - - 2,040,000l.

Compenſation, the laſt that would be paid	300,000	
Navigations - -	150,000	
Treaſury Bill - -	386,000	
		2,876,000

Making in all for Ireland - - 6,478,000l.

There were likewiſe in the hands of the Bank of Ireland Treaſury Bills, ſimilar to Exchequer Bills here, which the Bank of Ireland, he believed, would have no objection to renew.

WAYS AND MEANS.

To make good this ſum of 6,478,000l. of charges there were—

Balances in the Exchequer, ſimilar to the growing produce of the Conſolidated Fund in England -	350,000l.
Revenue for the current year - -	3,000,000
Lottery the ſame as laſt year - -	200,000
Which, with the proportion for Ireland of the late loan, amounted to - - - - - -	5,916,000l.

Leaving a deficit of upwards of 500,000l. To ſupply this deficit, he propoſed to raiſe a loan in Ireland, to the extent of a ſum not exceeding 1,000,000l. This would leave a ſurplus in the Exchequer of Ireland, which, when the circumſtances of the preſent criſis, and the poſſibility of ſudden emergencies were conſidered, would not appear improvident or unneceſſary. It remained for him to point out the new taxes by which he propoſed to pay the intereſt of the loan. Before he proceeded to do ſo, he begged leave to ſay a few words on the ſubject of the trade of Ireland. Laſt year he had informed the Committee that the balance of trade for two years had not been ſo favourable for Ireland, as could have been wiſhed. That balance, he was happy to find, was now more favourable than it had been, though he ſtill confidently looked to great and important improvements. That the balance of trade was becoming more advantageous to Ireland, was proved by the amount of the exports and imports. He took occaſion to remark, that this balance was more favourable than it appeared from the official value, and made various ſtatements in proof of this aſſertion. He next made ſome remarks upon the revenue of Ireland. Laſt year it turned out nearly what he had eſtimated, being about 3,350,000l. but for the

the preſent yearhe ſhould not take it at more than 3,000,000l. The reaſons for this were that the duty on tobacco had fallen off, as well as that on foreign ſpirits. The importation of ſugar had likewiſe been exceſſive, and it was not probable that the duty would this year be ſo great. There were likewiſe ſome arrears of aſſeſſed taxes collected in the former year; ſo that upon the whole he did not think himſelf entitled to eſtimate the revenue for this year at more than 3,000,000l.

NEW TAXES.

He now came to the new taxes, in the ſtatement of which he ſhould be very brief, for there was nothing new in the principle, or extravagant in the rates of the taxes he meant to propoſe.—He propoſed, in the firſt place, an increaſe upon the head of cuſtoms, and in conſequence of the principles of the intercourſe of England and Ireland, in conſequence of the Union, this tax would fall entirely on foreign commodities. He propoſed the amount to be 10 per cent. The produce of this he took at - 140,000l.

The next was a duty of export on certain articles. The exports of Ireland, however, he was ſorry to ſay, was not ſo extenſive as to promiſe a very large ſum, but he took it at - - 17,000l.

The next was an additional duty on home made ſpirits, and he was ſure that as far as was compatible with the diſcouragement of the private ſtills, the Houſe would feel that to diſcourage the uſe of ſpirituous liquors was to promote the induſtry and the good morals of the people. 9d. per gallon on home ſpirits, and a countervailing duty of 9d. per gallon on foreign ſpirits, over and above the 10 per cent. would give - 30,000

Here he noticed that from the duty of our imports, tobacco would be exempted, becauſe it was found that in time of peace, it could not bear the preſent rate.

The laſt object was malt. Malt, he ſaid, was uſed in the diſtillery in proportion of one-half, and therefore the diſtillery would contribute on this part. He hoped, as far as it affected the brewery, the tax would not be attended with any inconvenience. He propoſed to make the tax 1s. the barrel of malt, the brewery in Ireland being ſub-

ject

ject to no other duty of exciſe. This he calculated at		40,000
Total of Taxes		380,000
Intereſt of the loan in England	143,000	
In Ireland	65,000	
		208,000
Surplus		172,000l.

It might be aſked why he propoſed to levy taxes calculated to produce ſo much more than the intereſt of the loan? In anſwer, he obſerved, that the ſituation of the empire called upon us to make ample proviſion for future exertion. If peace took place, the produce of the preſent taxes would enable Parliament to reduce the rate on ſeveral objects which, during peace, could not be made to bear the rate they were now loaded with. If the war continued, the ſurplus would go in aid of the vigorous exertions which we ſhould be called upon to make.

Theſe propoſitions paſſed without much animadverſion, but Mr. William Smith, deprecating a property tax, as a meaſure very objectionable, Mr. Corry ſtated the reaſons why he had not propoſed any ſtrong meaſure of finance for Ireland this ſeſſion. Ireland, might not yet, perhaps, be inclined to bear great burthens to meet the exigence of the moment, although he was ſure that would be the wiſeſt plan. Beſides, there were no immediate means to enable him to bring forward ſuch a meaſure. There was no land-tax in Ireland, no poor-rate, no ſyſtem of municipal finance, if he might ſo expreſs himſelf, from which he could draw any aid, or out of which he could form any ſyſtem; unleſs it were of the grand juries, or of the pariſh veſtries for pariſh purpoſes of very ſmall amount. If the tax upon property ſhould be adopted it would have one recommendation, that the abſentee landlords and mortgagees would be forced to bear their ſhare in the burden. He hoped that Parliament would alſo lay their hands upon thoſe drones, the middle men, who preyed at once upon the proprietor and the occupier, and who were of no benefit to the ſtate in any ſhape or character.

CHAP. XIII.

Eaſt India Budget; ſpeech of Lord Caſtlereagh on introducing it; oppoſition to his ſtatements. A ſecond budget introduced at an advanced period of the Seſſion; ſtatement of Lord Caſtlereagh; obſervations of Mr. Francis; Mr. Johnſtone; and Mr. Prinſep; the report received. Further relief to the planters of St. Vincent's and Granada; penſion ſettled on Sir James Saumarez. Meſſage from his Majeſty for a compenſation to the Prince of Orange; Speech of Lord Hawkeſbury; obſervations of Mr. Canning; and of Sir Francis Burdett; the relief granted. Report of the Committee for improving the Highlands of Scotland; plan of a new Canal by the way of Fort

Fort William and Inverneſs; a ſum of twenty thouſand pounds voted. Meaſures reſpecting the clergy. Improvements in the law relating to arreſts, and in that againſt ſtabbing, cutting, and maiming.

14th March. THE financial condition of the Eaſt India Company was laid before Parliament by Lord Caſtlereagh. He ſaid, the Committee would be aware that many of the obſervations which he had to ſubmit to their conſideration, reſpected the accounts which had been preſented to the Houſe laſt Seſſion. The accounts for the laſt year had not been received from India, otherwiſe it would have been his wiſh to have brought both the accounts under the conſideration of the Houſe at the ſame time. But as the Houſe muſt wiſh to know the preſent ſtate of the affairs of the Eaſt India Company, as they muſt be naturally anxious to know what meaſures the finances of the Eaſt India Company would enable them to take for the liquidation of their debt, he ſhould now proceed to call their attention to the accounts which were laid upon the table of the Houſe in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament. The affairs of the Eaſt India Company naturally divided themſelves into two claſſes, viz. thoſe abroad and thoſe at home. Their affairs abroad were divided into three diſtinct heads, namely, 1ſt, the revenues and charges; 2d, the extent of, and proviſion for, the inveſtments; and, 3d, the ſtate of their debt and their aſſets. With reſpect to the revenues, he would ſtate them firſt upon an average of three years, compared with one year preceding; 2dly, he would make a compariſon between the eſtimated amount and the actual amount of the revenue of the laſt year; and, 3dly, the eſtimated revenue for the ſucceeding year. He ſhould therefore now proceed to ſtate the revenues, charges, and eſtimates with reſpect to

BENGAL.

Revenues — Average 1798-9 to 1800-1	£.6,436,807
More than average laſt drawn	289,776
Eſtimated for 1800-1	6,339,203
Actual amount	6,658,334
More than eſtimate	319,131
Charges — Eſtimated for 1800-1	4,422,047
Actual amount	4,780,611
More than eſtimate	358,564
Deduct exceſs of revenue from exceſs of charge, the net revenue is leſs than eſtimated	39,433
And the net revenue for 1800-1 is	1,877,723

ESTIMATES 1801-2.

Revenues	7,051,164
Charges	4,582,201
Net revenue	2,468,963
Revenue eſtimated more than in 1800-1	392,830
Charges ditto, leſs ditto	198,410
Net revenue eſtimated	

for

for 1801-2, more than preceding year 592,240

The Committee would obſerve from this ſtatement, that the eſtimated charge for 1800-1, was 4,422,047*l.* and that the actual amount of the charge was 4,780,611*l.* making a difference between the actual and the eſtimated charge 358,564*l.* As the officers of the Company had always ſhewn great accuracy in making up the eſtimates, and had been particularly cautious not to miſlead by overrating the revenue, he wiſhed to explain how it happened that there was this exceſs of the actual over the eſtimated charge, and to ſhew that there was no ground for impeaching the accuracy of the officers who had prepared the accounts. In the firſt place, theſe eſtimates referred to a period of war, and every body muſt be aware of the impoſſibility of ſtrict accuracy and preciſion in eſtimates during the war. But in addition to this, in the year to which he was alluding, the expedition to Egypt took place, which certainly was not in contemplation when the eſtimates were made; and from this circumſtance there would be found a difference between the eſtimates and the actual charges in all the preſidencies. He then proceeded to ſtate the revenues, charges, and eſtimates with regard to Madras, but, in doing ſo, he apprized the Committee that the eſtimates and accounts related only to the old poſſeſſions annexed to that preſidency; otherwiſe it would be impoſſible to make a compariſon between its preſent and its former ſtate; becauſe, from the acceſſion of territory and revenue, not only by the conqueſt of the Myſore, but by treaties with the Nizam, an average of the aggregate of the receipts would not conſtitute a fair mean of compariſon with any former period. Having made this preliminary obſervation, he proceeded to ſtate, that

The average of theſe revenues, from 1798-9 to 1800-1, was - - - -	1,035,068*l.*
Which exceeds the average on the years 1797-8 to 1799-1800 - - - -	82,734
Eſtimated for 1800-1	3,277,073
Actual amount	3,540,268
More than eſtimate	263,195
Charges — Eſtimated for 1800-1 - - -	3,765,913
Actual amount	4,293,310
More than eſtimate	527,397
Deducting exceſs of revenue from exceſs of charge, the net charge is, more than eſtimated - - -	264,202
And the net charge of the year 1800-1 is	753,042

ESTIMATES, 1801-2.

Revenues - - -	3,899,040
Charges - - - -	4,559,311
Net charge -	660,271
Revenues eſtimated more than actual, 1800-1 - - -	358,772
Charges ditto more than	

than ditto - -	266,000
Net charge for 1801-2, eſtimated leſs than the preceding year	92,772

The Committee would ſee from this ſtatement, that there was a greater difference between the eſtimated and actual charge in Madras than there was in Bengal: this difference aroſe from two circumſtances; firſt, becauſe it was principally from this preſidency that the forces were ſent upon the expedition to Egypt and ſecondly becauſe there was a great interruption in the tranquillity of the ſouthern provinces, occaſioned by the Poligars, which cauſed much additional expenſe. With regard to the revenues and charges of Bombay, he wiſhed to obſerve, that the transfer of the Malabar province to Madras in July 1800, having greatly reduced the receipts at Bombay in the year 1800-1, an average on the groſs collections of three years could not properly be drawn for a compariſon. In this caſe it was alſo propoſed to make an adjuſtment, and take the average, excluding the revenues of the ceded countries, which was,

From 1788-9 to 1800-1 - - -	211,892l.
Which exceeds the average on the years 1797-8 to 1799-1800 - - -	24,767
Eſtimated for 1800-1	300,475
Actual amount - -	286,457
Leſs than eſtimate	14,18
Charges — Eſtimated for 1800-1 - -	1,030,993
Actual amount - -	1,329,176
More than eſtimate -	298,183
Add deficiency of revenue to the exceſs of charge, the net charge is more than eſtimated - -	312,201
And the net charge of the year 1800-1 is	1,042,719

ESTIMATES, 1801-2.

Revenues - - -	271,825
Charges - - -	1,185,308
Net charges - - -	913,483
Revenues eſtimated leſs than 1800-1	14,632
Charges ditto leſs than ditto - - -	143,868
Net charge eſtimated for 1801-2, leſs than preceding year -	129,236

There then only remained Bencoolen and the other ſettlements.

Revenues of Fort Marlborough, on an average of three years, 1797-8 to 1799-1800, were	6,985
Charges ditto, ditto,	106,197
Net charge - - -	99,212
Supplies from Bengal to Fort Marlborough, Penang, &c. eſtimated for 1800-1	82,360
Actual amount - -	156,325
More than eſtimated	73,965

More

Supplies estimated for 1801-2		85,840
He then proceeded to take a general view of the statement he had made. The result of the year 1801 collectively was as follows:		
Revenues—Bengal	6,658,334	
Madras	3,540,268	
Bombay	286,457	
Total revenues		10,485,059
Charges—Bengal	4,780,611	
Madras	4,293,310	
Bombay	1,329,176	
Total charges		10,403,097
Net revenue of the three presidencies		81,962
Deducted from supplies to Bencoolen		156,335
The difference is		74,363
Which being added to the interest paid on the debts		
At Bengal	746,184	
Madras	212,488	
Bombay	135,289	
		1,093,961
The deficit of revenue from the territories, &c. then is		1,168,324
Deduct the amount sales of imports		493,667
The remainder is the amount of the deficit, after allowing for the produce of the sales of the imports		674,657
Amount advanced for the purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, and in aid of China investment,		
At Bengal	897,691	
Madras	453,990	
Bombay	400,485	
Total advances for investment		1,752,136
Cargoes invoiced from India to Europe in 1800-1 with charges		1,399,033
The result of the estimates for 1801-2, collectively, was,		
Revenues—Bengal	7,051,164	
Madras	3,899,040	
Bombay	271,825	
Total revenues		11,222,029
Charges—Bengal	4,582,201	
Madras	4,559,311	
Bombay	1,185,308	
Total charges		10,326,820

Net eſtimated revenue of the three preſidencies	895,209
Deduct ſupplies to Bencoolen, &c.	85,840
The remainder	809,369
Deducted from intereſt on debts	1,342,854
Shews the net deficiency of the revenues from the territories, &c. to be	533,485
Which deducted from the eſtimated amount of ſales of imports	564,527
The remainder was	31,042

And this was the amount eſtimated to be applicable in the year 1801-2 to the purchaſe of inveſtment, payment of commercial charges, &c.—Having gone through this general account, and having ſtated the magnitude of the deficit, the Committee would not be ſurprized that the amount of the inveſtments was not ſo great as it might otherwiſe have been expected.—The next ſubject which he wiſhed to ſubmit to the Committee was the debts of the Company in India, They were as follow:

Amount ſtated laſt year	14,640,402
Amount this year	17,674,532
Increaſe	3,034,130
Debts transferred in the year	81,888
Debts bearing Intereſt.	
Amount laſt year	12,301,570
Amount this year	15,135,354
Increaſe of debts bearing intereſt	2,833,784
Amount of intereſt payable by the accounts of laſt year	1,082,042
Amount of intereſt payable by the accounts of this year	1,342,853
Increaſe of intereſt payable annually	260,811
Aſſets in India,	
Conſiſting of caſh, goods, ſtores, &c. laſt year	11,569,553
Dito, ditto, by preſent ſtatement	12,113,923
Increaſe of aſſets	544,369
Deduct	
Increaſe of aſſets from increaſe of debts, the ſtate of the Company's affairs in India will appear worſe by	2,489,761

The next ſubject to which he called the attention of the Committee was the home accounts of the Company.

Aggregate amount of ſales 1801-2	9,155,987
Leſs than laſt year	1,167,465

Qa

On the Company's goods alone - - -	971,554	
Private goods - - - - -	77,367	
Neutral property - - - - -	118,544	
	1,167,465	
Sale on Company's goods, eſtimated at - - - -		7,119,406
Actually amounted to - - - - -		6,630,487
Being leſs than eſtimated -		488,913
The receipts on the ſales of the Company's goods eſtimated at - - - - - - -		7,161,918
Actually amounted to - - - - -		6,336,192
Being leſs than eſtimated -		825,726
Charges and profit on private trade eſtimated at - -		100,000
Actually amounted to - - - - -		193,563
Being more than eſtimated -		93,563

The balance eſtimated to be remaining in favour on the 1ſt March, 1802, amounting to 486,731l. would by the actual accounts have been conſiderably againſt the Company from the diſappointment in the receipt on the ſale of goods, and from deferring the diſpoſal of the loyalty loan; but from ſome additional receipts on profit on private trade, and from Government for ſtores, &c. with poſtponement of the payment of the debt to the Bank, amounting to 800,000l. the balance the 1ſt March, 1802, although the ſupplies to India and China exceeded the eſtimate upwards of 200,000 ſtill remained in favour to the amount of 168,759l. being leſs than eſtimated 317,972l.—The eſtimates for 1802-3 were as follow:

Receipt for ſale of Company's goods - - - -	6,500,600
From the ſmall balance at the commencement of the year, and the extenſive ſupplies required for India and China, alſo the expectation of liquidating the debt to the Bank, the balance againſt the Company on the 1ſt March, 1803, is eſtimated to amount to - - - - -	1,434,556

DEBTS AT HOME.

On 1ſt March, 1801 - - - - - - -	5,393,989
On 1ſt March, 1802 - - - - - - -	4,822,683
Decreaſe -	571,306

ASSETS AT HOME.

On 1ſt March, 1801 - - - - -	15,404,736
On 1ſt March, 1802 - - - - -	16,802,760
Increaſe -	1,398,024

Adding decreaſe of debts to increaſe of aſſets, the improvement of the home concern in this year is - - - 1,969,330

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

Balance at China laſt year in favour - -	1,226,079	
Balance at China by the preſent accounts -	1,019,551	
Decreaſe	206,528	
Balance at St. Helena on 30th Sept. 1799, in favour - - - -	58,366	
Balance at St. Helena on 30th Sept. 1800, in favour - - -	77,852	
Increaſe	19,486	
Net decreaſe at China and St. Helena		187,042

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increaſe of debts in India - - - - -		3,034,130
Decreaſe of debts at home - - - - - -		571,306
Net increaſe of debts		2,462,824
Increaſe of aſſets in India - - - -	544,369	
Increaſe of aſſets at home - - -	1,398,024	
	1,942,393	
Deduct		
Net decreaſe of balance in favour at China and St. Helena - - - - - -	187,042	
Net increaſe of aſſets		1,755,351

Deducted from the increaſe of debts would ſhew the ſtate of the whole concern to be worſe than at the concluſion of the laſt year in the ſum of - - - - - 707,473

Which ſum was ſubject to alteration on the final adjuſtment of the claims of the Company on Government, included in the home aſſets to the amount of 3,573,339l. making an increaſe in this year, under this head, of 900,899l.—Having gone through a general ſtate of the affairs of the Eaſt India Company, both at home and abroad, compriſing their revenues, charges, debts, aſſets, &c. he ſhould now proceed to put the Committee in poſſeſſion of the beſt outline in his power of the proſpective view of their ſituation. The beſt way that occurred to him of doing this, would be to ſtate, firſt, the extent of the incumbrances upon the Company, then the extent of their means to meet theſe incumbrances; then the mode in which it was propoſed to apply thoſe means for the amelioration of their affairs, and the reſult that might fairly be expected from the adoption of theſe meaſures;

measures; and lastly, to state what was the expectation of the public from the Company, either in the alternative of peace or war. In order to elucidate this subject, he had moved for these accounts, which would put the House in possession of all the material facts. And first, with regard to the incumbrances: the estimate of the revenue and charges had been prepared by the proper officers abroad, and also the interest of the debt; but there was no certified amount of the capital of the debt, he was therefore obliged to form the best estimate in his power. In order to prevent mistake, and to be sure as possible, he would take the capital of the debt at the highest amount, and state it at 18,500,000l. which would completely cover the whole of the debt. Of this sum, as he had before stated, 16,000,000l. bore interest, the annual amount of which was 1,438,791l. This certainly was a most serious sum, and must necessarily be a most serious deduction from the income of the Company. But, great as it was, still it was a most satisfactory consideration, that if the state of the Company in 1793, with all the necessary increase of expense in the course of the war, was compared with its present state, there would be a corresponding increase in the assets of the Company, at least equal to the incumbrances incurred, so that the Company were in as good a state as they were at the commencement of the war. In considering the debt of the Company, the first thing that naturally occurred to the mind was the very high rate of interest which they paid for their debt; the interest amounted to very little short of 9 per cent. He stated this, in the hope that the Committee would bear it in mind, while he adverted to what occurred to him upon another part of the subject. If the Company had no surplus revenue at all to apply to the liquidation of their debt, still there was another operation which they might have recourse to, and which would contribute very materially to that object, and that was the conversion of their Indian debt bearing the high interest he had stated, into an European debt. This would put the Company into the possession of a considerable fund for the extinction of their debt, because the difference of interest between an Indian debt, to the amount he had stated, at 9 per cent. and an European debt at 5 per cent. would afford to the Company a saving of about 538,000l. a year. He wished therefore that the Committee would always bear in mind that there were applicable to the extinction of the debt not only the existing funds, but the saving to be made by this change in the nature of the debt. The present means which the Company possessed to meet their incumbrances must arise from their revenues abroad, and from their capital at home. The estimated revenues, according to the latest accounts which had been received, would be all together 11,976,180l.; the estimated charges were 9,346,369l.; there would then remain a surplus of 2,729,811l. from this, however, were to be deducted the commercial charges, the supplies to Bencoolen, and the interest of the debt, and there would then remain a net surplus of 1,053,582l. This surplus arose partly from an increase in the re-

venue, and partly from ſome reductions which had been made in the expenſes. No reduction, however, had been taken credit for, which had not been actually accompliſhed, though there were others in contemplation which he hoped would be extremely productive. In adverting to this ſubject, it was impoſſible that the attention of the Committe ſhould not be turned to the Noble Perſon now at the head of the government in India, the Marquis Welleſly; and he would venture to ſay that, high as his character ſtood upon other grounds, it would ſtand ſtill higher when the meaſures he had adopted for improving the finances of the Company were conſidered; it would be found that the ſame energy of mind which carried him through the other difficulties which ſurrounded him, had particularly characterized his financial arrangements.—Having, however, mentioned the reductions which had been made, he wiſhed that the Committe ſhould not entertain any apprehenſions that they were ſuch as would in any degree endanger the ſafety of our empire in India; and perhaps the beſt way to ſatisfy the Committee upon this head would be, to ſtate the amount of our army in India. It amounted to 24,000 Europeans, of whom 17,000 were King's troops. The native force amounted to 89,000 men; and the irregular force, including Laſcars, to 10,000, making altogether an army of above 124,000 men. With ſuch a force, there was no ground for apprehenſions either from attacks from Europe or from conteſts in India. His Lordſhip then proceeded to comment upon the commercial ſtate of the Company, and contended, that nothing could ſhake them in the commerce of the Eaſt, becauſe nobody would embark a large capital againſt a Company that had ſo large a ſurplus revenue, which they muſt remit to Europe, and which muſt enable them to drive any competitor out of the market. With regard to the ſum which at the laſt renewal of the Company's charter was to be paid to the public, the non-payment of it had only been occaſioned by the war, but undoubtedly in the event of the continuance of peace, the payment would be regularly made. According to the act for the renewal of the charter, the appropriation of their ſurplus revenue was as follows: the firſt half million was to anſwer bills from India, the ſecond half million was to be paid to the public, and the remainder was to go in extinction of the debt. The reſult of this ſtatement would be, that after paying the public 500,000l. a year, there would remain a ſum of above one million applicable to the reduction of the debt, independent of the meaſure to which he had before alluded, of the converſion of the debt. He wiſhed here to obſerve, that it was not in contemplation to liquidate the whole of the debt: it was proper, for many reaſons, that a part of the debt ſhould remain; one of thoſe reaſons was, that the natives ſhould have an intereſt (independent of the advantages they have under our government) in the permanence of the Company. Suppoſing then the amount of debt to be reduced was 12,000,000l. and the ſum applicable to the reduction to be 2,000,000l. a year, it would obviouſly be liquidated

six years, and the interest due upon the remainder, taking it even at 6 per cent. would be only 240,000l. a year. He presumed that the interest might, under these circumstances, be reduced to 6 per cent. and in the present state of the Company's affairs, they would not have occasion to raise any money for the first two years. He was aware that the Committee might suppose that he was giving an exaggerated account of the affairs of the Company, but he would state the grounds of his calculation as applying to the alternative either of peace or war. His Lordship then entered into the following statement of the Company, and applicability of those means to the liquidation of their debts. He had before stated the surplus of their foreign revenue; he now came to consider their home surplus.

Four years average to March 1802	366,874
Add net surplus abroad	1,053,582
	1,420,456
Say net proceeds	1,500,000

The proportional profits on an investment of four millions will be more.

DISTRIBUTION OF NET PROCEEDS:

Public participation	500,000
Reduction of debt	1,000,000
Proposed sinking fund to be applied each year	2,000,000
Till the capital in India bearing interest is reduced to	4,000,000
Amount to be reduced	12,000,000

Time required, six years.

Annual sinking fund to be constituted as follows:

From net proceeds as above	1,000,000
From savings of interest and loans in Europe	1,000,000
Total	£,2,000,000

The sinking fund will operate as underneath, supposing the rate of interest to be gradually reduced, till it shall stand at 6 per cent.

Indian debt will be reduced April, 1809 to	4,000,000
Interest	240,000

The twelve millions paid off will have been supplied as follows:

Surplus from net proceeds for six years	6,000,000
Savings of interest in the same period	2,719,000
To be furnished from Europe	3,287,000
	12,000,000

Of the sum to be furnished from Europe, not more than 2,000,000l. need be raised by loan; the repayments from Government for the Egyptian expedition &c. will cover the remainder; and this sum subject to be reduced by any improvement of net proceeds which may happen, either in the revenues or commercial profits. State of affairs at the end of six years:

Indian furplus, April 1809 - - - - -	2,250,000
Home furplus - - - - - - -	450,000
	2,700,000
Deduct Public participation - - - - -	500,000
	2,200,000
Suppoſing two millions raiſed in aid of ſinking fund, by adding to capital, deduct intereſt at 5 per cent. - -	100,000
	2,100,000
Net proceeds, ſubject to ulterior appropriation, viz.---1-6th to proprietors to increaſe dividends - - -	350,000
5-6ths to be inveſted in the funds to counter-ſecure capital	1,750,000
	2,100,000

The operation of the above appropriation until the year 1813-14, when the charter would expire, unleſs ſooner renewed, would be to increaſe the Company's dividends annually, by one half, viz. 350,000l. and to accumulate at 4 per cent. compound intereſt, during the five years, a guarantee fund of 9,485,000l. In the event of war, the Indian ſurplus muſt be neceſſarily reduced. The reductions of charge ſince the peace amount per eſtimate to 783,000l. per annum. Allowing for a war eſtabliſhment equal in extent to that at the cloſe of the late war, there will ſtill remain net proceeds 717,000l.—But to make the moſt ample allowance, take the war charges at 1,000,000l. there will ſtill remain net proceeds 500,000l. applicable to the reduction of debt. —In this caſe the participation of the public would neceſſarily be ſuſpended during war, and would revive upon the reductions reſulting from peace.—With ſuch a diſpoſable ſurplus, provided the transfer of funds from Europe to India ſhall meet with no interruption in time of war, the contracting of freſh loans may not only be avoided, but a ſyſtem of liquidation, upon principles ſimilar to thoſe above ſtated, be purſued even during war, though neceſſarily upon a reduced ſcale.—For executing the above meaſure, and for the extenſion of trade, the Company poſſeſs the following available reſources:

May add to their capital two millions, at 220 per cent. - -	4,400,000
More bonds may be iſſued with conſent of Treaſury - -	1,000,000
	5,400,000
Suppoſe as above, raiſed for ſinking fund	2,000,000
Remains for the extenſion of trade - -	3,400,000

Having gone through the whole of this ſtatement with the greateſt clearneſs and preciſion, his Lordſhip made ſeveral obſervations on the probable means of increaſing the proſperity of the Company, and vindicated the proſpective ſtatements of his predeceſſor Lord Melville,

ville, whose predictions, he said, would have been sooner verified had not the war intervened.

This statement was not received without considerable animadversion from Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Francis, and Sir Francis Baring, but they were satisfactorily answered by Lord Castlereagh, Sir Hugh Inglis, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Theophilus Metcalfe. Several other debates arose on the subject, but they were devoid of interest.

29th July. At an advanced period of the Session, Lord Castlereagh, being furnished with fresh materials, opened, at considerable length, the general statement of the East-India Company's affairs in the year beginning in March, 1801, and ending in the same month, 1802; he also presented an estimated statement for the year 1802-3. In the Budget which he had presented at the beginning of the Session, he had given a detailed statement of the affairs of the Company in 1800-1 and only an estimated statement of 1801-2. This was the actual statement of the last, and an estimated statement of the current year. He was happy to inform the Committee, that the actual income for the last year, considerably exceeded the estimate, and that the revenues of every presidency were in a state of improvement. His Lordship than gave a detailed statement of the situation of the East-India Company, both as to its revenues and its charges. The revenues he divided into the foreign and the home: according to the following schedule.

BENGAL.	
Revenues. — Average 1799, 1800, to 1801-2 -	6,761,598
More than the average last drawn -	324,791
Estimated for 1801-2	7,051,164
Actual amount -	7,127,988
More than estimate -	76,824
Charges. — Estimated for 1801-2 -	4,582,201
Actual amount -	4,705,583
More than estimate -	123,382
Deduct excess of revenue from excess of charge, the net revenue is less than estimated -	46,558
And the net revenue for 1801-2, is	2,422,406
ESTIMATES 1802-3.	
Revenues -	7,612,384
Charges -	4,535,065
Net revenue	3,077,319
Revenues estimated more than actual in 1801-2 -	484,395
Charges do. less than do. - -	170,517
Net revenue estimated for 1802-3, more than preceding year	654,912
MADRAS.	
Revenues. — An average of aggregate	

receipts

receipts would not be a correct ground of comparison, on account of the additional revenues acquired by conquest and by treaty since the year 1799. On the same principle as adopted last year, viz. by taking the average collections from the Post-office, the old land revenues, the customs, and the farms and licences, the average of those revenues, from 1799, 1800, to 1801-2, was - 1,136,597

Which exceeds the average from 1798-9 to 1800-1 - 101,528

Estimated for 1801-2 3,899,040
Actual amount - 4,729,610

More than estimated - 830,570

Charges. — Estimated for 1801-2 - 4,559,311
Actual amount - 4,963,742

More than estimated - 404,421

Deducting excess of charge from excess of revenue, the net charge is less than estimated - 426,139

And the net charge of the year 1801-2 is 234,132

Estimates 1802-3.

Revenues - 4,670,369
Charges - 4,555,676

Net revenue - 114,693

Revenues estimated less than actual in 1801-2 - - 59,241
Charges ditto less than ditto - 408,066

The prospect estimated for 1802-3 better than preceding year by - - 348,825

Bombay.

Revenues — Excluding the revenues of the ceded provinces transferred to Madras in July 1800, the average revenues from 1799, 1800 to 1801-2 - 251,456

Which exceeds the average drawn on the same principle from 1798-9 to 1800-1 - - 39,564

Estimated for 1801-2 271,825
Actual amount - 305,992

More than estimate - 34,167

Charges — Estimated for 1801-2 - 1,185,308
Actual amount - 1,187,288

More than estimate - 1,980

Deducting excess of charge from excess of revenue, the net charge is less than estimated. - 32,187

And

And the net charge of the year 1801-2 is - -	881,296

ESTIMATES 1802-3.

Revenues -	410,280
Charges -	907,406
Net charge -	427,126
Revenues eſtimated more than actual in 1801-2 - -	104,288
Charges ditto leſs than ditto - - -	279,882
Net charge eſtimated for 1802-3, leſs than preceding year	384,170

BENCOOLEN AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS.

Revenues of Fort Marlborough on average of three years, 1798-9 to 1800-1 -	8,806
Charges. Ditto, ditto -	102,030
Net charge -	93,224
Supplies from Bengal to Fort Marlborough, Penang, &c, eſtimated for 1801-2	85,840
Actual amount -	241,220
More than eſtimated -	155,380
Supplies eſtimated for 1802-3 -	116,000

GENERAL VIEW.

Reſult of the year 1801-2, *collectively.*

Revenues—Bengal - -	7,127,988	
Madras - -	4,729,610	
Bombay - -	305,992	
Total revenues		12,163,590
Charges—Bengal - -	4,705,583	
Madras - -	4,963,742	
Bombay - -	1,187,288	
Total charges		10,856,613
Net revenue of the three preſidencies - -		1,306,977
Deduct ſupplies to Bencoolen, &c. - -		241,220
Remaining net revenue - - -		1,065,757
Deducted from the intereſt, &c. paid on the debts.		
At Bengal - -	971,556	
Madras - -	267,178	
Bombay - -	210,066	
		1,449,500

Shews

Shews the deficit from the territorial revenues to be		383,743
Deducted from the amount sales of imports, &c. by		418,717
	The remainder	34,974

Is the sum left applicable to the purpose of commerce, amount advanced for the purchase of investment, payment, of commercial charges, and in aid of China investment

At Bengal	739,651	
Madras	281,329	
Bombay	246,021	
Marlborough	21,092	
Total advances for investments		1,288,093
Cargoes invoiced from India to Europe in 1801-2, with charges by		2,362,443

General View

Result of the estimates for the year 1802-3, *collectively.*

Revenues—Bengal	7,612,384		
Madras	4,670,369		
Bombay	410,280		
	Total revenues		12,693,033
Charges—Bengal	4,535,065		
Madras	4,555,676		
Bombay	907,406		
	Total charges		9,998,147
Net estimated revenue of the three presidencies			2,694,886
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c. per			116,000
	Remainder		2,578,886
Deduct further interest on the debts by			1,481,070
	The sum then remaining is		1,097,816
Add estimated amount of sales of imports by			409,500
	The total		1,507,316

Is the amount estimated to be applicable in the year 1802-3, to the purposes of commerce.

Debts in India.

Amount stated last year	17,674,532

Amount

Amount this year - - - -	19,965,739
Increaſe	2,291,207
Debts transferred in the year	143,179

DEBTS BEARING INTEREST.

Amount laſt year - - - -	15,135,354
Amount this year - - -	16,994,833
Increaſe of debts bearing intereſt	1,859,479
Amount of intereſt payable by the accounts of laſt year -	1,342,853
Amount of intereſt payable by the accounts of this year	1,481,070
ncreaſe of intereſt payable ann ually	138,217

ASSETS IN INDIA.

Conſiſting of caſh, goods, ſtores, &c. laſt year -	12,113,923
Ditto ditto by preſent ſtatements - -	13,372,741
Increaſe of aſſets	1,258,818
Deduct increaſe of aſſets from increaſe of debts, the ſtate of the Company's Affairs in India appears worſe in this view - - - -	1,032,389

HOME ACCOUNTS.

Aggregate amount of ſales 1802-3 - -		9,628,131
More than laſt year - -	472,144	
The ſales of Company's goods were to a leſs amount - -	582,459	
Alſo neutral property by -	153,036	
	735,495	
Private goods were more by	1,207,639	
Difference as above -	472,144	
The ſales of the Company's goods were eſtimated at -		5,880,600
The actual amount was - - - -		6,048,028
Being more than eſtimated by		167,428
The receipts on the ſales of the Company's goods eſtimated at - - - - -		6,500,600

Actually

Actually amounted to - - - -	6,972,417
Being more than eſtimated -	471,810
Charges and profit on private-trade eſtimated at -	130,007
Actually amounted to - - -	172,474
Exceding the eſtimate in - - -	42,474
General Reſult.—The balance of caſh eſtimated to be againſt the Company on the 1ſt. of March, 1803 -	1,434,556
Actually proved to be in their favour - -	1,009,822
Being better than eſtimated	2,444,378

Which may be attributed to the additional receipts on the ſales of goods on private-trade, and on the iſſue of bonds, combined with the payments below the eſtimate on account of India and China, and on ſeveral other accounts, alſo the protraction of the liquidation of 700,000l. of the debt to the Bank.

ESTIMATE, 1803-4.

Receipt for the ſale of Company's goods -	6,085,500
General Reſult:—Although the balance of caſh on the 1ſt March, 1803, was large, and although the ſmaller receipt on the ſale of goods is more than made up by an expected payment from Government, the great diſburſement required for India and China for purchaſe of inveſtment and liquidation of debt, and the payment of the loan from the Bank are likely ſo to operate, that the balance of caſh, in favour of the Company, on the 1ſt March, 1804, is eſtimated to amount to the ſum only of - - - -	89,393

DEBTS AT HOME.

On the 1ſt March, 1802 - - -	4,822,683
On the 1ſt March, 1803 - - -	4,773,886
Decreaſe -	48,797

ASSETS AT HOME.

On the 1ſt March, 1802 - - -	16,802,760
On the 1ſt March, 1803 - - -	17,440,593
Increaſe -	637,833

Adding

Adding the decreaſe of debts to the increaſe of aſſets, the improvement of the home concern in the year is -	686,630

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

Balance at China laſt year in favour -	1,019,551	
Balance at China by the preſent accounts -	91,434	
Decreaſe at China	928,117	
Balance at St. Helena, on the 30th Sept. 1800, in favour -	77,852	
Balance at ditto, on the 30th Sept. 1801 in favour - - -	78,848	
	996	
Net decreaſe at China and St. Helena		927,121

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increaſe of debts in India - - -		2,291,207
Decreaſe of debts at home - - -		48,797
Net increaſe of debts -		2,242,410
Increaſe of aſſets in India -	1,258,818	
Increaſe of aſſets at home -	637,833	
	1,896,651	
Deduct, net decreaſe of balance in favour at China and St. Helena	927,121	
Net increaſe of aſſets		969,530
Deducted from the net increaſe of debts, ſhews the ſtate of the whole concern in a worſe point of view than at the concluſion of the laſt year, in the ſum of - -		1,272,880

Having gone through all the ſtatements, he obſerved, that nothing could be more gratifying than the view thus exhibited, of the actual proſperity and future proſpects of our Eaſt-India ſettlements, which were now infinitely ſuperior to what they had ever had been before, or to what belongs to any other country on the face of the globe.—Whether we looked to its revenue, its commerce, the value of lands, it population, or its peaceful Government, it muſt preſent an object of envy to every other nation in the world. The Noble Marquis, at the head of that Government, had an opportunity of carrying into effect the ſyſtem of judicature adopted by the Marquis Cornwallis, and from the reports of the different govenors, given in as a ſtatiſtical view of the whole country, a plan was now effected which had been much improved by the exertions

of

of Sir George Barlow. The judicature of the courts was now equal to those of the other settlements, and the same system was extended to most of the Jaghires and Circars. Means were taken to ascertain the value of the other more remote English possessions, and the same system pervaded them all, who had their courts and judges in the same regularity as those of Bengal. The Polygars were a very warlike and interesting people. They lived under a kind of feudal system, which rendered them at the same time both martial and idle. This was increased by their Treaty to keep 23,000 men for the service of the Company. But this of late had been very advantageously remitted for the sum of 71,000l. per anumn in money. The most material point was the situation of the Carnatic, which had undergone a considerable change; but as this was not a time to enter into the merits of the Treaty which annexed a part of the Nabob's possession to ours, he would confine himself to that part of the subject, which bore more immediately upon the question, in the financial operations of the measure. By the arrangement made, the net revenue derived by the Company this year, after the payment of the collection and other expenses, was 1,094,000l. of which, however, one-fifth was paid to the Nabob; which, with the payments to his creditors, would amount to 628,000l. leaving to the Company a clear profit of 228,000l. By this the Nabob possessed much more than he could realize by his own imperfect system of revenue; for of the immense sums wrenched from the inhabitants, by continued and successive extortions descending from the prince to the meanest soldier, only a very small portion came into the public coffers. By the late Treaty, the Nabob, instead of paying a subsidy to the Company for undertaking his defence, and that of his territories, which relieved him from keeping a standing army that was a terror to his subjects and himself, ceded a part of his territory as an indemnification to the Company. This cession consisted of about half his territory, the revenues of which, by the meritorious exertions of Mr. Wellesley, had been improved from 1,500,000, to 2,770,000l. The Nabob, at the same time, was the richest sovereign in India, having a clear revenue of upwards of a million sterling solely applicable to his own use, and to the comforts of his family. Speaking of the Mahratta empire, he said it must be always of the greatest importance to us, as its superficial extent was equal to that of the possessions of the Company. It had lately undergone a very great revolution, as Holkar had defeated the army of the Pashwa, who was himself obliged to fly from his capital, and take refuge, under the protection of the Company, near Bombay, where he still remained. The current connexion between him and the Company made it expedient to afford him the protection he sought for, and on that communication being made to Holkar, he appeared satisfied to submit the dispute to the English Government. As this, however, could not be intirely relied upon, he had further to mention, that an army to support the interference of the

the Company was assembled and prepard upon the coast, but would not, in all probability, be driven to any military operations, and at all events would be attended with little expense, and would not affect the general results of the peace establishment. He then concluded with moving resolutions in conformity with his calculations.

Mr. Francis, in a long and able speech, combated both the facts and results advanced and deduced by Lord Castlereagh, adverting also to much which had been said in former debates by the supporters of Government, to publications on the same subjects, and to the debates at the India House; and the official statements of the Company. "The actual state of the debts and incumbrances of the East-India Company," he said, "is a demonstrative refutation, not of the figures, bnt of the practical result and implied promise of all their calculations for many years. On this subject, however, there is at this moment special evidence before the House: I mean, such an instance of inaccuracy, as, I believe, if any thing can, will guard the House from giving implicit credit to Indian estimates hereafter. I am far from thinking that it could have been intended. The fact is, that, on the 8th of March last, an estimate was laid before the House, by the Court of Directors, in which the supposed debt in India is stated as follows:

The total of debts on the 30th April 1802, is therefore estimated at -	17,614,000l.
On the 28th of April, the real account was produced, by which it appears that the same debt, at the same period, amounted to -	19,965,700l.
So that, between the estimate in March and real account in April, the difference is no less than -	2,351,700l.

"A mistake, or miscalculation, of 2,350,000l. in estimating the increase of debts in a single year is quite enough for the purpose, for which I mention it, and much more than I expected. The addition made to the Indian debt, in the two years ending in April 1802, amounted to 5,325,337l. But are you sure that this all? Is there no arrear left? Are all the demands on all the presidencies ascertained and stated? Be that as it may, this formidable debt is evidently in a course of rapid progression. The augmentation of establishments, and expences of all sorts, keeps pace with the increase of your dominion, out-runs that of your revenue, and at this distance can neither be restrained nor controlled, without an exertion of vigour as great as the difficulty, and a choice of instruments equal to the task. In a political sense, you have more than you can govern. In an economical sense, you have more than you can manage. These and many similar observations were strongly supported by Mr. Johnstone and Mr. Prinsep, the latter of whom undertook to prove that the revenue of the East-India Company was deficient in the sum of three millions

millions. On bringing up the Report of the Reſolutions, Mr. Prinſep returned to the ſubject, and arraigned the general management of the Company's affairs; but the Report was agreed to without a diviſion.

2d. Aug.

Some other meaſures connected with the expenditure of the public money may be ſlightly noticed.

An act was paſſed, although not without conſiderable oppoſition, indulging thoſe planters of St. Vincent's and Grenada who had been favoured with loans from Government, with further time to pay the reſidue of the money advanced to them, and in purſuance of a Meſſage from his Majeſty, an annuity of 1200l. was ſettled on Sir James Saumarez, commencing from the 12th of July 1801, the day on which he rendered his country ſuch diſtinguiſhed ſervice and acquired to himſelf immortal renown off Algeſiras.

March and April.

Beſide this tribute of compenſation to the merit of a Britiſh officer, the claims of a foreign Prince, a ſufferer in the general cauſe of Europe, in conſequence of the extenſion of French power, were recommended to the attention of Parliament. Lord Hawkeſbury, adverting to a Meſſage from his Majeſty on the ſubject of a compenſation to the Prince of Orange, obſerved that the obligations this country owed to the family of that illuſtrious Prince were greater than ever were due by any country to any great family at the head of a national Government. To prove this, he would call to the recollection of the Houſe, the uniform conduct of the Houſe of Orange, on all occaſions, to this country, from the period when we owed to an illuſtrious Prince of that Houſe the preſervation of our Conſtitution and our liberties, to the preſent moment. This attachment had occaſioned the Prince to loſe every thing which belonged to him, whether as ſovereignty, rank, power, or private property. In the negotiation of the Treaty of Amiens, it was ſtipulated that ſome compenſation ſhould be made him, but this ſtipulation had not been fulfilled, and the only part of the agreement which had been performed, was now again violated by the recent aggreſſion of France. Under theſe circumſtances, it became the juſt right of the Prince of Orange to claim, and the duty of Miniſters to propoſe, ſome alleviation of his diſtreſſes. On this ground, his Majeſty had ſent his royal Meſſage to the Houſe. It muſt be recollected, that, in the courſe of the war, very eminent ſervices were rendered to this country by the Prince of Orange, and that a very conſiderable Dutch fleet was ſurrendered to England in his name. In the ſubſequent negotiation with the Batavian Government, for compenſation to the Prince of Orange, it was proffered on their part, if that fleet was reſtored; this was refuſed by the Engliſh Government; a fact which ſtrengthened the claims of the Houſe of Orange to a compenſation. The modes which he ſhould propoſe, were two; either to vote a given ſum as a complete and final indemnity; or elſe, a ſmall ſum promptly, and another by way of annuity. He ſhould himſelf prefer the latter, as the

25th July.

more

more eligible mode; and therefore propose it first, namely, a sum of 60,000l. in money, and an annuity of 16,000l. By this latter sum, he wished it to be understood, that all the pensions to minor branches of the family, for their services and attachment to this country, were to be covered; and he concluded with a motion to that effect.

Mr. Canning did not resist the proposal, but reproached Ministers with having been the dupes of a juggle between the governments of Holland and France, by which the former threw on the latter the duty imposed by the treaty of peace, of finding an indemnity for the family of the Stadholder, and France with characteristic bad faith, refused to fulfil the engagement she had contracted. Ministers, he said, should have insisted on the stipulation being fully performed, before they had surrendered the means in their own hands, the Cape of Good Hope, not then given up, and the islands belonging to France.

Sir Francis Burdett resisted the proposition altogether, pronouncing it one of the most extraordinary measures, under the present circumstances of the country, that ever was submitted to Parliament. He thought, that so far from the House of Orange having claims against this country, Parliament and the people of England might have claims against it, having been called in as auxiliaries only, in order to assist the Dutch; for the Prince of Orange was the original cause of involving this country in the late war. In that point of view, as an advocate for the people of England, he should declare himself hostile to any claim of the nature of that now proposed. Once encourage such claims, and he did not know what would be the end of them. Was it with a view to try the extent of the generosity of the people of England? For any thing he knew, we might perhaps be called on, by and by, to indemnify the Elector of Hanover. It was impossible to tell whom we might be called on to indemnify. Such conduct displayed a want of common prudence or decency. Ministers had not done away any sinecures, or expunged a name from the list of pensioners, and until he could read the pension list, without displeasure or disgust, he could never imagine that any symptoms of economy were displayed by Government. He concluded with this observation; that unless he could bring himself to be of opinion, that bran was the best substitute which the people of England could make use of for corn, and a workhouse the fittest place for people to reside in (which he alleged the Minister had once said) he could never think of agreeing to such a donation.

If the House was not indisposed, after the argument of Mr. Canning to question the propriety of the vote, this latter speech had no such influence on them; the proposition of Lord Hawkesbury was agreed to, and a bill framed and passed accordingly.

Another expenditure of a very moderate sum for a very important purpose proceeded from the Report of the Committe for the survey of the Highlands of Scotland, introduced to the attention of Parliament by Mr Isaac Hawkins Browne. Already, he observed, had the House 29th June.

voted to his Majesty's disposal a sum of 20,000l. for the purpose of opening roads and erecting bridges in the Highlands of Scotland, and thereby facilitating the intercourse, improving the agriculture, aiding the fisheries, and opening the inlets for improvements in the manufactures, commerce, and wealth of that part of the United Kingdom. The measure he had now to propose was not only of the utmost importance to that part of Great Britain, but to the general commerce of the United Empire, including Ireland. The project to which he alluded was the opening of a navigable canal across the Highlands of Scotland, from the Eastern to the Western Sea. The project might at first seem, not only arduous, but impracticable; but it appeared, on a minute survey, that although the tract through which this canal was intended to pass, was extremely mountainous, yet there was a chain of deep vallies to favour the operation, and these containing in the line of fifty nine miles (which was to be the extent of the navigation from sea to sea), thirty-eight miles of lakes of unfathomable depth, and capable of navigating the largest ships in the navy of England. The remaining line to be artificially cut was about twenty-one miles, which it was purposed to make twenty-feet deep, and of a proportionable width, navigable for frigates. This work in its operation, would be attended with much less difficulty, and with infinitely less expence, than the Royal Junction, and many other canals in this country; for the highest point of land, through which this cut was proposed to be made, was but 100 feet above the level of the sea, at high water mark. This canal would insure, without risk or uncertainty, the passage of the whole Baltic and North Sea trade to the Irish Channel during the summer months, and that probably in seven days, which by the present dangerous navigation, round by the Shetland and Orkney Islands, is not generally effected in less than a fortnight or three weeks, and with the most contrary winds and bad weather, ensure in twelve days that conveyance, which, by the old navigation can rarely be effected, under the same disadvantages, in less than three months, and this with the most imminent risk, and frequently immense loss, not only of valuable ships and cargoes, but of the inestimable lives of British seamen: and the whole expense might perhaps not exceed the amount of the losses by shipwreck on the average of the last five years. For this great project he had been instructed, as chairman of a select Committee, to move that a sum not exceeding 20,000l. be granted to his Majesty for the purpose of opening the said navigation by the way of Fort William and Inverness. The motion was agreed to, with the utmost cheerfulness, by the whole House.

During a considerable part of the Session, Parliament was engaged in endeavours to improve the condition of the Clergy. It was at first found necessary to continue the restraint imposed by the former Parliament on those common informers who had brought penal actions on the statute of Henry VIII. against clergymen for non-residence to an enormous amount.

Sir

Sir William Scott afterward brought in a Bill for regulating the reſidence of the Clergy, and for amending the law reſpecting their holding farms, which was diſcuſſed with great animation and perſeverance in both Houſes. After it had paſſed the Commons it was amended by the Lords in ſome particulars which, as they affected money clauſes, obliged the lower Houſe, in maintainance of their privilege, to throw out the Bill; it was, however, immediately re-introduced in its amended ſtate by Sir William Scott, and finally received the royal aſſent. Some other meaſures were propoſed, but after ſome progreſs had been made in them, they were abandoned till another Seſſion.

For two acts of great utility the public were indebted to the care and judgment of Lord Ellenborough. The one was to prevent frivolous and vexatious arreſts, by making thoſe plaintiffs who iſſued writs for greater ſums than were really due to them pay coſts, although they might recover a verdict for a ſmaller ſum. The other, among other valuable proviſions, amended a groſs defect in the ſtatute commonly called the Coventry Act, by ſubjecting to capital puniſhment thoſe who were guilty of ſtabbing, cutting or wounding, even if they had not lain in wait for that purpoſe, provided the offence were committed under ſuch circumſtances that if death had enſued it would have been murder.

CHAP. XIV.

State of Ireland; the people ſtill agitated in ſome meaſure by the claims of the Catholics, and by French agents; but public tranquillity preſerved by the moderation of Government; ſecret machinations; arms ſeized in various parts of the Country. Anger of Napper Tandy at ſome expreſſions uſed in debate by Lord Pelham; his Letter to that nobleman; ſimilar offence given by Mr. Elliott; whom he challenges to ſingle combat, theſe Letters treated with contempt; effect intended to be produced by them in Ireland. A ſecret conſpiracy formed in Dublin; intimations received by Government; exploſion in a houſe in Patrick Street; the conſpiracy carried into effect; a large mob collected, and armed from the depots; their violence; murder of Lord Kilwarden and his Nephew; a force collected to oppoſe the inſurgents; who are diſperſed without much difficulty; their depôts, plans and leaders diſcovered; Proclamation of the intended proviſional Government; their Addreſs to the citizens of Dublin; Proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant. Meſſage from the King to Parliament reſpecting theſe tranſactions; Debate in the Houſe of Commons on the motion for an Addreſs; Bill brought in for ſuppreſſing rebellion in Ireland; which paſſes through both Houſes in one ſitting. Motion by Mr. Hutchinſon for an Addreſs to the King on the State of Ireland; which, after a ſtrong debate, is negatived without a diviſion. Cloſe of the Seſſion. Tranquillity of Ireland. Addreſs from the Citizens of Dublin to the King. Account of ſome principal perſons

engaged in the late Conſpiracy; Mr. Emmett; Quigley; Dowdall. Information obtained by Government. A ſpecial Commiſſion framed for trying the rebels; Trial of Emmett. Account of his proceedings, as then diſcloſed; his ſpeech; execution; and character. Trials of Redmond, and Ruſſell; Quigley and Stafford taken but not proceeded againſt; general ſatisfaction at the conduct of Government.

BEFORE the cloſe of this unuſually protracted Seſſion, the attention of Parliament was ſtrongly, and unexpectedly called to the ſtate of Ireland, which was agitated by a ſudden exploſion of popular fury attended with an event, equally horrible to humanity, and diſgraceful to its perpetrators.

It was not to be expected that this unfortunate country would in a moment be reclaimed from all the violences, both of conduct and opinion, which had prevailed during the late rebellion; which had attended the diſcuſſions on the Union; and which muſt have been conſiderably exaſperated by the introduction of the claims of the Catholics to public notice, on the reſignation of the late miniſtry. It was alſo known to Government, that France, even during the peace, was actively employed in thoſe meaſures which ſhe judged likely to produce a ſeparation between the two countries, and to throw Ireland into her power. Yet ſuch was the effect of the ſyſtem of moderation, and the truly conciliatory ſpirit diſplayed in all the proceedings of the Lord Lieutenant and thoſe who acted under him, that no ſerious miſchief was apprehended, either from domeſtic traitors or foreign intriguers. Indeed, it was not clear that theſe two claſſes did not in ſome degree counteract each other, and create a ſchiſm in the very centre of the conſpiracy; for it was certain that many who would gladly have contributed to what they conſidered the emancipation of their country from the domination of England, would with equal vigour have exerted themſelves to prevent her ſubjection to France. This difference of opinion was not, however, ſufficient to enſure the public tranquillity, or even to prevent the co-operation of all the diſaffected in the firſt meaſures of inſurrection, ſince, at an early period, very few have diſtinctly aſcertained their ultimate objects, and thoſe few are generally the moſt corrupt, wicked and atrocious of the whole confederacy.

Government had ſome intimations of the exiſtence and views of theſe parties in the early part of the year, but their efforts, on the one hand, were ſo feeble, or, on the other, ſo contemptible, that no great exertion either of vigour or caution would have been juſtifiable. Thus, in January, Government was appriſed of the ſeizure of a conſiderable number of pikes in the County of Limerick, and an inſurrection took place a few days afterward, in which ſome miſchief was effected, but it was eaſily ſuppreſſed by the exertions of the yeomanry and the military. A ſimilar ſpirit was diſplayed in the counties of Waterford and Tipperary, but, although ſome perſons, whoſe apprehenſions magnified the danger beyond its real dimenſions, were anxious to have certain diſtricts

tricts in thoſe counties proclaimed in rebellion, they were tranquillized with equal facility, by ordinary means.

As domeſtic inſurrections produced ſo little effect, an attempt was made by one of the expatriated traitors who had found refuge in France, to excite ſome intereſt for himſelf and his cauſe, by an attack on two members of the Britiſh Parliament, which produced no other effect in any portion of the public but that of adding to the diſguſt felt againſt an avowed active rebel, the contempt which is ever excited by preſumptuous folly. The individual in queſtion was the much known Napper Tandy. In a debate on the Bill for laying a duty on malt, Earl Spencer made a ſpeech on the ſtate of the country, adviſing the houſe not to conſent to the paſſing of the Bill, unleſs they received from Miniſters more ample information than they yet had, on the State of the Nation. In the courſe of his argument, Earl Spencer obſerved that in conſequence of the fears which Miniſters felt of the reſentment of the Firſt Conſul, one of the fouleſt traitors that ever had been convicted of high treaſon, had been ſuffered to eſcape with his life. Lord Pelham, in anſwer, ſaid, that with reſpect to Napper Tandy, the ſparing his life, after conviction of high treaſon, did not ariſe from any idea of either irritating or appeaſing the Firſt Conſul, or from any interference on his part. He had been given up by a northern ſtate, (Hamburgh) upon the local law of that city, and his not being executed aroſe merely from its being found, upon inquiry into ſome circumſtances that had paſſed reſpecting certain communications made by him, that it would not only have been cruel but unjuſt to have executed his ſentence.

This introduction of his name in a debate offended Mr. Tandy, and he expreſſed his diſpleaſure, in a Letter publiſhed in the French newſpapers, and addreſſed to Lord Pelham, wherein he complained of the treatment he received from the Billinſgate orators in both Houſes. "You have declared, or the printer for you" he proceeded, "that I made diſcoveries to Government. I aſſert that that declaration is falſe. This may *appear to your ears* not very civil language; but it is the voice of truth, and I repeat, my Lord, that it is a mean and audacious falſehood. I never had any relation nor correſpondence with your Government; or if I had, that Government knew my character too well, to attempt to make me temporize. Had you been content with ſaying, that there were particular circumſtances in my caſe, you would not have ſwerved from the truth, for you know all, though you have only ſuffered a part to appear. With reſpect to my life, I never thought I owed any gratitude to your Government for it. I owe my life to the great and generous people, to the firſt of men, to the hero, to the pacificator, who ſaid, that if I fell, I ſhould fall with eternal luſtre. It is for the cauſe of that people that I am ready to ſhed the laſt drop of my blood. I can recapitulate, with ſatisfaction my paſt life, ſpent in the ſervice of my country, whilſt I look with pity and contempt upon thoſe who, by proſtituting themſelves, have been

raiſed to the firſt offices of the ſtate. I am more proud of the name of French Citizen, than I ſhould be of the rank of a titled ſlave?" and in a ſimilar ſtyle of coarſe perſonal abuſe he concluded his Letter.

But his complaints and his reſentment were not confined to Earl Spencer and Lord Pelham. In the debate on the Addreſs, Mr. Elliott had aſked "Is the firſt Conſul incapable of fomenting diſcontent and diſcord in Ireland? Has he ſhewn no tenderneſs for Napper Tandy, a foul and convicted traitor?"—Incenſed at this language, the indignant Napper wrote to Mr. Elliott, through the medium of the poſt, requiring him to name any city on the continent to which he might be willing to come with ſome friends to meet the writer. "You have ſhewn yourſelf," he ſaid, in his Letter, "as deſtitute of good ſenſe, as you are a ſtranger to politeneſs and good manners. You cannot but know, you who pretend to ſo much intelligence and information, that I hold a rank in the army of this great and generous nation, which ſets me upon an equality with the proudeſt peer in Great Britain. You know that a ſoldier's honour is dearer to him than life. Yet with a knowledge of theſe facts, you preſumed to taniſh my character, you have attempted to fix ſtains of infamy on my name, which muſt be waſhed away in either your blood or mine. A French officer is not to be inſulted with impunity. You, the country which gave me birth, the country in whoſe boſom I have been adopted, cannot but expect that I am not to betray the honour of the rank to which I have been exalted." This piece of audacious ribaldry being received, if received at all, with deſerved contempt, the author publiſhed it in the Argus, complaining he had received no anſwer, and this public appeal being equally diſregarded, he proceeded, ſometime afterward, to publiſh another Letter, wherein he applied to Mr. Elliott the moſt opprobrious epithets, but, as if determined that his ſtupidity ſhould ſtand equally conſpicuous with his impudence; in this Letter he charged Mr. Elliott with having ſpoken ill of him on an occaſion where he had not ſpoken at all, transferring to him the offence given by Lord Pelham.

The attacks of ſuch a perſon on members of either houſe of the Britiſh Legiſlature are, in themſelves, of no importance; what judgment a traiterous outcaſt might form on the conduct or expreſſions of high and honourable characters could little affect their intereſts or their feelings, but the malignant boaſts in theſe Letters were intended to produce their effect among the few in Ireland, who were ſtill ſufficiently miſled or infatuated to believe that from a connexion with France, freedom, ſafety and even honour might be derived. To them was addreſſed the aſſertion that the writer owed his ſafety not to the clemency of the Britiſh Government, but to the interpoſition, and the threats of the greateſt of mankind, the hero, the pacificator; for them was calculated the boaſt that a convicted traitor, obtaining rank in the French army, would be allowed by that Government to proclaim himſelf

ſelf to the world, the equal of Britiſh peers, and the contemner of Britiſh rank and authority.

To all external appearance, there was not the ſligeteſt reaſon to apprehend that any efforts of any party could be ſucceſsfully employed in creating a commotion in Ireland. The mildneſs and moderation of Government afforded no topics of exultation to any party, nor did they create any apprehenſions that meaſures of needleſs ſeverity would be reſorted to. Political and religious diſtinctions although ſtill maintained, were gradually ceaſing to be the daily and hourly ſubjects of diſputation; the cauſes of ſeparation, and the incentives to hoſtility. Men were recovering that frame and temper of mind, which enables them to purſue the ordinary buſineſs of life, without diſtracting their attention, and inflaming their paſſions by perpetually recurring to thoſe irreconcileable differences which formed the ground of endleſs diſputes. Yet, in the midſt of theſe circumſtances, which ſo reaſonably portended ſecurity, a conſpiracy was formed for the purpoſe of creating a formidable inſurrection, to be followed by the total ſubverſion of Government.

For ſome days previous to that on which the fatal exploſion took place, information had been conveyed to Government of dangerous aſſemblages, and of acts and expreſſions of individuals tending to juſtify a ſuſpicion that ſome effort was intended. Such intimations muſt neceſſarily, in the exiſting ſtate of Ireland, have been very frequent, and, on moſt occaſions, muſt have been properly conſidered as the ſtruggles of individuals to obtain notice, conſequence and power, by rendering others odious or ſuſpected. At the preſent time, when there was not, in any part of the country, or in the metropolis, any appearance to warrant a belief in a dangerous commotion, it was quite natural that no great ſenſation ſhould be occaſioned by vague intelligence, pointing at no perſons nor objects, nor indicating any direct intentions or means of executing them: ſtill, as the information ſeemed to be ſerious and friendly, it was ſo far attended to, that in ſome material poſitions in Dublin, the guard was doubled.

An event which probably contributed to the adoption of this precaution occurred a week before the inſurrection. At a houſe in Patrick Street, rented by one John Mac Intoſh, an exploſion of gunpowder took place, and it was obſerved that Mac Intoſh refuſed admittance to thoſe who tendered their aſſiſtance; he locked up the premiſes, informing a neighbour that the exploſion had been occaſioned by trying ſome experiment connected with the trade of ſilk-dyers. On the following evening, however, a peace officer went to the houſe, and aſcertained the exploſion to have been that of gunpowder; a parcel of which he found in an unfiniſhed ſtate, and ſome ſalt-petre. He alſo found, in a cheſt, about fifty freſh caſt muſket balls, a volume of Volney's Ruins of Empires; and in the houſe were about two hundred pike handles, ſhorter than thoſe generally uſed; but, in an adjoining houſe he found a parcel of bayonets with the ſockets filled with wood, and as if they had been ſawed from off the handles which were in the firſt houſe. Mac Intoſh

toſh abſconded, but his ſubſequent proceedings were afterward diſcovered.

23rd July. On the day appointed by the conſpirators for the execution of their ſcheme, ſmall parties arriving continually in the city from the adjacent villages, filled all the public houſes in the neighbourhood of Thomas Street. This circumſtance was not in itſelf calculated to create any uneaſineſs in Government, or to alarm the police, ſince that part of the town is compoſed of ſhops from which the neighbouring peaſantry draw their ſupplies, and a numerous reſort on a Saturday afternoon was not an unuſual circumſtance; and the inhabitants of Dublin remained tranquil, and unſuſpicious of the plans which were in agitation.

At nine o'clock in the evening, the tremendous intelligence was diſcloſed, by the firing of rockets, and a diſcharge of muſketry. Immediately, about fifty armed perſons iſſued from a houſe, which with its extenſive premiſes, in Marſhall's Alley, Thomas Street, had formerly been uſed as a malthouſe, but after remaining long unoccupied, was hired by the agents of this inſurrection, and converted into a *depot*, in which with great patience and ſecreſy, they had accumulated muſkets, pikes, clothing and gunpowder, to a conſiderable amount. The people without, immediately ruſhed toward the place, and were ſupplied with pikes, and directed to ſtation themſelves in various directions. The din and alarm ſpread by the ſudden arming and breaking forth of ſuch a mob, magnified the terror of the people, and the effect was conſiderably aided by the unuſual darkneſs of the night, ſo that their real inſignificance in number, and apparent deſtitution of deſign or regular plan, were not inſtantly perceived. The parties who ſallied out in various directions, compelled many whom they met, to fall into their ranks and aſſume arms like themſelves, threatening that all who did not join them that night, ſhould be treated as enemies the following day; and ſome they actually diſpatched with fire arms and pikes.

Their moſt conſpicuous and illuſtrious victim was Lord Viſcount Kilwarden, Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench. This excellent and reſpected nobleman, being at his country ſeat, diſtant five miles from Dublin, received an expreſs from his ſon, the honourable Colonel Wolfe, apprizing him of ſome threatening appearances in the City, and immediately prepared to return, accompanied by his daughter, and his nephew, the Reverend Arthur Wolfe. Their Coachman, unconſcious of danger, drove into Thomas Street. The mob ſtopped the carriage, and dragging out the Chief Juſtice and his Nephew, maſſacred both with their pikes: the young lady, protected, it is ſaid, by two rebel leaders, on horſe-back, eſcaped, and was almoſt the firſt who conveyed to the Caſtle the dreadful intelligence of inſurrection. While Lord Kilwarden was expiring under the blows of his ferocious executioners, a party of military came to his reſcue; hearing from them ſome threats of ſummary vengeance to be inflicted on the aſſaſſins, he employed his laſt breath in imploring that no man might ſuffer for the tranſ-

tranſactions of that day, except according to due courſe of law.

The alarm being now widely ſpread, it was apparent that the inſurgents had loſt the opportunity for effecting any great or ſignal enterprize. This failure is ſaid to have ariſen partly from a ſchiſm among the chiefs, and partly from their want of control over their adherents. It was recommended on one part, that no efforts ſhould be made till one o'clock in the morning; but this plan, although eligible in itſelf, was ſubject to inſuperable difficulties; the continuance of ſo many people in the public houſes to ſo late an hour, muſt have occaſioned ſuſpicion, and their converſation when inflamed with liquor, muſt have led to diſcovery.

They who recommended the earlier hour, intended that their followers ſhould march immediately againſt the Caſtle, but the diſtribution of arms, and the diſperſion of the mob, in various directions, in purſuit of blood and plunder, prevented, for a long time, any combined or effective movement. When it became evident that the military were in motion, efforts were made to prevent their aſſembling by murdering individual officers and yeomen as they were repairing to their poſts, and the houſe of the Lord Mayor, the Manſion Houſe, was ſurprized, and plundered of a conſiderable quantity of arms. The main body of inſurgents was then collected in High Street, with the apparent intention of attacking the Caſtle, but when the military began to act, the inability of a mere mob to withſtand ſerious and regular oppoſition was ſoon evident. Very ſmall parties of ſoldiers and yeomanry, and even of the police, held bodies of ten times their number in check, and a ſteady fire of ſhort continuance, though but from a few ſoldiers, diſperſed this mighty maſs of rebels, by whoſe help their leaders had fondly hoped to accompliſh the overthrow of the Britiſh Government in Ireland. The lower order, in their retreat, carried off the bodies of their killed and wounded aſſociates, while the inſtigators of this ill-contrived and ſanguinary commotion, fled where guilt or fear directed their ſteps, purſued and ſoon overtaken by juſtice.

The activity and ſagacity of the police ſpeedily detected the *depôts*, the plans and the reſources of the conſpirators; and government diſcovered, with aſtoniſhment, how much labour, ſelf-denial, ſecreſy and induſtry had been employed for a long ſpace of time in bringing the project to maturity. In one of their chief *depôts* in Dirty Lane, were found 10,000 pikes, a large number of hand granades formed of bottles filled with powder, and to which a fuſe was fixed. By means alſo of adheſive matter, bullets, ruſty nails, and other materials of death were adapted to be thrown in at windows, or amongſt any loyal body of people, collected for the purpoſe of ſelf-defence. This *depôt* alſo contained bread, porter, biſcuit and other proviſions, adapted for a large body of men, together with a number of machines formed of planks, thickly ſet with large ſpikes, to impede the progreſs of cavalry in the ſtreets. On the banks of the river at a place called the coal Quay, a ſecond *depôt* was found. In the apartment, where it

it was discovered, the wainscoat had been removed to a considerable distance from the wall, and constructed so as to move like a sliding door. Behind this was found an immense collection of pikes and other weapons. In many parts of the city, chiefly in vacant grounds, and against what are termed dead walls, boxes of pikes were discovered, formed so exactly as to resemble logs of timber; their situation and contents being well known to the disaffected. A quantity of clothing was also taken at Bridge-foot-street, and in Smithfield; among which was a most magnificent suit of green and gold, intended for a rebel Chief.

The papers found at the *depôts* not only pointed out the leaders in the conspiracy, of whom mention will be made hereafter, but also the places in the country which were considered likely, or where preparation was made for a similar effort, and thus enabled Government to frustrate, or to repel with the least difficulty, the premeditated attempts.

The most important of the papers found at the *depôts* of the Rebels, was a proclamation or manifesto of the intended provisional Government to the people of Ireland, of which a draft was discovered in the hand writing of one of their principal leaders, and a great many printed copies. This production, which is long, heavy, and not in a good popular style, is remarkable in several particulars. The writer extols himself and his abettors on having organized their system during the last eight months, at the close of internal defeat, and without the hope of foreign assistance; the plan too, had been conducted with a tranquillity, mistaken for obedience, which neither the failure of a similar attempt in England had retarded, nor the renewal of hostilities had accelerated. All hope of foreign aid was disclaimed, but England was cautioned not to drive the provisional government beyond the bounds of separation to those of national antipathy. The members of this new fangled government declared their resolution to establish a free and independent republic in Ireland: that the pursuit of this object they would relinquish only with their lives; that they would never, unless at the express call of their country, abandon their post, until the acknowledgment of its independence was obtained from England; and that they would enter into no negotiation (but for exchange of prisoners) with the Government of that country while a British army remained in Ireland. In another part of the manifesto were these expressions, used as an inducement to the people to abstain from the massacre of those who might fall into their power. "The nation alone possesses the right of punishing individuals, and whosoever shall put another person to death, except in battle, without a fair trial by his country, is guilty of murder. The intention of the provisional government of Ireland is to claim from the English Government such Irishmen as have been sold or transported by it for their attachment to freedom; and, for this purpose, it will retain as hostages for their safe return, such adherents of that Government as shall fall into its hands. It therefore calls upon the people to respect those hostages, and to recol-

recollect, that in ſpilling their blood, they would leave their own countrymen in the hands of their enemies." But leſt this deluſive ſhew of moderation ſhould cool the ardour of any ſanguinary votary of rebellion, another part of the manifeſto held out theſe proſpects. "We war not againſt property; we war againſt no religious ſect; we war not againſt paſt opinions or prejudices; we war againſt Engliſh dominion. We will not, however, deny that there are ſome men, who, not becauſe they have ſupported the Government of our oppreſſors, but becauſe they have violated the common laws of morality, which exiſt alike under all or under no government, have put it beyond our power to give to them the protection of government. We will not hazard the influence we may have with the people, and the power it may give us of preventing the exceſſes of revolution, by undertaking to place in tranquillity the man who has been guilty of torture, free quarters, rape and murder, by the ſide of the ſufferers or their relations; but in the frankneſs with which we warn theſe men of their danger, let thoſe who do not feel that they have paſſed this boundary of mediation, count on their ſafety."

There was alſo an Addreſs to the citizens of Dublin, and a decree intended as a ſpecimen of the government to be exerciſed by the new rulers of the projected free and independent Republic. All tythes were to be aboliſhed for ever, and church-lands were declared the property of the nation. No transfers of land, bonds, debentures or public ſecurities were to take place till the national government ſhould be organized. Iriſh Militia, yeomen, or Volunteer corps found in arms, after fourteen days, were to be tried as rebels by a Court Martial, and puniſhed with death, if it ſo ſhould pleaſe the proviſional government. Stores and ſhips taken from the Engliſh were to be equally divided among the captors, except that widows and near relatives of thoſe who ſhould die fighting for liberty, ſhould have a double ſhare. There were many other regulations in this childiſh farrago, and, among the reſt, a proviſion for electing a Houſe of Commons to be compoſed of three hundred Members, of whom Cork County and City were to return thirty-four, Down ſixteen, Dublin County four, City fourteen, Tyrone fourteen, and Tipperary thirteen. The town of Belfaſt was to return one Member, the City of Waterford two.

Conſidering that no individual in Ireland, of diſtinguiſhed rank or great property, was found to be connected with this conſpiracy, it would be matter of wonder, (if the ſtatement that the leaders had no aid from foreign powers could be credited,) that, during ſo long a period, ſo much activity and ſecreſy ſhould have been employed, and ſo great an expence defrayed as muſt have attended all theſe meaſures. On the other hand, it is difficult to believe that France, the only foreign power which could lend effectual aſſiſtance to ſuch a project, ſhould have confided the means of executing it to conſpirators ſo raſh, ſo ſhallow, and ſo little endowed with talent or wiſdom, as thoſe who were engaged in this. The facts which were

were afterward diſcloſed on the trials of the rebels will beſt tend to elucidate this point.

24th July. On the day after the inſurrection, the Lord Lieutenant iſſued a Proclamation offering a reward of 1000l. ſterling, for each of the firſt three perſons who ſhould be apprehended and convicted of ſtabbing Lord Kilwarden or his nephew, and commanding the uſe of every exertion to preſerve the peace of the City, the protection of loyal ſubjects, and the diſarming of rebels.

25th. Another Proclamation ordered the military to exert their utmoſt energy in diſperſing rebellious inſurrections, for which purpoſe they were empowered to attack all collections of armed rebels wherever found, and to do military execution on all ſuch as they ſhould find in arms. The yeomanry were alſo ordered on permanent duty, and a reward of 50l. each was proclaimed, for the diſcovery of the firſt hundred perſons engaged in the inſurrection of the 23d.

28th. Theſe events were communicated to Parliament by a Meſſage from his Majeſty, on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved an immediate Addreſs. Government, he ſaid, had every reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the contamination of principles which had produced in former years the calamities of rebellion in Ireland had been completely done away; that the experience of the bleſſings which had been already enjoyed in that country, ſince the period to which he alluded, under the wiſe meaſures which were then adopted for the purpoſe of quelling the ſpirit of inſurrection which was then teſtified; and further, the experience which the world had already had of all thoſe views of revolution and French principles of military deſpotiſm, would have operated upon thoſe who were baſe enough to join in rebellion againſt the Conſtitution of the country; but theſe flattering hopes, had been diſappointed to a great degree. "The great majority of the people in Ireland," he proceeded, "are equally unanimous in reſpect to the defence of their country, are equally loyal to their King, and equally anxious to ſupport the preſent happy Conſtitution, with thoſe inhabiting this part of the United Kingdom. The crime of high treaſon muſt, therefore, be peculiarly aggravated, when, a ſpirit of diſaffection and diſloyalty is manifeſted at the very moment we are employed in planning meaſures, and adopting the moſt prudent cautions, for the expreſs purpoſe of ſupporting our moſt excellent Conſtitution." When the preſent queſtion was diſpoſed of, the Miniſter ſaid he would lay before the Houſe information concerning the particular inſtances of inſurrection contained in the Proclamation iſſued by the Lord Lieutenant. Parliament, he added, had a right to expect the admiration, the thanks and the gratitude of the whole body of the virtuous and loyal inhabitants of the United Kingdom, for their activity and exertion on all ſuch critical occaſions, in order to reſtore tranquillity.

The motion and ſpeech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave riſe to a debate in which Mr. Windham, Dr. Laurence and Mr. Chapman cenſured the proceedings of

of Government. It might be reckoned reſpectful to the Crown, Mr. Windham obſerved, to make a ſmall interval of time between his Majeſty's Meſſage and the Addreſs; becauſe it teſtified more ſtrongly that degree of attention which Parliament paid to it. If the bare ſtatement of meaſures, without diſcloſure of information, were ſufficient to warrant the motion for an Addreſs, then it would be thought unbecoming in Parliament even to enter into any minute conſideration of a Meſſage, previous to its adopting an anſwer to be returned to his Majeſty. When Parliament ſhould have ſomething more than this general communication of a Rebellion having broken out in Ireland, many different reflections might ariſe out of the particulars, in regard to what the Houſe ought either to ſay or do. Was it an eaſy matter to ſay, that Ireland had been ſurprized by an open Rebellion or inſurrection having broken out, that Government had been ſo ignorant of their danger that even the Capital of that part of the United Kingdom had been almoſt wreſted from them by means of that Rebellion? Were not theſe points on which the Houſe would wiſh to be informed, before they could think of adopting any final anſwer to ſuch a communication? Such, however, being all the information Parliament was to procure on the ſubject, previous to voting an Addreſs, the Houſe was precluded from all opportunity of entering into the conſideration of the ſubject. Nor would Mr. Windham admit that Ireland was likely to return to immediate tranquillity. He could not conceive it poſſible, except by the interference of ſome miracle, that the peaſants of that country, whoſe minds were lately ſo agitated, and whoſe hands were employed in forging pikes for the deſtruction of all the loyal inhabitants within their reach, ſhould, all of a ſudden, be converted into the very contrary deſcription of men, and become perfectly loyal and peaceable ſubjects. Miniſters were cenſured for being in ſuch a ſtate, that the capital of Ireland had nearly been ſurprized, and the Governmen overthrown, without their having ſhewn any knowledge of the plots in agitation, or adopted any meaſures for preventing them. If the Addreſs was at preſent agreed to, it ſhould be done only *pro forma*, and then the matter taken into conſideration and deliberate diſcuſſion.

This propoſal was vehemently cenſured by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Hutchinſon; the meaſures of Government were defended by Lord Hawkeſbury with a warmth, which expoſed him to ſome animadverſion, and by Lord Caſtlereagh, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Archdall and ſome other Members, after which the Addreſs was voted without a diviſion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then produced the Proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant, which having been read, he obſerved, that although it did not contain in detail all the information neceſſary to warrant the meaſure he was about to propoſe, ſtill it ſtated the exiſtence of a dangerous conſpiracy, at a time when it was the avowed deſign of the enemy to invade the country, and when Parliament was about to ſeparate; and

and he assured the House that the Proclamation did not contain all the information possessed by Government, which, at the present moment, it would be highly improper to disclose. Although it had been stated by an eminent authority, that attempts to reform by the bayonet should be met with the bayonet, he was always desirous to call in the law, to prevent recourse to violent measures. He should therefore, not without reluctance, propose a Bill, calculated, according to its title, to suppress Rebellion, and protect the persons and property of his Majesty's faithful subjects in Ireland. The means by which this purpose was to be effected were, that wherever persons should be found in actual Rebellion, power should be given to the Lord Lieutenant to direct that Courts Martial should be called for their immediate trial. What the Minister wished was, to give a power to the Lord Lieutenant that should not disturb the ordinary administration of justice, but by which, for the purpose of suppressing Rebellion, those who were taken in arms against the Government should be liable to be tried by a Military Court. If the House should adopt this motion he would follow it up with one for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. The intent of this Bill, he said, was, that persons might be committed by civil process, without any Court Martial.

Respecting the merits of the proposed measures on these explanations, Mr. Addington adverted to the hands in which such extraordinary powers were to be placed. "During the last two years," he said, "I have the satisfaction, arising from public and personal consideration, of stating, that not a breath has been uttered, or a word spoken, which has called in question the moderation, wisdom, and firmness of the government of Ireland. Under circumstances of the utmost difficulty, the conduct of Lord Hardwicke has been marked with no less moderation than prudence. Immediately after the signing of the Preliminaries of Peace, when the statute for martial law was in force, and when he was encouraged by the timid, and urged by many enlightened men, to have recourse to it, Lord Hardwicke laid it aside, and refused to exercise the powers and authorities the Act gave him. When the Treaty of Amiens was signed, Lord Hardwicke thought the danger the law provided against did not exist, and determined to give to the people the benefit of the established forms of the country. The noble Lord who presided over the law department, concurred in the same conduct, and it was the disposition of the Irish government to adhere to the genuine principles of the Irish constitution. In such hands, therefore, great powers might be placed, without any suspicion of their being abused.

In the conclusion of this speech, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a comparison between the conduct of Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Windham, in terms which drew from the latter an explanation of his objections to the passing a measure of such importance, without more information than could be derived from the Proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant, or the assertion of Ministers, and he made some

ſome pointed obſervations on the eulogies which paſſed between Mr. Addington and Mr. Sheridan. This gentleman retorted with his uſual keenneſs, and a debate was maintained for a ſhort time; but, in concluſion, the Bills were brought in, and, at the ſame ſitting, went through all their ſtages, and were carried to the Lords; their duration being limited to ſix weeks after the commencement of the next Seſſion.

In the Upper Houſe, the Addreſs to his Majeſty was voted without oppoſition, on the motion of Lord Hobart, ſupported by ſome obſervations from the Earl of Limerick, who, in the courſe of his ſpeech, recommended that all diſtinctions between the Militias of England and Ireland ſhould be aboliſhed, and each ſerve indifferently in all parts of the United Kingdom. The Bills ſent up from the other Houſe, paſſed immediately through all their ſtages without oppoſition, and, the next day, they received the royal aſſent.

11th Aug. Diſſatisfied that the information which was required from Government had not been afforded, Mr. Hutchinſon, purſuant to a notice he had given, moved for an Addreſs on the ſubject. In introducing this motion, he began by ſtating how material it was, in the preſent juncture, to enable his Majeſty to avail himſelf of all the reſources which every part of the empire was capable of affording, and how deſirable, it therefore was, to put Ireland in ſuch a ſituation, as to render her natural ſtrength, her wealth, and population available for the common ſafety of the empire. The unanimity which appeared in this country was a ſource of joy to every loyal mind, but the joy of an Iriſhman was conſiderably allayed by the reflection that ſo many of his countrymen were, by the oppreſſion they endured, by the wretched poverty they ſuffered, damped in their ardour for the public ſecurity, if not altogether alienated in their affections for the Britiſh Government. To remedy this misfortune a radical reform was neceſſary. He demanded from the liberality of Parliament, the execution of the promiſes made to the Catholics at the time the Union was in agitation. The people of England enjoyed the privileges of the Conſtitution and the advantages and profits of induſtry, to both which the people of Ireland were almoſt intire ſtrangers; for the Revolution of 1688, which gave liberty to the former, cramped the induſtry of the latter, and laid the foundation of the diſcords which had ſince deſolated that unhappy country. He admitted that, under the beneficent reign of his preſent Majeſty, the greater part of the penalties which diſgraced the Statute Books, as applying to the difference of religious ſentiments, had been expunged, but ſomething ſtill remained to be done. So long as any part of this vicious ſyſtem was ſuffered to exiſt, he was fully perſuaded it would be idle to calculate on the peace of Ireland, or to look for harmony or happineſs among the people; ſo long as this anomaly in the hiſtory in Government prevailed, that the minority of the people ſhould be authoriſed to lord it over the majority, and that this ſuperiority of power ſhould be veſted in perſons of the loweſt claſs over thoſe of a much higher, mere-

ly on this ground, that this majority had too much honeſty to act againſt their conviction, that they would not baſely profeſs ſentiments of religion which they did not feel. The reſidence of the land owners in Ireland, ought by ſome means to be enforced, at leaſt ſome branch of each family. Miniſters might depend upon it, that unleſs a very liberal plan was adopted for the government of Ireland, that country would be mangled by the moſt fatal diviſions, to which the empire itſelf might ultimately become a prey. That any part of his countrymen could be ſo deluded as to truſt to the profeſſions of ſuch a tyrant, as Bonaparte, or count upon any good to their country through his interference, was to him a ſource of the moſt ſincere regret, but of this deluſion he truſted that the benevolent interpoſition of the Houſe would cure them; that interpoſition which humanity and policy ſhould urge them to make, in order to protect from bloodſhed a body of men who had the ſtrongeſt claims to their kindneſs; who were their fellow-ſubjects for now above ſix hundred years; who had fought their battles; who had contributed to eſtabliſh their ſtrength and conſequence, and who were ſtill capable of aſſiſting in the defence of that ſtrength and conſequence, if they were only treated with equity, if the natural reſources of the country were properly nurtured. The advantages, which it poſſeſſed from nature, were generally known, and the character of its inhabitants was eſteemed wherever it was known; for, of whatever enormities ſome of its infatuated people might have been guilty in times of civil commotion; enormities which were equalled, if not exceeded, under ſimilar circumſtances, in other countries, and very recently in this, when the paſſions had not ſo much cauſe to be inflamed, yet the reputation of Iriſhmen for humanity, fortitude, high honour, and the moſt extenſive talents, could not be queſtioned, nor were they excelled in any nation under Heaven, not even in thoſe which boaſt the greateſt wealth and power, and which are the moſt ſelfiſhly conceited. It might be ſaid that Miniſters had in contemplation to bring forward a better ſyſtem for Ireland, but that it was not yet prepared. The caſe, however, did not admit of delay; and here he took occaſion to condemn the procraſtination which had ſo long diſtinguiſhed Miniſters on this ſubject. The Honourable Member proceeded to deſcribe the happy conſequences which would reſult from the appointment of the Prince of Wales to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. If his Majeſty would give this farther proof of his parental attachment to his Iriſh ſubjects, and his Royal Highneſs would condeſcend to accept of it, he had no doubt that his character, which was in ſtill higher eſtimation than his high rank, would excite a degree of unparalleled enthuſiaſm throughout all Ireland. The people would juſtly ſay, "We have heard of Princes viſiting our Iſland; they have viſited us as conquerors and pillagers; but your Royal Highneſs comes to us with the olive of peace." The diſpoſition of this illuſtrious perſonage, and his known attachment to the Iriſh people, would naturally enough produce ſuch a ſentiment; but there

there was little hope that they would have the honour and happiness of his Royal Highness's presence. The same evil fiend who prevented his Royal Highness from being called into employment when the empire is pronounced in danger, would, no doubt, interfere his baneful influence, to preclude Ireland from enjoying this felicity. If any commotion should take place in Ireland, during the recess, which was not improbable, the honourable member recommended Government to meet it with vigour, but exhorted them, at the same time, to send positive orders that no cruelty should be practised, that vigour should be blended with humanity; that such measures as the loyalists resorted to during the rebellion of 1798, and which too many of them were disposed to employ at present, should not be allowed, for he assured Ministers that they would only tend to create thousands of rebels; would drive many to desperation who were at present tranquil. He expected that Government would not tolerate any wanton severity, that the outrages of the rebel and the loyalist would be repressed, and that we should hear no more of house-burning, of pillages, or of tortures. He understood there were some Gentlemen in the House who doubted that such tortures had ever taken place, and that there were some who had the confidence to deny it altogether, but he would refer such persons to the authority of Lord Cornwallis, who humanely and wisely put a stop to that horrid practice, and to Lord Castlereagh, who knew enough of the proceedings in Ireland, and who had much to answer for in that country.

In favour of this motion were Mr. Elliott, Mr. Windham, Dr. Laurence, Lord Temple, and Colonels Cole and Craufurd. They did not enter into all the topics introduced by Mr. Hutchinson, but blamed the conduct of Ministers as connected with the late insurrection particularly, adding general complaints against all their measures since they came into office. Ministers, it was said, had displayed great ignorance of the rebellion, or they had been criminal. It must be presumed they had information, or a systematic delusion toward the House and the public, must be imputed to them. There was, in the most favourable way of viewing the matter, a culpable remissness on the part of the executive government in Ireland. If their information was ever so defective, they had been remiss, for in a country like Ireland, there would have been no harm in a little precaution; but a week before the rebellion broke out, some men had been wounded, and there was a discovery of some gunpowder; and on the Friday, the day before the conspiracy happened to be detected, Government had received information, stating that the disaffected party had betrayed symptoms of great agitation; that they had left their work in parties; which was a signal of insurrection; and above all, that men were coming from various parts of the country to Dublin: now this ought to have put the Executive Government on their guard. It was not said that preparation was made against this insurrection, but it

was an inadequate preparation: the troops in the Barracks did not come for a conſiderable time after the aſſault was commenced; and it was quelled by the volunteer corps called the "Liberty Rangers." The garriſon was not prepared, the troops of the line were not informed in time.

The motion was objected to by Lord Hawkeſbury, as improper and ill-timed. Connecting the motion with the ſubſtance of the mover's ſpeech; conſidering the ſtate of our affairs abroad, and the great meaſures now neceſſarily adopted at home; and conſidering that the greater number of members were gone to the different places which moſt immediately required their preſence, to give effect to the very meaſures which they as Legiſlators had aſſiſted in enacting, and which the wiſdom of Parliament had adopted; conſidering all theſe matters, he could not help ſaying, this motion was highly inexpedient to be adopted by the Houſe; indeed he had no difficulty in ſaying, that any motion not propoſed to be followed up by any practical meaſure, with a view to ſome beneficial effect, muſt at all times be liable to great objection in that Houſe, becauſe it was taking up time without avail, and bringing upon the country ſometimes very great inconveniences, by agitating the minds of the people upon topics which, if diſcuſſed at all, ſhould be diſcuſſed fully and directly, and not in a collateral way.

Lord Caſtlereagh vindicated the meaſures adopted during the laſt war for the ſuppreſſion of rebellion. The Governments of Lord Camden and Lord Cornwallis in Ireland, ſo far from being rigorous, as ſome had imagined, were remarkable for lenity; the military power had never been employed, except in caſes where the civil power had been tried in vain: if there could be any defect imputed to them, it aroſe from too much diſpoſition to lenity; but he was glad it had ſo happened, becauſe, in Ireland, it was moſt eſſential that the current of public opinion ſhould go with Government, and that could not be the caſe, unleſs rigorous meaſures were a good deal delayed; and, ſpeaking in the abſtract, rigorous meaſures had been delayed too long, but conſidering all circumſtances, it was wiſe. As to outrages, there had been many on both ſides, but there never was a rebellion without them. The ſtatements of the diſtreſs of Ireland, as well as the diſpoſition to rebellion, had been very much exaggerated; and no power in Europe had made more rapid ſtrides in wealth and general happineſs for the laſt fifteen years, than that part of the Britiſh empire. He was perſuaded that its proſperity and happineſs were ſtill increaſing very rapidly, and the treaſon which had lately been found there, and which had been ſo much lamented, aroſe from objects different from thoſe for which the Honourable Gentleman recommended remedies.

Beſide theſe two Lords, ſeveral other Members were heard on the ſide of Government; particularly the Chancellor of the Exchequer (who anſwered with ſome ſeverity the reflections of Mr. Windham) the Attorney General, Mr. Serjeant Beſt, and Mr. Alexander. The Governments of Lord Camden and Lord Cornwallis furniſhed no precedent to ſupport the preſent motion.

motion. It was indeed true, that after the rebellion, when all treason was put down, when individuals were brought to juſtice, Government came to Parliament with all the information they poſſeſſed, but not until all the individuals accuſed of being concerned in the rebellion had been brought to juſtice; this was after the danger was over, not like the preſent, where the danger was pending. The Iriſh Government was alſo ably vindicated from the charge of not counteracting the meaſures of the rebels; the amount of the daily guard in Dublin was very great, and if the lamented murder of an elevated perſon in the open ſtreet had not happened, the inſurrection would not have been viewed in ſo ſerious a light as it was in conſequence of that event.

After a reply from the mover, the motion was negatived without a diviſion.

12th. The next day, his Majeſty terminated the Seſſion, and in his ſpeech, declared his hope that the proceedings of Parliament in conſequence of the late treaſonable and atrocious occurrences in Ireland, would have the effect of preventing any further interruption of its internal tranquillity, and of convincing his loyal ſubjects in that part of the United Kingdom, that they might confidently rely on that protection to which they were ſo juſtly entitled.

Contrary to the prognoſtics expreſſed in the laſt debate on Ireland, no new attempts was made to diſturb the tranquillity of that country; ſentiments of loyalty were generally expreſſed, and Government, in exerciſing its rights, and avenging the late outrages, was not driven to the neceſſity of uſing any powers beyond thoſe which are authoriſed by the conſtitution in the moſt tranquil periods. In fact, when time and induſtry effected a full diſcloſure of the perſons, means and connexions of thoſe who had planned and prematurely executed the late outrages, it was impoſſible not to mingle contempt for their underſtandings with the indignation excited by their conduct. The citizens of Dublin, in their Addreſs to the King, well expreſſed theſe ſentiments. "We lament," they ſaid, "the infatuation of thoſe incorrigible traitors, whom neither an experience of the valour that ſubdued, nor of the lenity that ſpared them, has hitherto taught the folly and atrocity of their projects; who, inſenſible to the bleſſings of your Majeſty's paternal rule, are ready to exchange the mild reſtraints of our excellent and unrivalled Conſtitution, for the oppreſſive weight of a foreign yoke; and who, to gratify the malignant feelings of an unnatural revenge, would overwhelm their fellow citizens in the ruins of their common country."

The chief, and indeed only conſpicuous, perſon in theſe events, was Robert Emmett, the younger ſon of Dr. Robert Emmett, phyſician to the Houſehold of the Lord Lieutenant, and to the Hoſpital founded by Dean Swift for lunatics. This young conſpirator, the rival in revolutionary reputation of his brother Thomas Addis Emmett, who was prominent in the preceding Rebellion, was intended for the Bar, but, in 1798, expelled at an early age, from the Univerſity of Dublin, for having, in conjunction with eighteen others,

laboured to introduce a ſpirit of rebellion into the walls of the College. From that period, without any expreſs deſtination, he had purſued his own inclination, and ſtill animated by the principles which occaſioned his firſt diſgrace, travelled over various parts of Europe. It has been the lot of many Engliſh and Iriſhmen, who for want of intimate acquaintance with the ſocial ſyſtems of other countries were too prone to condemn the faults they diſcovered or fancied in their own, to travel; returning from their tours, they have moſt explicitly renounced their former errors, and ever afterward ſtrenuouſly maintained the pre-eminence of the Britiſh, over every other form of Government deviſed by man, and laboured for its ſupport with an earneſtneſs proportioned to their former hoſtility. Mr. Emmett was not one of thoſe; and his diſpoſition was probably encouraged by his brother Thomas, who under the Government of the Marquis Cornwallis, had been permitted, in conſequence of his confeſſion and diſcloſures, to tranſport himſelf and his property to another country, and who, with the true gratitude of a traitor, devoted that life which the humanity of his Sovereign had ſpared, to the ſervice of the chief enemy of that Sovereign and his Country.

Inflamed by his own ſentiments, and fraught with inſtructions from his brother and his aſſociates, Robert Emmett returned privately to Ireland, and with the aſſiſtance of a few obſcure individuals, laboured to produce a Revolution. Thoſe of his companions who are named, were Quigley, William Dowdall, Stafford, Dennis Lambert Redmond, and Thomas Ruſſel. Of theſe men, little is known beſide their crime and their fate. Quigley had been a bricklayer, and was apprehended on ſuſpicion of being engaged in the Rebellion of 1798, but diſcharged, and ſuffered to live unmoleſted. Dowdall had been Secretary to the Whig Club of Ireland, and for his ſhare in the former Rebellions, had been ſentenced to impriſonment in Fort George, but on the concluſion of peace, was liberated and allowed to return to his own country. After the tranſaction of the 23d of July, Dowdall eſcaped to a foreign country; Emmett, Redmond and Ruſſel were arreſted at different places, and under circumſtances which will be ſtated; and Quigley and Stafford were alſo taken, but not till ſome time afterward.

Government obtained, without much difficulty, every information neceſſary to guide their proceedings. Among others, they derived conſiderable intelligence from a man, who paſſing by the principal *depôt*, on the 21ſt July, and being ſuppoſed to have obſerved ſome ſuſpicious proceedings, was ſeized by the conſpirators, and would have been put to death, but for the intervention of Emmett, at whoſe inſtance he was confined, and compelled to labour in forming pikes, and other ſervices conducive to the effect of the general plan.

When all preparatory requiſites had been arranged, a ſpecial Commiſſion, conſiſting of Judges Downes, Finucane, Daly, Norbury, and George, was opened at Dublin, for the trial of perſons charged with high treaſon. Judge Downes

24th Aug.

Downes delivered an excellent charge; and to the persons against whom Bills were found, were assigned as Counsel, at their own request, Messrs. Ponsonby, Curran, Mac Nally, and Ball.

31st Aug. to 31st Sept. The first persons who were tried, being fifteen in number, were charged with aiding in the insurrection, and some with being the murderers of Lord Kilwarden. In the evidence against them, no facts of particular interest appeared; and their defences generally consisted in allegations that they were forced to join the insurgents, or in attempts to prove an alibi, or to confute the witnesses who swore to their identity. One was acquitted; fourteen were found guilty, of whom one was recommended to mercy, and all who were executed acknowledged their guilt.

19th Sept. The greatest degree of interest was excited by the trial of Emmett, against whom an indictment was framed; 1st for compassing and imagining the death of the King; 2d for adhering to the King's enemies; and 3d for levying war against the King. The Attorney General detailed minutely all the proceedings of the prisoner, whom he described as the prime source, origin, and spirit of the recent insurrection, so enormously wicked in the conception, but so truly contemptible and puerile, both in the plan and execution. For some time previous to Christmas 1802, the prisoner had been out of this country, and during his absence had made a continental tour of considerable extent, embracing France in his progress.

On his arrival in Ireland, in December, he took up his residence at the house of a Mrs. Palmer, near Harold's Cross, the identical house wherein he was apprehended by Major Sirr. To his hostess and her family, he assumed the name of Hewitt, and remained there until a short time previous to his having taken a lease of the malt stores, near Marshall-alley, which was the principal *depôt* of pikes, arms and ammunition. The lease of this place was taken about the 24th of March, and possession ensued; certain other repositories for pikes, and implements of destruction, had been also fixed on and taken in other parts of the city. He used much caution in treating for the possession of these various premises, but Dowdall, who was with him on these occasions, was so well known, that he was obliged to renounce the fictitious name he had assumed, and to attest some deeds in his real name. About the latter end of June, or beginning of July, the prisoner changed his temporary abode, and made arrangements on a very large scale, at the *depôt* of pikes, in the malt stores. Here he was frequently found inspecting the fabrication of pikes, the casting of bullets, the making of cartridges, in short he was indefatigably employed, with very little intermission, in offices of this description; but at intervals, was equally busy in writing at a desk, which was afterward found in the *depôt*. Here he composed his proclamation for the unknown, unnamed provisional

Government, and here he mitigated the corrosive action of his own mind, by committing to paper such wild thoughts as his imagination suggested. From his second proclamation, (that of the provisional Government to the inhabitants of Dublin) the Attorney General said, the intimate connexion between the actors in the last Rebellion and this would be conspicuous, it being almost literally a copy of one of the papers planning the attack on the Castle of Dublin, which were examined before a Committee of the Irish House of Commons. It strenuously recommended the active use of brickbats, stones, and various destructive missiles, from the tops of houses and other eminent situations against his Majesty's forces, or all those loyal subjects who might be induced to join them to repel so abominable a treason.

After their defeat on the 23d July, Emmett and Dowdall made their escape to the Wicklow mountains, where a refuge was afforded them by a woman of the name of Doyle. Shortly afterward, they made a sally through the country, accompanied by a band of their defeated confederates, armed with blunderbusses, to the number in all, of thirteen. At this time, Emmett and Dowdall were dressed in their full regimentals, and pretended to be French officers, emissaries of Bonaparte, who, they said, meditated a landing in Ireland. They spoke a jargon of French, mixed with broken English to the peasantry, while endeavouring to make proselytes of them to the French cause. This attempt meeting with no success, the confederates separated, and Emmett again becoming a wretched fugitive, without aim, object, or avocation, made his way to the house of Mrs. Palmer, at Harold's Cross, where he first took up his abode under the feigned name of Hewitt. When he arrived there, he retained some remnants of the former uniform, such as hessian boots, military waistcoat, breeches, and stock, but the green military coat he put off, and substituted a brown frock. Here he remained near a month, lying in an obscure house, in a wretched apartment, on a settle bed; he spoke of the misfortunes of his expedition somewhat ambiguously to Mrs. Palmer, and of the taking of his *depôt* of pikes, as if it had been the arsenal of a great general. He was at length traced to this asylum through the vigilance and indefatigable activity of Major Sirr, who procured admittance by getting a peasant to give a single rap at the door, on the opening of which the Major rushed in, and not immediately knowing the prisoner, the first object whom he saw, he interrogated him who he was, to which the prisoner replied, that his name was Cunningham, and that he had come from a friend's house in the country, that morning, but did not mean to stay long. On conversation with Mrs. Palmer, however, she led him into the real state, as she conceived, of the prisoner's acquaintance with her family, and his residence among them. When Major Sirr first apprehended him, he committed him to the care of a constable, from whom he attempted an escape, but was retaken and better secured. On Major Sirr apologizing to him for the

neceſſity of uſing harſher methods than he would wiſh in the act of apprehending and detaining him, the priſoner, with much complaiſance, replied, "*all was fair in war.*"

Theſe facts and the activity of the priſoner in the inſurrection being fully proved, the jury without heſitation, pronounced him guilty. Being aſked whether he had any thing to ſay, he addreſſed the Court, in a ſtyle of gariſh verboſity, too often miſtaken for eloquence; he undervalued life, complained of fortune, and deprecated prejudice, which after the ſentence of the Law ſhould have delivered over his body to the executioner, might conſign his character to obloquy. He denied being an emiſſary of France, or intending to deliver over his country to any foreign power, but leaſt of all to that power. Small indeed, he ſaid, muſt have been their claims to patriotiſm and to ſenſe, and palpable their affectation of the love of liberty, if he and his aſſociates could encourage the profanation of their ſhores by a people, who are ſlaves themſelves, and the unprincipled and abandoned inſtruments of impoſing ſlavery on others. "Did I live to ſee a French army approach this country," he exclaimed, "I would meet it on the ſhore, with a torch in one hand, and a ſword in the other: I would receive them with all the deſtruction of war! I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their very boats, and before our native ſoil ſhould be polluted by a foreign foe. If they ſucceeded in landing, I would burn every blade of graſs before them; raze every houſe, contend to the laſt for every inch of ground, and the laſt ſpot in which the hope of freedom ſhould deſert me, that ſpot I would make my grave! What I cannot do, I leave a legacy to my country, becauſe I feel conſcious that my death were unprofitable, and all hope of liberty extinct, the moment a French army obtained a footing in this land." After ſome further matter he concluded thus---"My lamp of life is nearly expired; my race is finiſhed; the grave opens to receive me, and I ſink into its boſom. All I requeſt then, at departing from the world, is the charity of its ſilence. Let no man write my epitaph, for as no man who knows my motives dares to vindicate them; let not prejudice or ignorance aſperſe them; let them and me repoſe in obſcurity and peace, and my tomb remain undeſcribed, till other times and other men can do juſtice to my character." He was hanged the following day.

The character of this young man is too clearly depicted in the foregoing tranſactions to require much elucidation. He was evidently one of thoſe enterpriſing, inconſiderate enthuſiaſts, who miſtake an overheated imagination for a glowing patriotiſm, and the whirl of undigeſted notions for ſublime impreſſions; who fancy themſelves authorized to riſk the peace and happineſs of mankind in wild experiments for improving in a ſyſtem which they have neither ſenſe nor application ſufficient to underſtand, and who, while they cover themſelves with the guilt and infamy due to traitors, inſolently affect the purity of martyrs, and claim the applauſe, and even the gratitude, of mankind. The ſtare of this man's feelings and underſtanding, and particularly his fitneſs

fitneſs to be a political reformer, were beſt diſcloſed in a paper, written by him, and read by the Attorney General, on his trial. Its leading paſſage intimated, that the writer poſſeſſed "a *ſanguine* mind, capable of repelling the intruſions of reflection; that if ſucceſs was not to attend his enterprize, and a precipice opened beneath his feet, while he ſtood on the brink, that ſanguine principle of mind would precipitate his fall at all hazards, rather than permit him to pauſe or to recoil!" It is, however impoſſible, to reflect without regret on the ſituation of his reſpectable parent, who being the father of three ſons, lived to ſee one an exiled rebel, another a ſacrifice to public juſtice for high treaſon; unhappy in theſe, and happy only in his eldeſt, who having been called to the bar, and rapidly attained conſiderable eminence in his profeſſion, was cut off in early life by a fever, amid the applauſe and eſteem of the wiſe and the good, and without a blemiſh on his character.

5th Oct. After ſome priſoners of inferior note had been convicted, Redmond was put on his trial. It appeared that after the inſurrection in Dublin, which he had been active in planning and executing, he fled to Newry, where he was apprehended. A paper was found in his poſſeſſion, evidently intended for publication, in which he exhorted his countrymen to be "as gentle as lambs, but as vigilant as lions; to avoid all thoſe caſualties which had occurred to defeat their cauſe in 1798, ariſing from drunkenneſs, infidelity to each other, and a baſe dereliction of the principle on which they ought to be ſteady and united." He was found guilty, and afterward confeſſed that he held an official ſtation under the proviſional government.

10th Oct. Thomas Ruſſel was tried at Carrickfergus. It appeared in evidence that during the day of the 23d of July, he was at Loughin Iſland, endeavouring to excite the people to rebellion, telling them that the French would aſſiſt them, that arms and money were prepared for them, and that there would that night be a general inſurrection all over Ireland; that he called himſelf a general in the rebel army, and had a general's uniform, which he ſhewed to the people at Annadorn; that on their refuſing to riſe, he threatened them, and told them he would go to ſome other counties where the riſing would be general. Diſappointed and diſcouraged at the cool reception he every where experienced, he returned to Dublin, where he remained concealed in the houſe of Mr. Mulet, a gun maker in Parliament-ſtreet, till the 9th of September, when he was apprehended, and, the following day, committed to priſon. When he was taken, a proclamation was found upon him, intended to have been made public. The examination of witneſſes laſted a conſiderable time, and the priſoner was found guilty. On being aſked if he had any thing to ſay why ſentence of death ſhould not be paſſed on him, he addreſſed the court in a ſpeech of about twenty-minutes, in which he took a view of the principal tranſactions of his life for the laſt thirteen years; and on a retroſpective view of which, he ſaid, he looked back with triumph

and

and satisfaction; he endeavoured to vindicate his conduct from the criminality attached to it, by asserting, that in all he had done, he acted from the conviction of his conscience; and anxiously requested that the Court would make his not merely the first, but the only life which should be taken on the present occasion. He was executed at Downpatrick.

Sometime after these punishments had taken place, Quigley and Stafford were apprehended in the County of Galway, but as they made full confession of their guilt, and disclosed all the circumstances connected with it, no proceedings were had against them, nor any of the remaining prisoners.

The tranquillity thus happily restored, continued uninterrupted, and the mild and constitutional proceedings of Government extorted praise even from their opponents. Among others, Mr. Curran, the celebrated Irish advocate, commemorated these proceedings as an honourable tribute from the Earl of Hardwicke, to that Law, to the practice of which his illustrious ancestor owed his rank and fortune. This praise was the more honourable, as Mr. Curran professed himself to be unacquainted and unconnected with the Lord Lieutenant, and without any hopes or expectations dependent on his favour.

CHAP. XV.

View of Affairs in Saint Domingo. Cruel treatment and death of Toussaint in France. Cruelty and impolicy of Le Clerc; great mortality among his troops; false accounts of the state of the Colony published in France; insurrections of the negroes; horrible cruelties exercised on them; the French lose ground; death of Le Clerc; he is succeeded by Rochambeau; who suspends general Boyer; permits the importation of foreign merchandize; insufficient reinforcements arrive from France; preparations for renewed hostilities; Dessalines commander of the negroes; action near Cape François; the French murder their Prisoners; the negroes retaliate; the French defeated; effect of hostilities between Great Britain and France; increasing cruelty of the French; they are blockaded in Cape François; Rochambeau opens a negotiation for surrender with Commodore Loring the commander of a British Squadron; the Cape attacked by Dessalines; to whom Rochambeau surrenders; assistance afforded to the negroes by the British Squadron; duplicity of Rochambeau; the Island intirely given up to the negroes; who proclaim general freedom and independence. State of Guadaloupe; successful enterprizes of Sir Samuel Hood; Capture of Sainte Lucie; Tobago; Berbice; Demarary and Issequibo; St. Pierre and Miquelon.

WHILE Europe was agitated by the projects and efforts of France, and considerate men were justly alarmed at the probable extension of her already overgrown dominion, she was suffering in

in the Weſt Indies, the puniſhment of her tyranny and treachery, and loſing an empire, ſuperior in value, both in a commercial and political view, to much of that territory which ſhe was graſping on this ſide the Atlantic.

In the laſt volume, mention was made of the perfidious ſeizure of Touſſaint l'Ouverture, the negro chief of Saint Domingo. He was conveyed to France, ſeparated from all his relatives, and in a wanton and barbarous manner, hurried from one place of ſolitary confinement to another; no accuſation was ever formally made againſt him, nor were any meaſures taken toward bringing him to a trial. In fact, he ſeemed to be loſt to public recollection, amid the various intereſting objects which preſented themſelves, when ſuddenly accounts appeared of his death, in his priſon at Beſançon. Suſpicions were entertained and publicly expreſſed that his end was accelerated by poiſon or aſſaſſination, but the French government was defended againſt theſe charges, by a reference to the ſtate of the place where he was confined, of which it is obſerved, that the floor was conſtantly under water, and it was in all reſpects ſuch as to generate diſeaſes which would terminate life, without recourſe to drugs or weapons.

April, 1803.

June to Nov. 1802.

Long before the death of this unfortunate chief, the conduct of his betrayer had been ſuch as to throw the whole colony into flames, to haſten the deſtruction of his own army, and to precipitate his own death. After the removal of Touſſaint, Le Clerc confidently aſſured the Firſt Conſul of the tranquillity of the colony, but his labours were ill calculated to verify his aſſertions. He aſſumed the title of General in Chief, in addition to that of Captain-General, with which he came to the Iſland, and affected to undertake the organization of a new government for the colony, a labour in which many great men had been unſucceſsful. In doing this, however, he did not riſk his character, as they had done, by ſpeculative attempts in legiſlation, for he decreed the continuance of every eſtabliſhment as he found it in the hands of the exiled general, except ſuch as related to the cuſtoms, and even in theſe he admitted the regulations in favour of the Engliſh, which occaſioned a ſtrong remonſtrance from the commercial intereſt at Paris.

On the 22d of June, this decree was publiſhed, "in the name of the General in Chief, Captain General;" Martial law continued in force, with certain modifications; Military commandants had the power over certain diſtricts, with the aſſiſtance of the municipality; and each commune provided for the expences of its government, while the whole held a general underſtanding with each other.

The object at this time requiring the moſt arduous and ſtrict attention, was the health of the troops, which had ſuffered to ſuch a degree, that in many inſtances, where ſmall numbers were left at a poſt, the healthy ſurvivors were ſcarcely ſufficient to attend the ſick and bury the dead, while a more rigorous ſervice was neceſſarily impoſed on the others, particularly

ticularly in the south, and toward the Spanish division. In that quarter, large parties of blacks continued in arms, and ridiculed the idea of submission, while General Le Clerc persevered in his endeavours to infuse terror by the most cruel measures, and to implore the first Consul for reinforcements.

Notwithstanding the disastrous state of the Colony, General Le Clerc seemed unwilling to depreciate his government, by admitting that, at the end of several months, he had not accomplished what he had declared was effected in the first five days. The healthful season, so much desired by him, had long arrived, and the contagion had not decreased, although the number of its victims, every day grew less. He was himself scarcely convalescent; the best officers of his staff had fallen; and those who arrived from France, being unacquainted with the country, and task to which they were condemned, sunk into despondency, and followed their predecessors to the grave. In the beginning of October, he commissioned an aid-de-camp to the Consular Court for instructions and advice, but his dispatches were carefully concealed from the public.

It was, however, soon known that Christophe had rejoined the Black forces with Dessalines, who could never be considered as defeated. They began, by affecting in their different characters of commandant of negroes in the northern district, and superintendant general of negroes, to retreat from those who were hostile, taking care always to leave behind them considerable quantities of ammunition and stores. A number of new generals, likewise, had arisen in arms, from the interior of the island, who began to make excursions from the mountains. Among these was a powerful chief of the Congo tribe, called Sans-Souci, who, after committing considerable depredations, could never be discovered. Charles Bellair, with his Amazonian wife, also made a powerful diversion for a while, till they were both taken, and died under inconceiveable tortures. Clervaux, whose submission of the eastern part of the island had been formerly boasted without grounds, now declared openly his contumacy; and Maurepas, who had surrendered, was detected in a conspiracy, and put to death. Nor were the defections from the French army confined to the blacks, or to inferior officers among the whites; General Dugua, the chief of the staff, disgusted with the horrors attendant on the war, and more particularly, with the savage punishment of Bellair and his wife, whom he had tried, was discovered in making arrangements to quit the French army, and took the resolution of destroying himself.

The government at this period, assumed a complexion more sanguinary and terrible than can be conceived among civilized people, and formed a new era in martial law. In attempting to disarm the black troops which had been incorporated with the French, the most barbarous methods were practised, ship-loads were collected, and the victims suffocated in the holds. In one instance, six hundred being surrounded, and attempting a resistance, were massacred on the spot; and such slaughters daily took

took place in the vicinity of Cape François, that the air became tainted by the putrefaction of the bodies. At the same time, the French troops being driven from the field, and obliged to fortify themselves in the chief towns; contagion spread every where, and the distress became dreadfully general. In their extremity, to aid and fill up the measure of their enormities, the use of blood hounds was resorted to, and the destructive ferocity of those animals was let loose in its utmost excess.

Fort Dauphin, Port au Paix, and several other favourite establishments, were, by the middle of October, completely lost to the French; and it became known to the seamen who visited the Bight of Leogane, that, after a considerable number of Blacks had been hunted down in the neighbourhood of Port Republicain, they were hurried on board of the ships at anchor in the Bay, and crowded into their holds; that under cover of the night this dishonoured navy put to sea, and first either burning brimstone in the hold, or extinguishing sense by suffocation, or neither, the miserable cargoes were discharged into the sea, in such quantities, that, at length, the tide brought their bodies into the bay, and rolled them on the very beach.

Toward the end of October, an event occurred which, however expected, produced an extraordinary effect. The General in Chief, whose health had been long impaired, and who had tried all means for its restoration, suddenly became worse; the air of the city had become mephetic, and Tortuga, being in the possession of the Blacks, no longer afforded him a retreat. On the night of the 1st of November, after he had communicated his wishes as to the future government of the island, he died, having been only eleven months in the command of the colony. The body was enbalmed, and placed on board the Swiftsure man of war; Madame Le Clerc, who had no inclination to remain on an island, where, instead of finding a promised Paradise, she had suffered the most painful privations, went on ship-board in a few days, Admiral Latouche, chief in command of the naval force in Saint Domingo, undertaking to escort her home, accompanied by the Chief of Brigade, Netherwood, first aid-de-camp of the departed general. His sabre and hat were placed, with much formality, upon the bier on board, all the officers attending on the occasion.

He appears to have been anxious, that the directions which he thought necessary for the future government of the island, should be put in force, and they were, as far as convenient with some persons, obeyed.

As soon as the obsequies of the departed General were performed, it became necessary to prepare to repel the Blacks, who had advanced, with vociferous joy, to the very town of Cape François. General Rochambeau, who was appointed Chief in Command, was at Port au Prince, and could not be expected to arrive in sufficient time, though General Watrin had set out to succeed him in the west and south; General Clausel, commanding in the north, therefore, with the

the remains of a diſpirited army, proceeded againſt them, but to little effect.

A young General, of the name of Boyer, who had commanded in the Gens d'Armerie, having been appointed Chief of the Staff in the place of Dugua, was entruſted with the execution of every order, and in conſequence, thought it neceſſary to addreſs to the French Colonial Miniſter ſome account of the tranſactions of the French army in Saint Domingo from, the period of the arreſt of Touſſaint L'Ouverture. In this diſpatch, amidſt a variety of matter, ſuch as had been the cuſtom to tranſmit to France, Boyer confeſſed the dreadful ſituation in which the colony then ſtood. Speaking of the firſt attempts after the departure of Touſſaint he ſays, "The heat became exceſſive; it was impoſſible to make any movement; the loweſt mornes preſented obſtacles to us proportionate to the inconvenience of the ſeaſon. The brigands increaſed in numbers. Our hoſpitals were crowded with ſick, and diſeaſe daily made new ravages." He then mentions Inſurrections at Marmalade, Dondon, and Mouſtique, when, not only thoſe poſts, but the whole plain of the Cape, was covered by the black forces, from whom, they might temporarily obtain poſſeſſion of a ſmall place, which they afterward were obliged to relinquiſh.

He acknowledged that in proſecuting the war againſt the leade s, which had been begun by Le Clerc, Domage, the friend of Touſſaint, who had hitherto ſucceſsfully repelled every attempt upon the ſouth, fell into the hands of General Deſbureaux. Loaded with the charge of an intimate connexion with his exiled Chief, it was not ſufficient to ſend him "on board the Squadron," as the drowning of the other people of colour was termed; he was reſerved for the extremity of torture.

The arrival of the new Commander in Chief at head quarters, effected little change in the ſituation of affairs, though much was expected, from his ſuperior knowledge of the iſland, and of the character of the Blacks; but his knowledge could not effect a change in the climate, or render a power daily weakening, equal to that which acquired ſtrength from a continuation of the war. He appeared anxious to direct the conteſt to points different from thoſe to which it had hitherto been carried; accordingly an action of conſiderable violence took place on the parched plains of St. Nichola Mole, in which the French appear to have made a feeble ſtand. The parties continued to fight during the night, and to precipitate each other into the ſea. The end however was, that the advantages obtained by the French were ſoon relinquiſhed. General Clauſel was more ſucceſsful before Fort Dauphin, which, after withſtanding an united attack by ſea and land, ſurrendered to him. Before this capture, Port Republicain and Les Cayes were the only towns, beſide the capital, in the poſſeſſion of the French.

The firſt public act of Rochambeau, as Captain-General of the Iſland, was that of calling to account the young Chief of the Staff, who appears to have been a pupil of Le Clerc, and raiſed

to

to that dignity, more from the general's fondneſs, than his own ability.

8th Dec. He was ſuſpended from his employment, and ordered to be detained in priſon until he ſhould make up his accounts.

Shortly afterward, the General in Chief renewed the decree of Le Clerc, ſo obnoxious in France, permitting foreign importation into the colony, extending it to all deſcriptions of wares and merchandize, but increaſing the duty upon them to twenty per cent; and thus ended the moſt eventful year ever experienced in Saint Domingo. Before the month of December, not ten months after their arrival, nearly forty thouſand French troops are ſuppoſed to have been ſacrificed, and a conſiderable number, (though by no means proportionately) of the Blacks. Troops ſtill continued to be ſent from the ports of Havre and Cherbourg, but each reinforcement was leſs effective than the preceding, and the conſcripts at length conſiſted only of raw youths, Poles, Piedmonteſe, and Flemings. Veteran ſoldiers conſidered the army of Saint Domingo as the by word of contempt, and the once popular cauſe of the ſubjugation of that ſplendid colony, became no more heard of, or if mentioned, it was only with ſorrow, or to be treated with deriſion.

The commencement of 1803 was marked by a ſullen ceſſation of arms, more dreadful than active war, as it gave place to ſecret cruelties, more extenſive becauſe leſs glaring. General Rochambeau was called, by the fortune of war, to a command for which, notwithſtanding the local and phyſical experience which has been allowed to him, he was by no means competent. In the outſet of the expedition he had borne a very ſubordinate rank, conſidering his ſtake as a proprietor, and it was only to the death of his ſuperiors that he owed his preſent appointment. He evinced no deſire to change the ſyſtem on which the war proceeded, nor did he exhibit ſufficient ability to produce an amendment. On the 4th of March, without any other communication of importance, the French Colonial Miniſter received from the new Captain General an intimation, that on the arrival of four thouſand more troops which were expected, offenſive operations might be commenced.

The blacks, on the contrary, during the whole of this awful ceſſation, were daily ſtrengthened from every quarter, and a large army was collected under Deſſalines, who was unanimouſly appointed General in Chief, and who reſolved vigorouſly to puſh the war to a termination. With this view, he collected a conſiderable force upon the plain of the Cape, which being obſerved by Rochambeau, he found it neceſſary to withdraw his troops from every other point, and both armies became unawares in a ſtate of preparation for a general battle. This was not what either party deſigned; Deſſalines, therefore, reſtrained his impetuous Blacks, and the French forces were combined to ſtrengthen Cape François. Several ſkirmiſhes having taken place in the vicinity of Acul, it

was

was at length determined by Rochambeau to venture an action, for which he had many diſpoſitions in his favour. The troops ſelected on either ſide, for the affair, were admirably poſted on two neighbouring mornes; the firſt movement was inauſpicious to the French, by the capture of a conſiderable body marching to ſtrengthen one of the wings, who were ſurrounded and driven into the Black camp. Rochambeau began the attack with impetuoſity, and the Blacks for a ſhort time gave way, but on his endeavouring to puſh the advantage, they repulſed him with loſs, when the day cloſed. In penetrating the Black line, the French had ſecured a number of priſoners, and on them they determined to wreak the vengeance of which they were diſappointed in the battle. Whether this determination aroſe from a notion that the part of the French wing which had been cut off was already abſolutely ſacrificed, or from the miſtaken policy of extermination, cannot be determined, but the unhappy victims were, without the ſmalleſt conſideration for their own men who were priſoners in the Black Camp, immediately put to death. As they were not carefully exterminated, many were left in a mutilated ſtate during the whole night; their moans and ſhrieks were heard at a diſtance around the ſpot, ſufficiently loud to excite a ſenſation of horror throughout the country. The Black Commander, when acquainted with the caſe, although the maxim of Touſſaint, not to retaliate, had been hitherto followed, could no longer forbear; he inſtantly cauſed a number of gibbets to be formed, ſelected the officers whom he had taken, and ſupplying the deficiency with privates, had them tied up in every direction by break of day, in ſight of the French, who dared not to interfere. The Blacks then ſallied down with aſtoniſhing vigour and regularity, raiſed the very camp, threw the whole line into diſorder, and drove the French army cloſe to the walls of Cape François.

Such was the ſtate of affairs, when intelligence arrived of the renewal of hoſtilities between Great Britain and France, an event which rendered the ſucceſs of the French againſt the Negroes apparently impoſſible. At this period, Rochambeau had permanently fixed his head quarters at the Cape, and Deſſalines had ſo completely lined the ſurrounding country, that the French boundaries were confined to two miles around the Cape. As their power became weaker, their ferocity increaſed, and they were apparently actuated by a deſire to render the white complexion deteſtable throughout the Antilles; for no means, however extraneous, were left unattempted to annoy the Blacks. Not content with the uſe of Blood-hounds, which they ſent in purſuit of ſmall reconnoitring parties, the men who were taken priſoners were thrown to thoſe animals, to be devoured alive.

Deſſalines ſtill continued the blockade, and found opportunities to decreaſe his opponent's means of operation, both offenſive and July.

defenſive. As ſoon as an Engliſh ſquadron was perceived on the coaſt, he, in conjunction with Chriſtophe, ſent a flag of truce with a propoſition to act in concert againſt the French, and, in caſe of agreement, to requeſt ſome aſſiſtance in ſtores. It is probable, that an account of the atrocities of the French accompained this requeſt, for ſhortly afterward, a Britiſh Squadron blockaded Cape François, and Rochambeau began to ſound the Commodore upon terms for a ſurrender of the French troops. About this time, ſo unſafe appeared the French intereſt, that Jerome Bonaparte, the brother of the Firſt Conſul, quitted the iſland, and arrived at Baltimore, in America.

The French affairs continued to grow worſe, varying only by the increaſe of difficulty, attended with the ſame diſgraceful employment of the moſt cruel actions, till Rochambeau actually relinquiſhed every other merit or aim, than that of keeping poſſeſſion of the city of the Cape, and fortifying it by all means that art could deviſe or effect. In a diſpatch on the 29th of October, he obſerves, "There is ſtill ſome merit in defending a ravaged colony, againſt a civil war on one ſide, and a foreign enemy on the other."

Such was the ſituation to which were reduced the conductors of an expedition, which had highly flattered the French people; had intereſted the powers of Europe; and fed the vanity of every general whom inteteſt could procure to be appointed to its ſervice. The victorious Blacks, however, continuing to pour in reinforcements upon the plain of the Cape, Deſſalines reſolved to attack the city, and took meaſures accordingly. A powerful body deſcended from the Morne du Cap, and having paſſed the outer lines, and ſeveral of the Blockhouſes, a ſharp conflict enſued, and they then prepared to take the city by ſtorm in thirty-ſix hours. The Blacks being irreſiſtible, Rochambeau, to avoid the calamities of longer reſiſtance, offered articles of capitulation, which, the Black General, foregoing the deſire of revenge, accepted, granting the enemy ten days to evacuate the city, leaving every thing in its exiſting condition. They were to depart in their own ſhips, with the honours of war, to retain all their private property, and to leave their ſick to the care of the Blacks.

Although Commodore Loring, who commanded the Britiſh ſquadron which was ſtill ſtationed off Cape François, did not enter into any definitive alliance in conſequence of the application of the Blacks, he continued to render their cauſe an incalculable ſervice, by preventing the arrival of reinforcements or ſupplies. Having been informed of the mode by which proviſions were obtained from the Spaniſh part of the iſland, through the Curacol paſſage, leading to the eaſtern entrance of the harbour of Cape François, a frigate was placed ſo as to intercept them, by which thirty ſmall veſſels, ſeveral laden with bullocks, were captured in a ſhort time. Thus, deprived of ſupply by ſea, and ſhut from an intercourſe with the land, General Rochambeau became reduced to the ſituation he ſo forcibly deſcribed on a ſubſequent occaſion. "Preſſed,"

"Preſſed" ſaid he, "almoſt to death by abſolute famine, and after waiting for a conſiderable time, wretchedly appeaſing the deſperate calls of hunger by feeding on our horſes, mules, aſſes, and even dogs, we had no way to eſcape the poignards of the enraged negroes, but by truſting our fate to the ſea."

The ſame day on which he had treated with General Deſſalines, and after he had exchanged hoſtages, Rochambeau thought proper to ſend to the Engliſh Commodore General Boyé, and Captain Barné, with propoſals to treat for the evacuation of the Cape. They propoſed that General Rochambeau and his guards, comprizing about five hundred men ſhould be conveyed to France in two veſſels, the Surveillante and Cerf, without being conſidered as priſoners of war. To this propoſition, which nothing but the liberality they had ſo recently experienced could give riſe, Commodore Loring returned his refuſal, and, at the ſame time, ſent Captain Moſs, of the Deſirée, with abſolute terms. Theſe were, a general ſurrender; that the French officers and troops, in health, ſhould go to Jamaica, and the ſick to France and America, ſecurity being given for the veſſels which conveyed them; prohibiting, at the ſame time, the white inhabitants of the Cape from going to Jamaica. To this communication, General Rochambeau returned an evaſive anſwer, flattering himſelf that he ſhould find an opportunity to make his eſcape from the Cape, and he forbore any farther communication with, and ſtill concealed from, the Engliſh, the capitulation into which he had entered with Deſſalines, but they were too vigilant for his purpoſe. 2d Dec. Captain Loring ſummoned the General of Brigade, Noailles, who maintained, unmoleſted, a ſpecies of ſolitary command at the Mole, to ſurrender. This chief, while equivocating as to the mode of his capitulation, embarked with his garriſon in the night on board ſix veſſels, but five of which fell into the hands of the Commander of the La Pique, and the ſixth only eſcaped, with General Noailles on board.

Port-au-Prince having been evacuated at different periods, was under the command of the General of Diviſion, Petion, a Black Officer of experience and ability, who had been regularly educated at the Military ſchool in France; St. Domingo thus became again in the full poſſeſſion of the native army. The force which had arrived with the firſt body of troops, and ſtationed at the Spaniſh capital under General Kerverſan, had remained without the power of interfering in the war, and contented itſelf with the parade of communication between the French and Spaniſh inhabitants, and the people of Cuba.

Immediately on the ceſſation of hoſtilities, which promiſed to be more permanent than any which had preceded, the General in Chief, with the two generals between whom the juriſdiction of the iſland was become divided, Chriſtophe and Clervaux, began to conſider of the Proclamation of independence, and thoſe meaſures which were neceſſary for the pub-

lic tranquillity. In a Proclamation, by the three officers, from head quarters, in the name of the Black-people and men of Colour, they announced general Freedom, and invited the return of those proprietors who fled during the conflict, without having become obnoxious by any cruelty of disposition toward their servants, or inclination to the continuance of slavery; at the same time, avowing, that to those of a contrary temper, no protection would be promised; and that, as to soldiery employed in any future expedition, mercy was not to be expected. They declared their disapprobation of, and palliated the cruelties which were the unavoidable consequence of civil dissentions in all countries, and proposed that a new regimen, founded on the basis of justice, should prevail in Saint Domingo. 29th Nov.

Hearing no more from General Rochambeau, (although acquainted, by Dessalines, with the capitulation) and perceiving no movement, the English Commodore addressed that General, as the term allowed him had nearly expired, expressing his hopes that no retraction would take place, and requesting pilots, to conduct a part of the squadron into the harbour, to take possession of the shipping. He received an answer from Dessalines, informing him of the surrender of the French, and regretting that he could not send the pilots which were required, but intimating that there would be no occasion for them, as he should compel the French vessels to quit the road, and the English Commodore might do with them what he should think proper.

The colours of the Blacks were soon displayed at the different forts, which induced Commodore Loring to send Captain Bligh to the Black General, to inquire the circumstances which occasioned the change, when, on entering the harbour, he met Captain Barré, who intreated him to go on board the Surveillante, and enter into some capitulation with the French, that they might be placed under the protection of the English, the Blacks having threatened to sink the vessel with red hot shot, in consequence of the terms of the capitulation not being complied with in point of time: this he agreed to, and articles being drawn, in which the English agreed that the French should sail out under French colours, and fire their broadside previous to surrender. Captain Bligh acquainted the Black General with the capture, and requested he would desist from firing, till the wind should be fair for their departure; an indulgence which was not obtained but with much difficulty. 30th.

The force taken possession of by Commodore Loring, comprized eight thousand men; the shipping, consisted of three frigates, and seventeen merchant-men, they were conveyed to Jamaica, from whence Admiral Duckworth immediately dispatched General Rochambeau, and the officers particularly in his confidence, to England.

The other colonies of France and Holland also suffered severely by the war, or fell into the hands of England. Throughout the French Islands, the greatest alarm of famine prevailed; in Guadaloupe,

loupe, there had been an insurrection toward the close of the preceding year, in the suppression of which, the French in their usual manner had made an extensive massacre, and thus produced a sullen submission, but for that Island, as well as Martinique and St. Lucie, necessity compelled them to issue

20th June. Proclamations, allowing the importation of provisions in foreign vessels, and moderating the duties formerly paid on them.

June. At the time these Proclamations were published, the distress of the colonies was increased by the arrival of a naval force from England under Sir Samuel Hood, which captured many vessels intended for their supply. At the same time, the Admiral having made proper arrangements with General Grinfield at Barbadoes, a body of troops was put on board the squadron, which, on the 21st at day break were off the north end of St. Lucie; in the course of the day the greater part of the troops was disembarked in Choque-Bay; about half past five the out-posts of the enemy were driven in, the town of Castries taken, and a summons was sent to the commander. In consequence of the refusal of Brigade General Nogues to accede to any terms, and the expectation of approaching rains rendering it necessary to get possession of the Morne, with as

22. little delay as possible, the fortress was attacked by assault, and carried with the loss of 20 killed, 110 wounded, and 8 missing. "I cannot omit a circumstance," says General Grinfield in his dispatch, "which reflects so much credit, as well on the British nation, as on the conduct of the soldiers actually employed, that notwithstanding the severe and spirited resistance of the French troops, yet, no sooner were the works carried by assault, and the opposition no longer existed, than every idea of animosity appeared to cease, and not a French soldier was either killed or wounded."

Having thus effected the conquest of St. Lucie, general Grinfield proceeded to Tobago, where General Cæsar Berthier held the chief command. This island was subdued without resistance, and the inhabitants, who were for the most part English, expressed lively joy and gratitude at being restored to their natural and proper government.

1st July.

The colonies of Berbice, Demerary and Issequibo were captured with equal facility, and Captain Malbon, of his Majesty's ship Aurora, having taken St. Pierre by surprize, obtained possession of Miquelon also, in which he found no inhabitants. His sudden appearance at St. Pierre fortunately prevented the inhabitants from assembling, for if they could have had time to collect themselves, they would have made a strong resistance, having upwards of one hundred stand of arms among them.

23d to 25th Sept.

30th June.

CHAP. XVI.

Scurrility of the French press; compulsory insertion of an abusive Manifesto in the Hamburgh paper; official publications in answer to the Declaration of England; a form of Prayer in France against England; arrest of English subjects travelling and resident in France. Alliance between France, Italy and Holland. Spain and Portugal purchase neutrality. State of Turkey and Naples. Invasion and subjugation of Hanover by the French; the King of England refuses to ratify the Treaty entered into by the regency; further proceedings of the French; their rapacity and cruelty. Exertions against the commerce of England. Subscriptions throughout France for carrying on the War. Ships voted, and flat-boats built; a large force collected on the French coast. Offer of Bonaparte to Louis XVIII; nobly rejected. Bonaparte's journey; he reviews the troops on the coast; neglect and inactivity of Moreau. Proceedings in England. Blockade of the Elbe and Weser; of Genoa and Spezia; and of Havre-de-grace. Preparations against invasion; loyal Addresses; patriotic fund; measures for defence of the Metropolis; Volunteers.

THE conduct of the French government in their hostility to Great Britain was correspondent with the spirit which occasioned the rupture. From the day when the King's Message was sent to Parliament; even while negotiations were yet carried on, and hopes seemed to be entertained of a reconcilement of differences, the fury of the French press was let loose on England, and her government, and consistently with that disgusting ferocity which has distinguished France since the Revolution, the most gross personal insults were levelled at the King, not calculated to gain one proselyte to the cause of his adversaries, but to gratify the vulgar in hearing, and the disloyal in translating and republishing them. Such malignant libels in the French papers, where nothing is inserted accidentally, are sufficiently disgraceful to the nation which licensed them, but the compulsory insertion of the famous Manifesto already alluded to, in the Hamburgh paper, called Correspondenten, exceeds in atrocity any act of a like description which has disgraced a civilized people. The circumstances are thus related. Reinhard, the French Minister at Hamburgh, applied to the Magistrates, soon after the appearance of the King's Message, to cause the insertion of a scurrilous and vulgar Manifesto, full of the most indecent invectives against England. This production was referred to the Syndic and Censor of the press, who permitted it to be inserted, after striking out the most objectionable passages. This, however, instead of satisfying the French Minister, provoked his utmost indignation, which was not to be appeased but by publishing it in its entire state. A courier was sent

ſent expreſs from France with inſtructions; an extraordinary meeting of the ſenate was convened, where the threats of France prevailed; the government, afraid to refuſe a compliance with the imperious demand of Bonaparte, agreed that it ſhould be inſerted without alteration or ſuppreſſion, and in that ſtate it appeared, to the aſtoniſhment of all thinking men, throughout the world.

After the Britiſh Embaſſador had departed from Paris, and the King's Declaration had appeared, together with the papers laid before Parliament, Bonaparte alſo iſſued a declaration in a meſſage to the ſenate and legiſlative body, in which he imputed to England, ever ſince the treaty of Amiens, a courſe of projects to rekindle diſcord between the two nations. He alſo publiſhed a maſs of official papers, in which ſome of the correſpondence which took place between the two governments previous to the ſignature of the preliminary treaty was detailed, and in the official paper appeared two very long ſeries of obſervations on the King of England's Declaration, meeting it article by article, and affecting to deny every allegation, and refute every argument it contained. One of theſe papers concludes in theſe terms. "France, by the ſucceſs of her arms, had acquired poſſeſſion of all the countries, from the North Sea to the Adriatic, and from the Danube to the canal of Meſſina. What has ſhe done for the ſake of general peace?—She reſtores Batavia to herſelf; ſhe reſtores Switzerland to her independence and her ancient conſtitutions; ſhe cedes the Venetian countries to Auſtria; territorial indemnities are allotted to the electors of the Germanic body; the Venetian iſlands regulate their government under the influence of Ruſſia and the Porte; Italy beholds the eſtabliſhment of the Lucceſe, the Italian and Ligurian republics; the French troops evacuate the ſtates of the Pope and the kingdom of Naples; Etruria receives a King; the French army at the gates of Vienna, return to the left bank of the Rhine; and Portugal is evacuated, and reſtored to her former independence. Alas! if France had entertained projects of ambition, and views of aggrandizement, would ſhe not have preſerved Italy entire, under her direct influence? Would ſhe not have extended her dominion over Batavia, Switzerland, and Portugal? Inſtead of this eaſy aggrandizement, ſhe preſents a wiſe limitation of her territory and her power; ſhe ſuffers the loſs of the immenſe territory of Saint Domingo, as well as the treaſures and armies deſtined for the reſtoration of that colony; ſhe makes every ſacrifice to obtain the continuance of peace. England, on the contrary, ſeizes upon the opulent iſland of Ceylon, and the entire navigation of the gulph of Bengal; ſhe obtains the important poſſeſſion of Trinidad; ſhe eſſays, by a ſecret treaty with the Mamelukes, to invade Egypt, by ſupplying them with arms and ammunition; ſhe remains in Alexandria long after the time appointed for its evacuation, and only abandons it becauſe the ravages of the plague began to terrify her; ſhe violates the treaty of Amiens in order to retain Malta, to direct the operations of the barbarous Corſairs,

to carry on the exclusive commerce of the Adriatic, the Levant, the Dardanelles, and the Black sea, and to shut up from all nations the navigation of the Mediterranean; she unites her efforts to prevent France from retaining St. Domingo, and enjoying Louisiana; she excites dissentions in the Swiss Cantons, and furnishes arms and ammunition for their civil extermination; she sends squadrons into the North Seas, and before the Texel and the Meuse, threatening to invade Batavia, she covets the possession of Sicily, demands the island of Lampedosa, and occupies Sardinia. The four quarters of the globe, gulphs, capes, straits, opulent colonies, nothing can satisfy her political and commercial cupidity. The extent of her avarice and ambition is at length discovered. The mask falls, England assigns but thirty-six hours for the continuance of peace. She has speculated on a sudden war, for the purpose of seizing, at once, upon the riches deposited on the ocean, which the Spanish, Portugueze, and Batavian colonies were at last sending to their mother countries, as well as upon the ships of the French republic, and the vessels of her scarcely revived commerce. England, at the will of a few hateful and powerful passions, disturbs the tranquillity of the world, violates without shame, the rights of nations, tramples under foot the most solemn treaties, and falsifies the sworn faith of governments. One obstacle only arrests the progress of her ambitious career; it is France victorious, moderate, and prosperous; it is her energetic and enlightened government; it is her illustrious and magnanimous chief. These are the objects of her delirious envy, her reiterated attacks, her implacable hatred, her diplomatic intrigues, her maritime conspiracies, and her official denunciations. But Europe beholds; France prepares for battle; history relates that Rome overthrew Carthage."

The religious prejudices of the French people were also invoked by their government to animate their hostility against England. Early in the year, Bonaparte had declared that four Bishops should be raised to the dignity of Cardinals; and the Pope, professing his gratitude to the First Consul, for the re-establishment of religion, by means of the Concordat, acquiesced in the nominations sent to him. They were Fesch, Archbishop of Lyons, uncle to the First Consul; J. de Dieu Raymond Boisgelin, Archbishop of Tours; E. H. Cambaceres, Archbishop of Rouen; the fourth he reserved *in petto*. On the commencement of the war, Bonaparte by a circular letter, instructed the Cardinals, 7th June. Archbishops, and Bishops of France, to offer up prayers for the success of his enterprize, and it was among the wonders of the times, to hear those Bishops and other dignitaries, and many priests, who had received support and comfort from the people of England in the hour of their persecution and affliction, praying Providence to afflict and crush their benefactors.

A measure more unexpected, decidedly repugnant to every principle of good faith, and a perfect novelty in the history of modern hostility, was also resorted to by the French Government. When the news of the King's Message

Meſſage arrived, moſt of the Engliſh whom curioſity had drawn into France prepared for their departure, but they received poſitive aſſurances from the Government, that whatever termination the exiſting diſcuſſions might take, their liberty and ſafety ſhould not be affected. Too eaſily quieted by theſe promiſes, they remained in France, but ſoon after the departure of Lord Whitworth, they were all ſeized and marched as priſoners to Valenciennes. Beſide thoſe who had been in France through mere curioſity, there were many artizans, who, ſeduced by ſpecious promiſes of eaſy eſtabliſhment and large emolument, had been led to ſettle in the French dominions. Theſe perſons were alſo ſeized, and being without reſources, except thoſe derived from their induſtry and ingenuity they could now no longer uſe, were doomed to ſubſiſt on a miſerable pittance allowed by the treacherous government, or urged by poverty and importunity, to inliſt in the corps of Iriſh rebels which was armed in the ſervice of France.

Nor were the exertions of Bonaparte confined to France; in every other country to which his influence extended, a ſtrong attempt was made to raiſe new partizans againſt England, and to make thoſe nations, if not parties in the war, at leaſt hoſtile in their neutrality, or tributary to France for liberty to preſerve it. Notwithſtanding the liberal offers of the Britiſh government to leave the United ſtates in peace, if the French would abſtain from ſending troops into their territory for the invaſion of England, the Dutch were, immediately on the commencement of hoſtilities, overwhelmed with French regiments, the commanders of which obliged the government, notwithſtanding its ſuppoſed independence, to adopt every meaſure required by France. A treaty of alliance offenſive and defenſive was concluded between the Gallic, Batavian and Italian republics; the introduction of Britiſh goods into Holland was prohibited under ſevere penalties, and in Holland, as in France, all Britiſh ſubjects were ſeized and detained as priſoners. In theſe tranſactions, it was evident that the Government yielded to force, and they would have been intitled to commiſeration could it have been forgotten, that their own treachery, ingratitude and ſpirit of faction had placed them in their abject ſituation. Their degradation and ſufferings were complete; French troops were ſent into their territories without their conſent; contributions were demanded for their ſupport, and if not paid, the ſoldiers were quartered on the people; the equipment of a large fleet, and the cuſtody of ſeveral important towns were demanded by France, and Holland, incapable of exerciſing a will of her own, was daily menaced with a total change in the form of her conſtitution. 9th July.

Spain and Portugal purchaſed permiſſion to remain neutral; another novelty introduced into the civilized world in the preſent times. Early in the year, Bonaparte had ſent General Laſnes, who was ſuppoſed to have given ſome offence at the Thuilleries, as embaſſador to Liſbon. This officer had formerly filled the ſame miſſion, but had been recalled, and his behaviour

was

was said to have been particularly offensive to the court of Portugal. His mission, on this occasion, was therefore considered as a most humiliating insult, especially as it was accompanied with instructions to cause the commerce and interests of France to be respected equally with those of the most favoured nation, and a declaration that the First Consul was intirely satisfied with his conduct in Portugal up to the present time. When war was begun, no further ceremony was considered necessary, and France demanded and obtained from Spain four millions, and from Portugal a million and a half of livres, for liberty to abstain from going to war with Great Britain.

On the declaration of War, the Porte declared its resolution to remain neutral, and this determination was not openly resisted, but all the address of the French government was exerted to create an influence in the councils of that power. An insurrection of the Arnauts and Albanians in Egypt was regarded with some anxiety as favourable to the views of France.

1st Oct. An embassador sent by the government of Constantinople was received by the First Consul with extraordinary complacency, and he congratulated Bonaparte on the restoration of amity between the two countries, recommending an oblivion of the past as the best means of substituting a solid and eternal peace, for that hostility which between France and Turkey was contrary to nature.

In the dominions of the King of Naples, and in various parts of Italy, the armies under the command of France, made various movements, in contempt of neutrality, and to the oppression and terror of the surrounding states, but none of those were of sufficient moment to require a separate detail.

When Talleyrand, in his threatening note to Lord Whitworth, mentioned the invasion of Hanover as a probable act of French hostility against the King of England, the power to exercise that threat was fully appreciated, and no hope could reasonably be entertained that a regard to justice, to treaties, or to the Law of Nations as recognized during the modern periods of civilized warfare, would prevent the ruler of France from putting the menace in execution. The peace establishment of the Hanoverian troops, according to a statement published by the resident from that electorate in London, was about sixteen thousand five hundred men. This number was considerably augmented by levies throughout the country, when at the commencement of the year 1793, the greatest part joined the allied army in Brabant; and, in the year 1796, fifteen thousand men being required for the army of observation, which was to cover the line of demarcation agreed upon between the King of Prussia and the French Republic, they remained upon that footing; but when, in the year 1801, not only this army was dissolved, but the Prussian occupation made the speedy reduction of the Hanoverian troops necessary, all the levies which had been raised during the war, were discharged agreeably to the promises which had been made to them; it was impossible, by voluntary recruiting, which is the only mode

mode allowed by the conſtitution in times of peace, immediately to complete the eſtabliſhment, and the difficulty, afterward, increaſed greatly, when the biſhopricks of Hildeſheim and Eichsfeld, which had, until then, furniſhed many recruits, became Pruſſian provinces. For theſe reaſons, the troops, at the commencement of the preſent troubles, did not amount, altogether, to fifteen thouſand men, a conſiderable number of which were abſent on furlough, in the new Pruſſian provinces, and, although faithful and well-diſpoſed, were prevented from joining their regiments. Thus not more than thirteen thouſand men could be depended upon, and theſe, after completing the garriſon and fortreſs of Hameln, and ſome ſmall detachments, which could not be diſpenſed with, left a force of but little more than ten thouſand men to oppoſe the enemy.

In the beginning of April, his Majeſty apprized the regency of Hanover of the danger to which, in conſequence of the menaces of the Firſt Conſul, the country would be expoſed, in caſe of a war between England and France; and directed that the ſoldiers who were abſent ſhould be made to return, and that the regiments ſhould be kept in a ſtate of readineſs to take the field; referring, beſides for the meaſures which it might be neceſſary to purſue, to the regency and to Marſhal Walmoden, commander in chief of the army, becauſe from the diſtance, and from the great uncertainty of events, it might have been diſadvantageous to bind them by any orders which ſome unforeſeen occurrence would have rendered leſs proper, or perhaps leſs applicable. At Hanover, preparations were made for forming camps, and collecting ſoldiers, but, it appears, that every difficulty attending this ſervice was conſidered as almoſt inſurmountable by the government, and, inſtead of reſorting to the prompt and energetic meaſures which ſuch a criſis required, they ſent to England for freſh inſtructions. The anſwer they received, 13th May. ſhewed how juſtly the probability of an effectual, or even vigorous reſiſtance was conſidered. They were told that if there were any hope of obtaining the principal end, that of ſecuring the country from invaſion, every effort ought to be made; but that if only minor objects could be accompliſhed, if nothing remained but to ſave the effects, and to make an honourable retreat for the army, they ſhould proportion the means to thoſe ends, and ſhould not exact ſacrifices from the country, which, without the poſſibility of being uſeful to it, would only expoſe it to greater miſery.

This reply had not arrived at Hanover, when it was known that Lord Whitworth was on the point of leaving Paris, and that a conſiderable body of French troops was aſſembling near Nimeguen, with the avowed deſign of invading the Electorate.

Aware of theſe circumſtances, his Majeſty iſſued 16th May. a Proclamation, declaring, that, whatever the event of the difference now exiſting between Great Britain and the French government might be, he ſhould, in his capacity as Elector and member of the German Empire, obſerve the ſtricteſt neutrality, and might therefore

therefore justly and confidently expect, that, whatever termination the present negotiation might have, his German states would not be affected by any consequences which might ensue. Considering, however, the obvious movements of the troops in Holland, the possibility must occur, that in case the before mentioned differences should not be amicably settled, his German states and subjects might be exposed to serious danger. His Majesty applied, therefore, to all the loyal subjects of his German states, to make, in case of such danger, all those efforts and sacrifices to which the duties they owed to him as Sovereign, their attachment to their native country, their families, connexions, and every thing dear to them, already bound them. To be prepared for every event that might happen, it would be necessary to know immediately, the exact number of persons, who, in case of necessity, could take up arms for the defence of their country. To effect this, magistrates were commanded to make every proper exertion, and the people were exhorted not to shew themselves so lost, as to transgress the solemn obligations they would have to fulfil, or to withdraw, by a cowardly and treacherous flight, from giving assistance to the defence of the country. Should, however, such be found, who, in time of danger would desert their country and refuse their aid, such wretches should, the case being lawfully proved, without hope of pardon, be deprived of all they might possess in his Majesty's German dominions, and be cut off from all inheritance therein. The Duke of Cambridge was mentioned in the Proclamation, as willing to share every danger, and personally, to assist in every thing, that might promote the safety and security of the people.

Even if the paternal wishes of his Majesty for his German people could have been fulfilled, the celerity of the French would have prevented the assembling of any considerable force after the issuing of this Proclamation. Early in May, the French troops under the command of General Mortier, had assembled on the lower Rhine, to the number of 40,000. Immediately after the return of Lord Whitworth, they passed the Waal at Nimeguen, taking with them a great quantity of ammunition and provisions, and continued their march to Arnheim, Doesburg, and the department of Overyssel, and established their head quarters at Coevorden. 17th to 20th.

At this place, general Mortier issued a Proclamation to the Hanoverians, declaring, in the terms of delusion used ever since the French Revolution, that his troops came into their territory, not to spread consternation in the fields, but to withdraw the portion of the continent which they inhabited from a government inimical to the repose of Europe, and which made it its glory to tread under feet all the principles of the rights of men and of civilized nations. "The First Consul," it proceeded, "faithful to the sentiments of moderation and humanity, which distinguish him as eminently as his political and warlike virtues, the First Consul has, in vain, exhausted all the means of conciliation to prevent a rupture. The King of England, perjured as to his most 25th.

sacred

facred engagements, has falfified his fignature by refuſing to evacuate Malta, as he had ſolemnly bound himſelf to do by the treaty of Amiens; he has given the ſignal for hoſtilities, and remains alone reſponſible before God and men for the calamities which the ſcourge of war may bring upon the ſtates under his dominions." The people were cautioned againſt the effect of Proclamations dictated by the blindeſt fury, and deſigned to engage them in a diſpute to which they ought to be ſtrangers, and of which they alone would remain the victims. They were promiſed ſafety and protection, if, conſulting their true intereſts, they would ſeparate their cauſe from that of a Sovereign, who, in breaking all the ties of good faith, had thereby freed them from the attachment which they might have held themſelves to owe him.

26th. The day after the date of this atrocious and perfidious Proclamation, the French entered the county of Bentheim, and made priſoners the garriſon of the town of Bentheim, which conſiſted of

28th. an officer and thirty ſix men. The Hanoverian garriſon immediately evacuated Oſnaburg and went to Diepenau, and the inhabitants ſent a deputation to the French general, requeſting his good treatment for the town.

The government of Hanover, with the conſent of the Duke of Cambridge, had applied to the King of Pruſſia, and ſolicited his aſſiſtance, and had even requeſted, in caſe of extremity, that he would ſend a body of his own troops into the electorate, to protect it from a French invaſion. The King of Pruſſia did not think himſelf warranted in doing this, but promiſed to make new repreſentations at Paris, to prevent the invaſion of Hanover. Meanwhile an order was iſſued for inliſting all perſons capable of bearing arms, and then, to take from the whole maſs, a ſufficient number of recruits to re-inforce the troops of the line, which, it was hoped, would amount to thirty thouſand men. Finding, however, that no exertion could be effectual in defence of the country, and that no aſſiſtance was to be expected, the regency iſſued an order to all

31ſt. magiſtrates and public officers, on the approach of the French, to regulate their whole conduct on the principle of the ſtricteſt neutrality, which it belonged to the territory to maintain as intirely independent of the crown of Great Britain and Ireland, and a completely ſeparate poſſeſſion, according to the conſtitution of the empire, and the guarantee of the treaty of Luneville. They were readily to furniſh whatever might be required of them, and on no account to deſert their offices and poſts, but remain in them, and faithfully fulfil their duty.

At this time, the French army, by a rapid march, had taken a poſition before Wechte; they paſſed the Hunte, and proceeded to Techlingen, while a ſmaller body of troops, under General Hammerſtein, retreated to Berſten. The enemy proceeded in the ſame

1ſt and 2d June. direction, and having been informed that the bridge of Nieuburg was repaired, and the principal force for protection of the country ſtationed there, they reached, with ſpeed, that part of the Weſer. At that

that point, the Duke of Cambridge had the command. Marshal Count Walmoden, who had, until then, directed every thing with unwearied assiduity, finding himself, as well because his presence was judged indispensable at Hanover, as on account of his health, not in a condition to join the troops himself, gave the command to his Royal Highness, who, influenced only by his zeal, undertook it, nothwithstanding the apparent impossibility of success. He immediately repaired to the place, where the bridge over the Weser obliged them to take the first position; here he arrived the same night, and found six battalions of infantry, six squadrons of cavalry, and some artillery, amounting in the whole to scarcely three thousand men. The rest of the troops were, either still on their march, or at some distance, to cover the other passages on the Weser, and to ensure a retreat upon the Elbe, which might have been cut off, particularly by a corps of the enemy stationed at Wildeshausen, and which, it was supposed, intended to proceed to Bremen, and the recruits which arrived, one after an other, having never borne arms, and being neither clothed nor disciplined, were fit for nothing but to be placed in the rear of the army, that they might not impede its operations in a decisive moment.

1st June.

The regency of Hanover had, in the mean time, dispatched deputies, civil and military, to Mortier, intreating him to suspend his march, as they were empowered to make advantageous propositions. He answered, that he would listen to none, unless he had the certainty of immediately occupying the country of Hanover, and particularly the strong places belonging to it; adding, that if the least resistance were made, or the Weser were once passed, he should not consider himself bound by those offers. In fact, the advanced part of the French army appeared in the afternoon of the 12th. at about the distance of one mile from Nieuberg, and refusing to halt, attacked the Hanoverian advanced posts, but were repulsed. The French lost, according to their own account, thirty men, and then halted. The Hanoverians had one killed, and five wounded, which were carried off. At the moment when the report of this affair reached Nieuberg, his Royal Highness received a dispatch from the regency of Hanover, in which they begged of him to return immediately. He instantly set out, and about half-way, met the deputies, who were returning to the French head quarters, to conclude a Convention, undoubtedly upon terms rather more moderate than those which had been offered, but by which the troops were bound not to serve against France or her allies during the present war, unless they were exchanged. Imperious necessity dictated this resolution; but the Duke could neither take part generally, in such a Convention, nor submit to this engagement, and he had previously declared it. He therefore gave in his resignation, and departed, the day on which the Convention was signed at the French head quarters, subject to ratifi-

3d June.

ratification by the governments of France and England. By this treaty, the army were to be prisoners of war; the French obtained possession of the whole country, particularly the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, and Mortier gave orders for seizing all the vessels on those rivers.

The terms of the treaty concluded at Suhlingen presented to the French Government a new field for the exercise of diplomatic finesse. Talleyrand sent by an express to the English Government, a letter, stating that the First Consul having had in view nothing but the procuring of pledges for the evacuation of Malta, and the complete execution of the Treaty of Amiens, did not wish to make the subjects of his Britannic Majesty experience all the rigours of war; but he could not ratify the treaty without an engagement from his Majesty that the army captured in Hanover should be, in the first instance, exchanged for all the sailors or soldiers his Majesty's ships might have made, or be in situation of making prisoners. Should the King refuse to ratify this treaty, Hanover would be treated as a country which, left to itself, abandoned by its Sovereign, would be considered as conquered without capitulation, and given up to the discretion of the power occupying it. 10th June.

Foreseeing that his Majesty could not accede to these propositions, the French Government, in order to produce a political effect in Hanover, directed Mortier to acquaint the general of the forces of that country with the offer that had been made. The English Government returned promptly the only answer which could be given to the insidious proposal. His Majesty said, that as he had always considered the character of Elector of Hanover, distinct from that of King of Great Britain, he could not acquiesce in any act which might establish the idea that he was justly susceptible of being attacked in one capacity for the conduct he might have thought it his duty to adopt in the other. It was not the first time that this principle had been advanced. It had been recognized by several powers of Europe, and more particularly by the French Government, which in 1795, in consequence of the accession of his Majesty to the treaty of Basle, acknowledged his neutrality in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, at the moment they were at war with him in his quality of King of Great Britain. This principle had been moreover confirmed by his Majesty's conduct with respect to the treaty of Luneville, and by the arrangements which had lately taken place relative to the German indemnities, which were to have for their object the providing for the independence of the Empire, and which had been solemnly guaranteed by the principal powers of Europe, but in which his Majesty, as King of Great Britain, took no part. Under these circumstances, his Majesty was determined, in his character of Elector of Hanover, to appeal to the Empire and to the powers of Europe who had guaranteed the Ger- 15th June.

Germanic Conſtitution, and conſequently his rights and poſſeſſions in quality of Prince of that Empire. Until his Majeſty ſhould be informed of their ſentiments, he declared, that in his character of Elector of Hanover, he would ſcrupulouſly abſtain from every act which might be conſidered as contravening the ſtipulations contained in the Convention concluded on the third of June, between the deputies appointed by the Regency of Hanover and the French Government.

1ſt July. On receipt of this letter, the Convention of Suhlingen was declared by the French to be null and void, and Mortier was directed to notify the event to Count Walmoden. In executing this commiſſion, the French General called to the remembrance of his opponent, that in 1757, a ſimilar Convention was concluded at Cloſter Seven, between M. de Richelieu and the Duke of Cumberland, and that the King of England, not having choſen to adhere to it, he gave orders to his army to recommence hoſtilities. It was evident, he ſaid, that England ſacrificed unworthily the Hanoverian troops, whoſe bravery was known to all Europe; but it was not leſs notorious, that every plan of defence on their part would be illuſory, and would only draw down new miſeries upon the country. Propoſitions were therefore made that the army ſhould lay down their arms in order to be ſent priſoners of war into France. This aſtoniſhing inſult rouſed the indignation of the Hanoverians, and Baron de Bock had an interview with Mortier, in which he ſaid, that, rather than cloſe with ſuch abject terms, the army had reſolved to periſh with arms in their hands, and ſolicited ſome modification. Mortier, after much ſcurrility againſt the King of England, refuſed compliance, and ſpeedily prepared to attack the army, which was poſted between Steknitz and Bille.

4th and 5th. Having collected a number of barques on the Elbe, he had proceeded to the middle of the river, when a capitulation was agreed to, which, according to the French account, Marſhal Walmoden ſigned with an afflicted heart. The conditions, indeed were ſuch as tyranny alone could demand, and deſpair accept. The army were to lay down their arms, which, with all the artillery, were to be delivered to the French; as were all the horſes of the Hanoverian troops of cavalry, and the artillery horſes. The Hanoverian army was diſſolved; the troops to paſs the Elbe, and retire, every one to his own home, engaging, on their honour, not to bear arms againſt France and her allies, without being exchanged for French ſoldiers of the ſame rank, who had been made priſoners by England in the courſe the war. The officers to retire, on their honour, to the places which they might chuſe for their reſidence, but not no leave the continent; to retain their ſwords, horſes, effects and baggage. The ſoldiers, after their return home, to wear no uniform.

The French immediately proceeded to the city of Hanover, where they poſſeſſed themſelves of of large quantities of arms, artillery and military equipments in general, and what they valued

most, a great number of very fine horses, fit for cavalry. Fresh troops from France and Holland daily poured in, and occupied every part of the Electorate. They came ragged and unprovided, and were not only fed, but cloathed and equipped at the expence of the people. 13th June. The French Commanders, with that counterfeit humanity which renders their oppression more bitter, and tyranny more galling, issued a Proclamation, directing their soldiery to abstain even from any words which might hurt the feelings of the disarmed Hanoverians; but the people soon found that any resistance, even that of an untrained multitude, furnished only with such arms as haste and rage could supply, could not have led to such calamities as followed submission. The Electorate soon became a scene of pillage and butchery, yielding only to the state of Switzerland in the Spring of 1798. The French soldiers had the most unbounded indulgence of their ruling passions of rapacity, cruelty, and lust. In the city of Hanover, and even in the public streets, women of the highest rank were violated by the lowest of that brutal sodiery, in the presence of their husbands and fathers, and subjected, at the same time, to such additional and undescribable outrages as the brutal fury of the violators, enflamed by drunkenness, could contrive. What happened in the great towns, and befel persons of rank, was of course better known than the calamities of the body of the people; but every village exhibited the same scenes in miniature. The peasants, with more spirit, patriotism and loyalty, than prudence, in several parts of the country, were driven into insurrection; many villages were burnt to the ground, and two districts delivered over to all the horrors of military execution.

For the purpose of commanding the navigation of the rivers Elbe and Weser, new works were constructed, and the old extended and strengthened, and for this purpose, the daily labour of a thousand peasants was required; every species of plunder and exaction was carried to its greatest excess, until, at last, the exhausted country could supply no more; a portion of the French troops were withdrawn, and an intention was expressed of retaining the country by means of 8000 Prussians; but before any such measures were taken, the French exacted from Hamburgh and the Hanse towns a large sum, as a forced loan, the repayment of which was to be secured by mortgage of the property of the King of England in Hanover.

The anxiety of Bonaparte to exclude the trade and manufactures of Great Britain not only from the ports of France, but, as far as possible, from the whole continent, produced many decrees from the different governments in connexion with, or influenced by him, but the most remarkable, was one issued by the First Consul himself at Antwerp. By this mandate he declared, that no vessel that had cleared out from, or touched at, an English port should enter into any of the harbours of the republic; and for 20th July.

more effectual ſuppreſſion of all communication, he ordered that no flag of truce ſhould be received, except at the bay of Audierne, near Breſt, and laid an embargo on all fiſhing boats above the burthen of ſeven tons, and thoſe which were allowed, were to be navigated only by men paſt the age of conſcription, or by boys under the age of fifteen.

Every exertion was alſo made to aſſume the appearance of a general ardour in the war, and a general devotion of property to the proſecution of it. Public bodies joined in Addreſſes to the Firſt Conſul, and many voted the building of ſhips and boats for the ſervice of the ſtate. 4th June. The merchants of Paris, and the Conſervative ſenate each voted a man of war of 110 guns; the exchange brokers a frigate of 44; the Mayor of Paris and the prefect of the Police opened ſubſcriptions for building flat bottomed boats, and the ſame meaſure was attempted in various parts of the Country. Antwerp voted a frigate of 44 guns; Rouen a 74; many departments made contributions in money for the ſame purpoſe, ſeveral regiments remitted portions of their pay as ſubſcriptions, and the Italian Republic by a Proclamation 26th Aug. proffered two frigates and twelve gun boats. Theſe efforts were ſtimulated in a circular Letter iſſued by Chaptal, Miniſter of the Interior, in which he ſtated, "that French bravery muſt remain inactive on the brink of the ocean, if numerous veſſels did not furniſh it the means of attacking its enemy. It was therefore to the building of veſſels that all efforts ought to be directed; commerce, agriculture, induſtry, would ſuffer the leſs for the execution being the more prompt. A flat boat, of the firſt claſs, he ſaid, will coſt 30,000 francs; that of the ſecond, from 18 to 20,000; and that of the third, from 4 to 6000 francs. Two feet of water are ſufficient to float a boat unarmed; thus there are few places that may not execute an undertaking of this kind. Theſe boats will bear the name of the cities or departments that ſhall build them. The government will accept with ſatisfaction from a ſhip of the line to the ſmalleſt tranſport boat. If, by a movement, as rapid as general, each department, each large city, will cover their ſtocks with boats, then the French army will go and dictate laws to the Britiſh Government, and eſtabliſh the repoſe of Europe, the liberty and proſperity of commerce, on the only baſis that can inſure their duration."

As the ſhips of war already poſſeſſed by France, or likely to be erected by theſe ſubſcriptions, or by any other means within the power of government could not hope to contend ſucceſsfully againſt the navy of England, a project was formed, or ſeemed to be formed, for invading England with an army to be carried acroſs the Channel in flat boats. For the apparent purpoſe of this invaſion, a vaſt army was aſſembled at Boulogne, with a formidable train of artillery; it received the name of the Army of England; Bonaparte declared himſelf its commander in chief. Of the poſition and force of this army a formidable diſplay was made by the French government.

The

The grand head quarters were to be, for a time, at Compeigne, where a conſiderable park of artillery was to be aſſembled. All the Military adminiſtrations were to be previouſly organized there. Theſe forces, which were deſtined to form an immenſe cordon from the mouth of the Elbe to Rochelle and Rochefort, were divided into four corps, each making a ſeparate army. The firſt to extend from the mouth of the Elbe to Fluſhing, and comprize all the troops diſperſed through the Electorate of Hanover and the Batavian republic. The ſecond, formed by the troops in Belgium, to extend from Fluſhing to Dunkirk. The third, from Dunkirk to Cherbourg, uniting the corps cantoned in the departments of the north. The fourth reaching from Cherbourg to Breſt and Rochefort, and comprifing the troops in the Weſtern departments.

Admiral Bruix was appointed to command this pigmy navy. In conformity with the views of his government, he iſſued Proclamations, profeſſing the moſt ſanguine hopes of the ſucceſs of an expedition againſt this country. "The Firſt Conſul," he ſaid, "ſends me to you to conduct your exertions in the career of glory, which his genius has prepared for you. Your zeal and your bravery are pledges to me that we ſhall fulfil his expectations. Already you hear the cry of vengeance. Our towns and diſtricts bring in their gifts in multitudes. All Frenchmen are ready to march to puniſh a government which is an enemy of the peace of the world, and eſpecially an enemy of the glory and welfare of our country. You are firſt called to this great enterprize. Be certain you will fulfil your noble deſtination." During the whole year this flotilla continued to augment; the boats with which it was recruited were coaſted along, cloſe to the ſhore, in order to be out of the reach of the Engliſh cruizers; troops and flying artillery protected their paſſage, and when, with all theſe aids, they eſcaped the veſſels by which they were purſued and attacked, the diſpatches to government and the proclamations of the commanders ſpoke in terms as proud and lofty as if great victories had been achieved. Such was the force and ſuch the means prepared for the avowed purpoſe of conquering the Britiſh dominions *. The troops were allured by promiſes of indiſcriminate plunder, and their ferocity was whetted by a public declaration that the European Peru (ſo England was called) ſhould be their property; that the lands ſhould be divided among the invaders; that the population muſt be thinned by a large deſtruction of the men; but the women were to be reſerved for the ſolace of thoſe generous ſoldiers of France, who ſhould think them worthy of their embraces.

Amid theſe efforts and preparations, a conſiderable anxiety was perceptible in the mind and con-

* The flat boats are thus deſcribed: They are ſlight, about 50 feet long, and five deep; they can contain about 60 men, and are provided with four oars and one maſt, with a ſail: they are by no means built for reſiſtance, but merely calculated for a ſhort paſſage. Each of theſe veſſels has three guns mounted.

duct of Bonaparte, and a change in the government of France was anticipated. A circumstance which strongly led to such conjectures was disclosed early in the year, by Monsieur, the brother of Louis XVIII. On the 26th of February, a person of distinction in the Consular court, waited on Louis at Warsaw, and verbally proposed to him to renounce the throne of France, and to induce the other members of his family to join in a similar act; on compliance, he was promised, in the name of Bonaparte, indemnities, and a splendid establishment. The king, in a written answer, positively rejected the proposal, but, although the Letter was not expressed in terms of indignation, and the character of Bonaparte was even treated with consideration, the messenger earnestly requested him to soften the language, lest it should so far irritate Bonaparte, as to prompt him to exert his influence to aggravate the misfortunes of the King, but this proposal was equally resisted; the refusal was transmitted in the terms in which it was originally conveyed; the princes of the House of Bourbon who were in England published a narrative of the transaction, together with a declaration of their adherence to the decision of their sovereign; and a similar declaration was published by the Duc d'Enghien, who was in the dominions of the Margrave of Baden *.

The motive for making this proposition could not be misunderstood; it was evidently to prepare for the assumption of regal or imperial dignity by Bonaparte; the magnanimity of Louis XVIII transcends all praise; while the intimations of displeasure which were made in consequence of the refusal, led to dismal apprehensions for the fate of the unfortunate family, and even seemed to cast a dreadful light on the requisition made in the foregoing year to the British government to send the princes of the house of Bourbon to reside with the head of their family.

When the narrative of this transaction appeared, Bonaparte wisely avoided increasing the discussion to which it would give rise, by omitting all notice of it, and employed himself, after the commencement of the war, on a journey through various parts of France, and particularly to those where his armaments were collected. A short time before his departure, his life was endangered by a fall from a phaeton, but no serious mischief ensued. With a secrecy peculiar to himself, the First Consul quitted Paris in the night, without making publicly known the time of his departure, or his intended route. He travelled with great rapidity along the coast, and to the Netherlands, attended by a prodigious suite, and at every place where he stopped, the most abject adulation was poured forth upon him and his lady. On his arrival at Boulogne, it was thought necessary to shew him with what perfect safety vessels could ride in the road before that place, which was protected by six batteries, mounting thirty pieces of heavy artillery. For this purpose a grand spectacle was exhibited,

25th June.

* See the Correspondence. Appendix to the Chronicle. p. 116*.

hibited, and four or five armed veſſels were hauled out to bid defiance to the Engliſh cruizers. At that moment Captain Owen, in the Immortalité frigate made his appearance, attacked the armed veſſels, and drove them all aſhore under the very guns that were to prove their protection, where they were left dry by the tide, and ſo greatly damaged that they were afterwards drawn into their inner harbour to be repaired.

At this time, perhaps, had there been a ſtrong rival to Bonaparte in France, his power might have been ſhaken, or at leaſt his authority curbed. The war, notwithſtanding the clamours and efforts of government, was not popular; the law for ſupplying the ranks of the army by a conſcription, from which none was exempt, was felt as an intolerable grievance, and no proſpect of advantage preſented itſelf to compenſate for the loſſes and evils inevitably endured. Other ſubjects of complaint were not wanting; but Moreau, who alone could have divided popular opinion with Bonaparte, gave himſelf up to eaſe, and ſeemed indifferent about the affairs of ſtate. Some officers who had ſerved under him affected to conſider him as the head of a party, and a few individuals affected to court his influence, but Bonaparte, although jealous of his reputation, did not fear his exertions, and Moreau, although diſſatisfied and diſguſted with many of the proceedings of government, offered no public oppoſition, and although unemployed in the war, did not appear to feel either ambition or reſentment.

In Great Britain, the efforts made were calculated intirely to repel the efforts avowedly intended by France; the plan of government appearing to be that of taking up the hoſtile challenge, exactly as it was given by Bonaparte. Their meaſures tended to convince the world, that England, ſingle-handed, could maintain her independence, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of France, and could turn to the loſs and confuſion of the aggreſſor every attack directed againſt herſelf or her intereſts. In aid of the meaſures ſanctioned by the legiſlature, every exertion was made to re-eſtabliſh the navy on the footing it had been when peace was made, and that proud aſſurance of Britain's ſafety was ſoon in a condition to defy the united hoſtility of the whole world.

June 8th and July 26th. When the French occupation of Hanover and the adjacent country rendered the navigation of the Elbe and Weſer impracticable to Britiſh veſſels, the Engliſh government, without loſs of time, declared both thoſe rivers in a ſtate of blockade. The notice to foreign nations was ſhort and explicit, and it concluded with a declaration, that, whenever the French troops would evacuate the poſitions which they occupied on parts of the Elbe and Weſer, and remove at ſuch a diſtance from them as to leave the courſe perfectly free and ſecure to the veſſels of his ſubjects, as well as other nations, his Majeſty would immediately direct his ſhips of war which might be ſtationed at the mouths of the rivers for the purpoſe of blockading them, to be withdrawn. Againſt this blockade, the French government inveighed with great bitter-

bitterneſs, repreſenting it as a new infringement of the rights of neutrals and the ſovereignty of all powers; but neutral nations did not appear to conſider it in any other than its real light, a meaſure of juſtice and of neceſſity. The American Miniſter at Hamburgh adviſed the traders of his country ſtrictly to obſerve, not only the laws as they had been acknowledged by the reſpective nations, but alſo thoſe laws as they had been laid down by the principal maritime powers, and not to take any more goods on board; to procure the beſt certificates, that what they had already loaded had been ſhipped and loaded before the blockade was known, and to haſten their departure as much as poſſible.

13th Aug. To the above orders was added, one for the blockade of Genoa and Spezia, and another applying the ſame meaſure to Havre-de-grace, and the other ports of the Seine. Before the end of the year, it was alſo conſidered neceſſary to give notice to the neutral powers, that veſſels under their flags could not be allowed to enter any port between the Humber and the Downs, except Yarmouth and the Downs.

23d Dec.

Theſe latter meaſures were adopted in conſequence of the threats of invaſion, for the accompliſhment of which ſuch great preparations were made. The people of England, arouſed alike by the ſenſe of indignity, and by the deſire of inſuring their own ſafety, made zealous preparation to meet the exigencies of the time, and, by a general diſplay of public ſpirit, to keep alive thoſe exertions which are in great danger of becoming languid, when regarded as mere acts of duty. Loyal and affectionate Addreſſes were preſented to his Majeſty from all parts of the country, and at the public meetings which were called for the purpoſe of voting and preparing them, the moſt patriotic ſentiments were generally expreſſed. Middleſex offered ſome exception; there Sir Francis Burdett, in animadverting on a propoſed Addreſs, uttered opinions ſo repugnant to the general feeling of the freeholders and of the county at large, that public indignation, loudly expreſſed, compelled him to quit the room; and when the Addreſs was carried, it was voted, that his colleague in Parliament, Mr. Byng, ſhould preſent it to his Majeſty, without the concurrence of Sir Francis Burdett.

It were endleſs and unintereſting to record the ſmall exploits daily performed by Britiſh veſſels in attacking the batteries raiſed on the French coaſt, or in driving aſhore the boats, which, protected by thoſe batteries, and by flying artillery, were conveying troops and ſtores to the great depots; yet to ſuch exploits alone were the maritime operations of the war limited, through the impotency of the enemy. In expectation of more active ſervices, the merchants of London provided, by means of a public ſubſcription, the moſt honourable and effectual means of ſolacing the ſufferiegs of our brave defenders, and cheering the woes of their ſurviving relatives which were ever deviſed in any country. Under the name of a "patriotic fund," and under the management of an honourable and active Committee,

mittee, a large and increasing sum of money was collected, from which it was proposed, in the way of reward or relief, as the circumstances of the case might require, to shew the public gratitude for the services of those who shed their blood in defence of the whole community.

In contemplation of the threatened invasion, the care of government was directed, not only to the coast, but, in a particular manner, to the metropolis. On the 17th July. defence of this important branch of the empire, a very satisfactory Letter was addressed by Lord Cathcart to the Marquis of Titchfield, the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Middlesex. It indicated in the clearest manner the points necessary to be secured for the protection of the Metropolis, the surveys requisite, and the best and least onerous mode of effecting them, and contained the following truly encouraging statement, "His Royal Highness, the commander in chief has, in the course of last war, directed his thoughts to the consideration of this subject; a most accurate military survey has been made under the inspection of an officer of the greatest eminence and professional skill and experience. The situation of every necessary work, battery and line, has been ascertained, the necessary guns and troops to guard and defend these works have been calculated, as well as the number of hands necessary to complete them within a given period. The whole arrangement has undergone consideration and revisal for years, and is ripe for execution. It must afford the greatest satisfaction to every well wisher to his country to know, that in the opinion of all professional men who have been consulted, the means which nature has afforded to the cities of London and Westminster of providing for their security, are beyond what have been found in the case of almost any city in the Universe; that with due attention to the advantages to be made by such positions as encircle them, and with the armed force which may be collected for their defence, and that amply supplied with provisions, this capital may bid defiance to any invading force, at least until ample time is given for the arrival of such a power from the country as, when combined with the force within the lines, must be much more than sufficient to exterminate any army that could be transported to England."

The belief that an invasion was seriously meditated was general. However men might differ on other points, few were bold enough to maintain that all the preparations, all the boasts, and all the promises of the enemy were made for the mere purpose of delusion. The spirit to which this general belief gave birth impelled immense numbers, regardless of expence and inconvenience, and mindful only to the call of the occasion, to equip and inrol themselves as volunteers. Before the close of the Session, the East India Company had obtained an act of Parliament, enabling them to pay the expences of equipping the persons in their employ, who were sufficient to form three regiments. Such was the forwardness of these patriotic legions, that Mr. Sheridan obtained from the House of Commons a vote of thanks to them, and although

though this vote was ſtrenuouſly reſiſted, and the eſtabliſhment and proceedings of the volunteers were vehemently cenſured, both in debate and in print, the general feeling was highly favourable to thoſe who made ſuch great and diſintereſted ſacrifices to the general good. During the whole ſummer, the Metropolis and the country were enlivened by the diſplay of theſe troops, particularly when colours were preſented to them, which was always done by perſons of rank and diſtinction, and their numbers increaſed ſo rapidly, that Government was, at length, obliged to iſſue a Proclamation, limiting the diſtribution of arms and the extenſion of exemptions to numbers not exceeding ſix times the amount of the Militia. The enthuſiaſm in their favour was carried to its greateſt height, in the Metropolis, by two ſplendid reviews in Hyde Park, at which his Majeſty diſplayed the glorious ſight of a monarch, unattended by any military eſcort, riding fearleſs among thouſands of his people, who were voluntarily armed in his ſupport, who received his approbation as their higheſt glory, and ſought no recompenſe beyond the conſciouſneſs of doing their duty in maintaining his juſt rule, from which alone they could expect happineſs and ſecurity.

CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

2d. AT half paſt one o'clock in the morning, a ſhocking fire broke out in a houſe in Frederick Street, Portſea, inhabited by Mr. Mayne and Mr. Newberry, ſhip-wrights. The family, it ſeems, went to bed at ten o'clock, and muſt inevitably have periſhed, had it not been for the inceſſant mewing and noiſe of a cat, which diſturbed their reſt, and timely warned them of their danger. All the furniture was deſtroyed; and a girl about four years of age was burnt to death. Her uncle had made his way down ſtairs, as far as the ſtreet door; when, on being aſked after the child by its father, he immediately returned, and had actually placed the child on a table whilſt he turned himſelf to open the garret window to eſcape; but, when he again looked round, the child had fallen from the table, and through the flaming floor. He then effected his eſcape by leaping from the window into the ſtreet.

9th. A boat belonging to the Neptune, with eight perſons in it, five belonging to the boat, and three paſſengers, was upſet, in a guſt of wind, near the hoſpital, and all drowned, except three of the boatmen. Four dead bodies were immediately picked up; two of them the young gentlemen aforementioned, who had held by the boat until exhauſted, and driving on the ſhore, were beat off, and periſhed.

Margate, Jan. 16. This evening, about ſix, the Active, of Greenock, Capt. Hornby, a fine new Weſt-India ſhip, of 350 tons burthen, laden with 300 hogſheads of ſugar, &c. bound to Greenock, darted from her anchor in the roads, and came aſhore within half a mile of the pier-head, where ſhe ſoon ſunk. After the ſea had made a complete breach on her weather-ſide, ſhe drove in ſhore, with her fore and mizen-maſts ſtanding, upon the Nayland Rock, at three o'clock in the morning; to which fortunate circumſtance, may be attributed the ſafety of part of the paſſengers and crew, who, had ſhe remained where ſhe firſt ſtruck, would, in all probability, have periſhed. They conſiſted of 19 perſons; and, thoſe laſhing themſelves in the ſhrouds, 10 out of the 19 were ſaved. Five periſhed in the main-top by the falling of the maſt; one lad was waſhed overboard, and three were taken from the rigging, who periſhed by the ſpray of the ſea, and from the inclemency of

the weather. Among the ſurvivors are the captain, mate, and pilot.—A Dutch hoy, laden with 1200 bags of wheat, bound from Amſterdam to Liſbon, parted from her anchors, and came aſhore under the cliffs, off Birchinton; the crew and cargo ſaved, and the veſſel likely to be got off.—A Haſtings or Rye hoy, in ballaſt, alſo ſhared the ſame fate, and lies very near the Dutchman. Her crew ſaved themſelves by taking to their boat.

10th. During the heavy gale of wind from the eaſtward, the Huſſar, of 38 guns, commanded by Captain Wilkinſon, lying at Blackſtakes, caught fire, by accident, in the gunner's ſtore-room, cloſe to the magazine; and, from the exploſion of ſome combuſtible matter, the ſhip's company ruſhed on the quarter-deck, and thence into a boat, which was hanging in the tackles aſtern; and, from too great a number getting into her for the purpoſe of ſaving themſelves, the davit, by which ſhe was hoiſted up, gave way, and threw the whole of them overboard; by which unfortunate accident two maſter's mates, one midſhipman, fourteen men, and one woman, were drowned. By the exertions of the captain, officers, and remaining part of the ſhip's company, the fire was ſoon got under, without any damage to the ſhip.

This evening, about ſeven, when the wind blew exceſſively hard, ſome premiſes at the back of Mr. Keen's houſe, facing Paddington church, occupied by Mr. Blofield, an attorney, as a country cottage, were nearly demoliſhed. The premiſes conſiſted of a ſmall room and a kitchen, built of wood, having a chimney carried to a great height, to prevent ſmoke. During the violence of the guſt, the chimney was thrown on the roof of the upper room, in which Mrs. Blofield and five of her children were ſitting; and the weight of the brick-work brought the whole of the tiles, timber, and rubbiſh, into the room, and enveloped them in the ruins. One of the children found means to extricate herſelf, and with great preſence of mind thruſt her hand through the window, calling loudly for aſſiſtance to ſome men who were working in a ſhop acroſs the yard. They immediately attended, but it was not without difficulty they could get to the room where the miſchief had happened; for, the ſervant being out upon an errand, and the doors all faſtened, they were obliged to force their way through the kitchen window: they ſucceeded, however, in relieving the unfortunate ſufferers from their perilous ſituation. One of the children was under the rubbiſh nearly half an hour; but, when extricated, and a little recovered from her fright, did not appear to have received any material injury.

11th. A dreadful accident happened to a family in Red-Lion ſtreet. A pot of inflammable liquid being on the fire, it boiled over, the flames communicated to the clothes of a child; its mother going to its relief, caught fire; the huſband, endeavouring to ſave them, was himſelf ſoon in a blaze, which reached to the bed curtains. Five of the family were conveyed to St. Bartholomew's Hoſpital, where one died; and the others could not hope to recover.

Margate, Jan. 12. A few minutes before four o'clock this morning, during the very ſevere gale, the

the Hindoſtan East-Indiaman, Captain Edward Balſton, parted with all her anchors, drove on ſhore off the Reculvers, and ſhortly after went to pieces. One gentleman, of the name of Clarke, a cadet for Madras, and a paſſenger on board this ſhip, with ſixteen of the crew, unfortunately periſhed. Every poſſible exertion was made to ſave the ſhip, but the fury of the gale baffled every effort. The cargo was eſtimated at 100,000l. She had a vaſt quantity of private ſilver bullion on board, on freight; but the East-India Company had not a ſingle dollar on board. Soon after the ſhip got on ſhore, ſhe filled with water. Boats put off to her aſſiſtance, and fortunately ſucceeded in ſaving about 120 of the people. On the ſhip ſtriking the ſhore, the baker and boatſwain flew to the ſhrouds for ſafety; but this haſty expedient unfortunately proved their deſtruction; they both periſhed in ſight of the ſurvivors, who could afford them no relief. When the ſhip ſtruck, and no hopes of getting her off were left, ſhe then being twelve miles from ſhore, two rafts were made, and ſeveral of the crew, paſſengers, &c. committed themſelves to them, in hopes of floating on ſhore. Theſe rafts, by the violence of the waves, were daſhed againſt each other, and moſt of the perſons on them were drowned or killed.

17th. George Foſter, who was convicted on Friday laſt of having murdered his wife and child, by throwing them into the canal at Paddington, was executed purſuant to his ſentence. Till yeſterday morning, he continued to aſſert that his wife had by accident fallen into the canal; and, the water being deep, he was fearful of attempting to lend any aſſiſtance, leſt he might be drawn in alſo. A ſhort time, however, before his execution, he confeſſed to Doctor Ford, that he actually did puſh her into the water, and then came away, and left her to periſh. He acknowledged the juſtice of his ſentence. When he appeared on the ſcaffold, he was ſo much overcome with the ſenſe of his unhappy ſituation, that he fainted, and was obliged to be ſupported while the cord was applied to his neck. About ten minutes paſt eight he was launched into eternity.

21ſt. This evening a horrid murder was committed in Greenwich Hoſpital, by J. Innis, a penſioner, upon J. Price, another penſioner. The perpetrator had been guilty of a breach of duty in the college; for which, on the charge of a fellow penſioner, he was deprived of two months pocket money, and reprimanded. Exaſperated at this circumſtance, he went into the apartment of the deceaſed, and with a poker beat out his brains at a ſingle blow. The murderer then examined the next room, where an old penſioner lay, intending he ſhould ſhare a ſimilar fate if he appeared awake, leſt he might have heard what had paſſed. The man had heard the blow; but pretending to be aſleep, the murderer left him, and retired to his own cabin: the man got up, alarmed the guard, and ſecured him. The evidence on his trial was deciſive; and on Saturday, March 26th, he was executed on Pennenden Heath. The priſoner was brutal in his manner, and but little affected at his ſentence.

Letters from Genoa, of Decem-

ber 15, mention the sudden demolition of more than two-thirds of the village of Villa-guardia, near Oneglia, by a convulsion of the earth, which took place in the following manner:—The village was composed of about eighty dwelling houses, and 400 inhabitants. It stood on the slope of a hill, in high cultivation, and abounding in springs. On the evening of the 22d of November, two apertures were convulsively made in the ground near the village church. It rained all that night. At day-break, on the 23d, an enormous mass burst down from the summit of the hill, brought before it all the surface earth, and fell upon the houses. The roof of the church was first demolished, then fifty-seven of the houses met the same overthrow. In the night of the 23d, the ruins were removed to the distance of 200 paces from their former situation. On the morning of the 24th, the remaining houses were seen standing within a precipitous accumulation of earth, which extending entirely round them, presented a perpendicular front, and rose fifty fathoms. Vineyards, gardens, olive trees, were all carried in one mass into the next river. The channel of the river was filled up, and the stream above converted into a lake. An opposite rock, on the territory of Bestagno, at last arrested the motion of the mass.

A dreadful storm occurred at Gibraltar, on the morning of the 20th ult. There were at one time five vessels on shore at the Old Mole; one Turkish ship sunk in the Bay; one stranded at Algesiras; and several vessels of different nations were seen firing signals of distress. The Cynthia was driven out of the bay, and the Phœnix Portuguese frigate is supposed to have been lost upon the Pearl Rock. The royal battery took fire by lightning, and continued burning for twenty-four hours, and all attempts to extinguish it were useless. Its situation was nearly 1400 feet above the level of the sea.

A mutiny lately broke out on board the Gibraltar, of 84 guns, which ship sailed from Gibraltar for Malta, in company with the Superb, Dragon, and Triumph. Soon after sailing, the crew mutinied, and took possession of the ship, and then she was run up under the sterns of the other ships, the crews cheering; but this signal not having the desired effect, the crews of the other ships retaining their loyalty and discipline, the mutineers became panic struck, and were then easily subdued by the officers, who behaved very gallantly. The ring-leaders were immediately secured, and three of them executed.

Died, 28th Dec.—A man of the name of Samuel Matthews, who had for the last twenty years of his life resided in a cave, or hermitage, on the borders of Sydenham common, Surrey, conducting himself after the manner of a hermit, and who, from his recluse life, was called "The Man of the Woods," was this day found murdered near his hermitage. The deceased had several contusions in his head, his jaw-bone broken in two places, and other marks of violence about his person; was weltering in his blood, and bore every indication of having been robbed as well as murdered, no money or any thing of value being found upon his person. This unfortunate man, about thirty years

years since, went to reside at Dulwich, working as a gardener for the gentlemen in that hamlet. He then had a wife, of whom he was extremely fond, and a deserving only daughter, who is since married to a tradesman of respectability in the city of London. Twenty-eight years since, his wife died. His former habitation became dreary and unpleasant without her society; and he then formed the desperate resolution of quitting, as much as it was possible a working man could do, the social converse of the world; for that purpose he solicited, and obtained, the permission of the master and wardens of Dulwich college, who are lords of the manor and waste, to dig a cave, and erect over it a hut, on that part of the manor abutting in the rear on the college-wood, and in front on Sydenham common. He made to it mud walls, and covered it with fern, furze, and brakes, such as the common afforded. In this situation he continued to live for near twenty-three years, working at his trade of a jobbing-gardener. About five years since, having been at Dulwich, where he had changed some gold, he was followed by some ruffian gipseys into his cave, who beat him so severely that they broke his arm; and, leaving him for dead, took all the money he had, which was not more than 12s. While his arm was under cure, he took a dislike to his old residence, in which temper he continued for about twelve months; when, weary of common and social intercourse, and panting to return to his former mode of life, he again obtained permission to construct a new hut and cave, the former being dilapidated by the gipseys: there he remained till the day of his death, except when he followed his avocations, or went into the villages adjacent for a supply of food: on the latter occasion he would sometimes take a pot of porter, for he never called for less, or drank more at one time. In summer time, and in fine weather, several persons from town used to make parties to see the Wild Man of the Woods, as he was called. When they came, they were surprised to find this Wild Man courteous for one of his station, mild, gentle, and unassuming, always offering his visitors a little of his small-beer, as, he would observe, they must be a-dry, coming so far to see the old man: for this courtesy he was generally pretty well recompensed by his visitors, which led to the belief that he must be in possession of money, which he had hoarded up. When found at the mouth of the cave, an oaken branch, about six or seven feet long, was under his head; which, it is supposed, the villains had put into the cave for the purpose of hooking the old man out, as the hooked part, which completely matched with the stick, was found broken off. The branch of the tree, with which it has every appearance the deed was perpetrated, was cut immediately in the neighbourhood of the spot, as the twigs which were cut off it were found scattered about the ground, and preserved to be shown to the coroner's inquest, who sat upon the body, at the French Horn, Dulwich; at which house the deceased had been on the preceding evening, and had changed half a guinea, with which he had bought some provisions, and was known to have six or seven shillings change when he left Dulwich; none of

which were to be found, his pockets having been turned out, as was a ſecret pocket, which was only diſcovered after his death, and was not known to any of the perſons who were acquainted with him, but had not eſcaped the prying eye of his murderers. This unfortunate man was near ſeventy years of age, and was as much remarked for civility as ſimplicity; was punctual in all his little dealings in the neighbouring villages, and might, perhaps, by the gipſeys who infeſt the vicinity of Norwood, Dulwich, &c. be ſuppoſed worth money.—On the morning of the 31ſt, Charles Jemmet, eſq. coroner of the county of Surrey, held the inquiſition, and the Jury returned a verdict of wilful murder againſt perſons unknown. Early in January ſome wandering gipſeys were apprehended, and one of them was committed on ſuſpicion of having perpetrated this crime.

31ſt. The benevolent Count Berthold and two ſervants, travelling from Vienna to Munich, were attacked and murdered in a wood near Hohenlinden by fourteen robbers, who carried off the bodies.

DIED.—At Mancheſter, aged 105, Wm. Gall, who enjoyed excellent health till within a ſhort time of his death; and, as a proof of his great flow of ſpirits, danced on his laſt birth-day with twenty different perſons.

4th. At Hull, where he had reſided eighty years, aged 102 years and five months, Mr. James Thompſon, father of the late Mr. James T. ſhip-chandler there.

5th. At Toulouſe, aged 106, Margaret Clergue, formerly a nun of the convent of St. Claire, in that city. She had been a perfect beauty in her youth. Her hair continued to her death of the fineſt jet black, and ſcarcely a wrinkle deformed her countenance; but ſhe had been confined to her bed many years, and, for the laſt two, was totally deaf. Her father, Peter C. was footman to Louis XIV. who uſed to take a great deal of notice of her when ſhe was a child, and oftentimes dandled her on his knees. When ſhe was twelve years old, her father, who was a native of Caſtres, took her with him to Toulouſe, and placed her as a penſioner in the convent, in which ſhe afterwards, at the age of twenty, took the veil.

At Ivideſley bank, aged 102, Alice Marland; and, ſoon afterwards, at Winbury, in Cheſhire, aged 105, Anne Edgley.

A woman named Gwillim, died at Leigh, in Worceſterſhire, aged 110, and who, at the day of her death, ſaw and heard as well as at any period of her life.

FEBRUARY.

2d. This night, a little before twelve o'clock, an alarming fire broke out at the printing-office of Mr. Samuel Hamilton, Falcon-court, Fleet-ſtreet, which, in the ſhort ſpace of two hours, entirely conſumed the whole of his valuable and extenſive premiſes. The principal bookſellers of London, together with ſeveral private gentlemen, are more or leſs ſufferers by this dreadful conflagration. The loſs being thus fortunately divided among a number little ſhort of thirty, each is enabled to bear it without any other inconvenience than

than the interruption of buſineſs neceſſarily ariſing from ſo unforeſeen an accident. The manuſcripts of the moſt important works are ſaved. Dr. Rennell, the maſter of the Temple, in great alarm for his houſe, which was in imminent danger, the roof being at one time on fire, removed all his library, and loſt many valuable books. Mr. Barnes's houſe, Mr. Burkitt's laboratory, and the billiard-rooms, were alſo ſeverally on fire; and, but for the active exertions of the firemen, muſt have ſhared the ſame fate. The weight, however, that was in the upper part of Mr. H.'s premiſes, aſſiſted conſiderably to prevent this conflagration from ſpreading, as in a little more than an hour from the commencement of the fire, the top fell in with a dreadful craſh; by which means the flames were, in a great meaſure, confined to the ruins. Happily no lives were loſt. Mr. Hamilton's loſs, from the nature of the property (printed books,) is particularly ſevere; and we are ſorry to add, he was not fully inſured. It is ſuppoſed to have ariſen from the careleſſneſs of a boy, who, in conſequence, was taken before a magiſtrate, and underwent an examination; but nothing tranſpired ſo as to fix the negligence upon him: the cauſe is therefore ſtill left in uncertainty.—One circumſtance deſerves to be recorded. Part of the works of the late Rev. Gilbert Wakefield remained in Mr. H.'s warehouſes, and had been inſured at the Sun fire-office for 1000l. but which inſurance had lately expired. With a liberality for which our country is ſo diſtinguiſhed, the directors have, upon a ſtatement being laid before them by a very active friend of his widow, preſented her with 750l.; a circumſtance ſo much to the honour of the company, that it will doubtleſs be amply repaid by the continued patronage of the public.—The fire burſt forth again in the morning of the 18th; but, in the courſe of an hour, was happily extinguiſhed.

A letter from Cracovia, dated January 29, ſays, that the winter has been extremely ſevere, and cauſed much calamity. The wolves daily arrived at the gates of the town in ſearch of prey. A ſoldier, going on a meſſage, was devoured by theſe animals; and the circumſtance was only diſcovered by the remnants of his clothes and his muſket. Many dogs have become mad, and perſons have been bitten, againſt whoſe complaints all medical aſſiſtance has proved ineffectual. Notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, an epidemic diſorder has raged, which was at firſt ſuppoſed to be the plague.

A letter from Copenhagen, dated the 12th February, mentions that there was then, in the hoſpital of that city, a woman who had ſlept eleven weeks without interruption. Some attempts have been made to awake her from this trance, by violently ſhaking her: while the motion laſts, it ſeems to revive her; but, as ſoon as it is diſcontinued, ſhe immediately relapſes into a profound and death-like ſleep. During this period ſhe has not received any food; notwithſtanding which, there is not the leaſt alteration in her appearance. She is only 23 years of age, but remarkably corpulent.

A lad, of Caſtor, in Lincolnſhire, who had been wit- 15th.
neſs to the execution of Pidgeon,

at Peterborough, was explaining to his younger brother the manner in which the culprit made his exit; and, to make his repreſentation the more ſtriking, he faſtened a rope over a beam in the barn, got a ladder, and placed a nooſe round his neck; when his foot ſlipped, and before the family could be alarmed he was dead.

21ſt. This night the Newhaven riding officers, and the crew of the Seaford boat, fell in with a gang of ſmugglers, about 150 in number, near the barracks at Bletchington, from whom, after a ſharp conflict with bludgeons, cutlaſſes, and piſtols, they ſeized 88 caſks of contraband ſpirits and two horſes, with which they were retreating; but, being purſued by the ſmugglers, the conflict was renewed, and obſtinately maintained for about a quarter of an hour, during which time the officers kept firing their piſtols at the ſmugglers, ſeveral of whom were wounded, as were many of their horſes, in a ſhocking manner; ſome having their eyes cut out, others their ears cut off, and ſhot in different parts of the body. The ſmugglers at length gave way, and left the officers in poſſeſſion of 39 caſks more of ſpirits, and four ſmall parcels of tea, which were lodged in the cuſtom-houſe. None of the ſmugglers were killed.

27th. The wind was ſo violent, as to blow away part of the royal ſtandard from the round tower at Windſor.

Died, 23d,—At the ſeat of Edward Caddell, Eſq. of Rathfryland, aged 100, Charles Forreſt, Eſq. attorney at law.

Aged about 58, Mr. Daniel Cuerton, of John-ſtreet, Tottenham-court road, ſhoe-maker, ſuppoſed to be the ſtrongeſt man in England. He was about five feet ſix inches high; rather corpulent, yet could put both his elbows together, take a glaſs between them, and drink in that poſition; could contract or ſwell himſelf over the cheſt, at a minute's notice, ſo as to be the leaſt perſon, when meaſured, in company, or ſo extend himſelf as to meaſure more than four of the biggeſt perſons together, acroſs the cheſt. When ſitting on the ground he could get up, without the aid of his hands, with three full-grown men acroſs his ſhoulders and on his back, and dance a hornpipe with them with eaſe; and could perform many other feats equally incredible unleſs ſeen. Many hundreds are alive who have ſeen theſe things, which he generally did of his own accord, and without profit.

MARCH.

3rd. This afternoon, about three o'clock, part of the bank of the Paddington canal gave way, a little on this ſide the firſt bridge; the water ruſhed through the tunnel cloſe to the ſpot, and the meadows on the other ſide were immediately inundated; the lock at the bridge prevented the water flowing from the upper part of the canal. The gap is about eight feet wide; a log of timber is placed acroſs, and planks driven to ſecure the lower part of the bank. The water in the baſon, and to the firſt bridge, ſunk between two and three feet.

11th. This morning a moſt extraordinary duel took place in Hyde Park, between Lieut. W.

of the navy, and Capt. J. of the army. The antagoniſts arrived at the appointed place within a few minutes of each other. Some diſpute aroſe reſpecting the diſtance, which the friends of Lieut. W. inſiſted ſhould not exceed ſix paces, while the ſeconds of Capt. J. urged ſtrongly the raſhneſs of ſo deciſive a diſtance, and inſiſted on its being extended. At length the propoſal of Lieut. W.'s friends was agreed to, and the parties fired *per* ſignal, when Lieut. W. received the ſhot of his adverſary on the guard of his piſtol, which tore away the third and fourth fingers of his right hand. The ſeconds then interfered to no purpoſe; the ſon of Neptune, apparently callous to pain, wrapped his handkerchief round his hand, and ſwore he had another which never failed him. Capt. J. called his friend aſide, and told him it was in vain to urge a reconciliation. They again took their ground. On Lieut. W. receiving the piſtol in his left hand, he looked ſtedfaſtly at Capt. J. for ſome time, then caſt his eyes to heaven, and ſaid in a low voice, "Forgive me." The parties fired as before, and both fell. Capt. J. received the ſhot through his head, and inſtantly expired; Lieut. W. received the ball in his left breaſt, and immediately inquired of his friend if Capt. J.'s wound was mortal? Being anſwered in the affirmative, he thanked heaven he had lived thus long; requeſted a mourning ring on his finger might be given to his ſiſter, and that ſhe might be aſſured it was the happieſt moment he ever knew. He had ſcarcely finiſhed the words when a quantity of blood burſt from his wound, and he expired almoſt without a ſtruggle. The unfortunate young man was on the eve of being married to a lady in Hampſhire, to whom for ſome time he had paid his addreſſes.

The following inſtance of remorſe of conſcience occurred a few days ſince at Croſcomb, near Wells: a young man in the ſervice of a farmer had been prevailed on, by his father, to rob his maſter of hay, and was detected by his miſtreſs in the act of putting it on his father's ſhoulders. He received ſome reproaches from the matron, but was promiſed forgiveneſs on the hay being returned. The unhappy youth, however, in a ſtate of deſpondency, hung himſelf the ſame evening in an outhouſe. The Coroner's Jury returned a verdict *felo de ſe;* but that part of the ſentence which directs the body to be buried in the highway, was diſpenſed with. 13th.

This day being the anniverſary of the memorable battle of Alexandria, the Turkiſh piece of ordnance, taken in that battle, was placed in St. James's Park, amidſt a great concourſe of people. It is ſixteen feet in length, but was originally twenty feet. The carriage for this cannon, on each ſide, in different compartments, was inlaid with copper; the centre one repreſented Britannia ſeated on a rock, with a lion at her feet, pointing to the Britiſh camp; the figure of a Crocodile, four feet long, was executed in a maſterly ſtyle of workmanſhip. The Royal Crown, with the initials G. R. the Sword and Sceptre at the lower part, added to the embelliſhments; and alſo a ſtar, with the motto of the Knights of the Garter. The head of the cannon reſts on the figure of a Sphinx. 21ſt.

Sphinx. The Band of the Guards, as ſoon as it was placed, played "God ſave the King;" and the ſoldiers and populace gave three huzzas. Among the company who were preſent were the Duke of York, the Earl of Chatham accompanied by the Counteſs, Lord Gwydir, and a number of nobility.

26th. A few days ago, at Torfoot, about ſeven miles ſouth weſt of Strathaven, in the Shire of Lanark, a boy, cleaning out a drain at the foot of a riſing ground, ſtruck upon a glaſs bottle which contained about 400 ſilver Roman coins of Trajan, Antoninus, Criſpina, wife of Commodus, and various other Emperors and Empreſſes, &c. They are, in general, in good preſervation, and weigh about 40 grains each. The bottle was an oblong ſquare, and ſealed with a greeniſh pigment. About fifty of the coins were ſo much verdigreaſed and adhering together, that they were broken with a hammer by a rude and unſkilful hand, in order to ſeparate them. It will be recollected, that an important diſcovery of coins and medals was made in a manner equally accidental, in October, 1799, near Medbourn, in Leiceſterſhire. Upon that occaſion, as a boy was nutting in Holt Wood, his foot ſlipped into a ditch, and ſtruck upon a glaſs urn containing 230 pieces of ſilver Roman coins, in the higheſt ſtate of preſervation, Among this number were one of Gratian, one of Julian, one of Theodoſius, and one of Arcadius, Roman Emperors.

A melancholy inſtance of deſpondency, blended with ſtrength and raſhneſs of reſolution, occurred this day at Donnington, in Lincolnſhire; where the wife of Mr. Richard Bowles, jun. farmer, at an unſeaſonable hour in the morning, precipitated herſelf and infant child, about ſix months old, into a dike not many yards from her home, and both were drowned. In the evening preceding the commiſſion of this raſh act, ſhe deſired her huſband to retire to reſt at the uſual hour, and told him ſhe would come to bed after ſhe had written a letter to her ſiſter. Early in the morning, the huſband on waking was alarmed to find his wife abſent, and the child taken from the cradle. On going down ſtairs he found a letter written by the unfortunate woman, which ſtated that ſhe was weary of exiſtence, and could ſupport the burthen no longer. This induced Mr. B. to alarm ſome of his neighbours, and a ſearch was immediately inſtituted, when a bonnet lying on the bank of a ditch led to the horrid diſcovery of the mother and infant ſuffocated in a loathſome puddle.

DIED.—6. Aged 102, Mr. W. Morris, of North Shields, ſhipwright.

7. At Ennets, in the pariſh of Kincardine-O'Niel, in Scotland, in her 105th year, Janet Gaul. Her huſband, who died lately, reached his 104th year.

At Portſea, Hants, aged 107, Mr. Richard Davies, many years warden of the dock-yard at Portſmouth.

APRIL.

6th. This morning, as Lieut. Col. Montgomery and Capt. Macnamara were riding in Hyde Park,

Park, each followed by a Newfoundland dog, the dogs fought; in consequence of which the gentlemen quarrelled, and used such irritating language to each other, that an exchange of address followed, with an appointment to meet at seven o'clock the same evening, near Primrose-hill; the consequence of which proved fatal. Capt. M.'s ball entered the right side of Col. M.'s chest, and taking a direction to the left, most probably went through the heart; he instantly fell, without uttering a word, but rolled over two or three times, as if in great agony, and groaned. Colonel M.'s ball went through Capt. M., entering on the right side, just above the hip, and passing through the left side, carrying part of the coat and waistcoat in with it, taking a part of his leather breeches and the hip button away with it on the other side. Col. M. was carried by some of the persons standing by into Chalk Farm, where he was laid on a bed, attended by Mr. Heaviside. As they were carrying him he attempted to speak and spit, but the blood choaked him. His mouth foamed much, and in about five minutes after he was brought into the house, he expired, with a gentle sigh.

Capt. M. is a naval officer, who has much distinguished himself in two or three actions, as Commander in the Cerberus frigate. He lately returned from the West Indies, and his ship was, about two months ago, paid off at Chatham. He is about thirty-six years of age; a strong, bold, active man. He has fought two or three duels before, and was remarkable at Cork for keeping the turbulent in awe.

Col. M. was Lieutenant-Colonel of the 9th regiment of foot, son of Sir Robert Montgomery, of Ireland, and half brother to Mrs. George Byng, and to the Marchioness of Townshend. He was a remarkably handsome, genteel man, and he had also fought bravely in the service of his country. In the Dutch expedition, the Russians being put to flight, his regiment was thrown into confusion, and retreated in consequence of the Russians falling back upon them: at this time a drummer was killed, and Col. M. took up the drum, beating it to rally his men, he himself standing alone; he did rally them, and at their head rendered essential service. On several occasions in Egypt and Malta, he distinguished himself for his courage and spirit. He was remarkable some years ago for dressing like the late Duke of Hamilton, from which circumstance he was called "*The Duke of Hamilton's double.*"—He was very intimate with the Prince of Wales and Duke of York. The former shed tears on being apprised of the melancholy end of his friend. Crowds of people were all Thursday and Friday viewing the spot where the Colonel fell, which was covered with blood. The coroner's inquest, on view of the body, brought in a verdict of Manslaughter. The remains were buried on Saturday, in a vault in St. James's church. The funeral was attended by Gen. Loftus, Mr. Byng, and Mr. Beresford, representing the three families to whom he was nearest related.

At

At *Gardenſtown* there was a very hard gale from W. S. W. which increaſed towards afternoon to a complete hurricane, abating only by ſhort intervals, thoughout the the night. Next morning, a variety of wreck, ſcattered along the ſhore, announced the deſtruction of ſome veſſel at no great diſtance. Some of the inhabitants, eager to make a farther diſcovery, went to ſurvey the Weſt rocks, where from the top of a ſtupendous promontory, in a curved ſhore, called Walecove, they diſcovered a large maſs of wreck, which convinced them that this had been the ſcene of the unfortunate event they had anticipated. Actuated by a ſpirit of enterprizing humanity, ſome young men adventured to crawl down the tremendous precipice, and, notwithſtanding the fluctuating and furious flaps of wind peculiar to the time and place, actually deſcended the depth of 900 feet perpendicular. On reaching the bottom of the rock, their attention and feelings were ſuddenly intereſted in a very ſtriking object indeed—the only ſurvivor of an unfortunate crew (11 in number) inſulated on a rock near the wreck, in whom the tide of life was faſt ebbing! nor was it till low water that theſe laudable adventurers were able to reſcue him from this dread aſylum. This however at laſt they happily effected; and ſucceeded, weak and bruiſed as he was, in bringing him ſafe up the hill—an achievement which any ſtranger would certainly pronounce impoſſible. The wreck proves to to be the Reliance of Newcaſtle, William Allen, maſter, 198 tons regiſter; ſailed from Shields on the 17th, coal-loaded for Jamaica. The bodies of ſix of the crew have been found, and interred. The ſurvivor, Colin Burn, a native of Montroſe, only engaged with Capt. Allen on the 16th, of courſe was very little acquainted with the ſhipmates; but thinks three of them were from Aberdeen. People are daily employed ſecuring what little remains of the wreck may drift aſhore; and the poor ſurviving tar is now ſo far recovered as to be able to walk about occaſionally.

22d. The Bill of Indictment for Murder, preferred at Clerkenwell, againſt Capt. J. Macnamara, Capt. R. Barry, Sir W. Keir, and Mr. Heaviſide, having been thrown out by the Grand Jury, the firſt-named gentleman was tried this day, for Manſlaughter. Being very weak from his wound, he was placed in a chair at the bar, and pleaded not guilty to the charge. Mr. Knapp, for the proſecution, entered into the circumſtances which led to the unfortunate rencontre, ſtated its progreſs and effects, and concluded with obſerving, that the proſecutor had no wiſh as to the event of the trial, but to perform his duty to his deceaſed relative and the public.—W. Sloane, and C. Smith, Eſqrs. depoſed as to the origin of the diſpute, exactly as it has been related, viz. that the Colonel's dog being worſted in the fight, he threatened to knock the Captain's dog down, unleſs he called him off; to which the Captain replied, he muſt knock him down afterwards; — the ſubſequent converſation produced the challenge; but it did not appear clearly from which party it originated.

The

The evidence for the profecution being clofed,

Mr. Juftice Heath faid—"Capt. M. if you have any thing to fay in defence, this is your time."

Capt. M.—"My Lord, I hope the Court will permit me to keep my feat while I fay a few words, as my wound is extremely painful."

Mr. Juftice Heath.—"Certainly—you may keep your feat."

Capt. M. then read a written compofition that he held in his hand, which, in fubftance, was nearly as follows:—

"Gentlemen of the Jury,

"I appear before you, with the conſolation that my character has already been delivered, by the verdict of a Grand Jury, from the ſhocking imputation of Murder; and that although the evidence againſt me was laid before them, without any explanation or evidence of the ſenſations which brought me into my preſent unhappy ſituation, they made their own impreſſion; and no charge of criminal homicide was found againſt me. I was delivered at once from the whole effect of the indictment. I, therefore, now ſtand before you upon the inquiſition only, taken before the Coroner, upon the view of the body, under circumſtances extremely affecting to the minds of thoſe who were to deliberate on the tranſaction, and without the opportunity, which the benignity of the law affords me, at this moment, of repelling that inference of even *ſudden* reſentment againſt the deceaſed, which is the foundation of this inqueſt of Manſlaughter.

"The origin of the difference, as you ſee it in the evidence, was inſignificant. The heat of two perſons, each defending an animal under his protection, was natural, and could not have led to any ſerious conſequences. It was not the deceaſed's defending his own dog, or his threatening to deſtroy mine, that led to the fatal cataſtrophe; it was the defiance alone which moſt unhappily accompanied what was ſaid: words receive their interpretation from the avowed intention of the ſpeaker. The offence forced upon me by the declaration, that he invited me to be offended, and challenged me to vindicate the offence, by calling upon him for ſatisfaction. "If you are offended with what has paſſed, you know where to find me." Theſe words, unfortunately repeated and reiterated, have, over and over again, been conſidered, by Criminal Courts of Juſtice, as ſufficient to ſupport an indictment for a challenge. Theſe judgments of Courts are founded upon the univerſal underſtandings and feelings of mankind; and common candour muſt admit, that an Officer, however deſirous to avoid a quarrel, cannot refuſe to underſtand what even the grave Judges of the Law muſt interpret as a provocation and a defiance. I declare, therefore, moſt ſolemnly, that I went into the field from no reſentment againſt the deceaſed: nothing, indeed, but inſanity, could have led me to expoſe my own life to ſuch imminent peril, under the impulſe of paſſion, from ſo inadequate a cauſe as the evidence before you exhibits, when ſeparated from the defiance which was the fatal ſource of miſchief; and I could well have overlooked that too, if the world, in its preſent ſtate, could have overlooked

it

it alſo. I went into the field, therefore, with no determination or deſire to take the life of my opponent, or to expoſe my own. I went there, in hopes of receiving ſome ſoothing ſatisfaction for what would otherwiſe have expoſed me in the general feelings and opinions of the world. The deceaſed was a man of popular manners, as I have heard, and with a very general acquaintance. I, on the other hand, was in a manner a ſtranger to this great town, having been devoted from my infancy to the duties of my profeſſion in diſtant ſeas. If, under theſe circumſtances, the words which the deceaſed intended to be offenſive, and which he repeatedly invited to be reſented, had been paſſed by and ſubmitted to, they would have paſſed from mouth to mouth, have been even exaggerated at every repetition, and my honour muſt have been loſt.

"Gentlemen, I am a Captain in the Britiſh Navy. My character you can only hear from others; but to maintain my character in that ſtation, I muſt be reſpected. When called upon to lead others into honourable danger, I muſt not be ſuppoſed to be a man who had ſought ſafety by ſubmitting to what cuſtom has taught others to conſider as a diſgrace. I am not preſuming to urge any thing againſt the laws of God, or of this land. I know that, in the eye of Religion and Reaſon, obedience to the Law, though againſt the general feelings of the world, is the firſt duty, and ought to be the rule of action: but, in putting a conſtruction upon my motives, ſo as to aſcertain the quality of my actions, you will make allowances for my ſituation It is impoſſible to define in terms the proper feelings of a Gentleman; but their exiſtence have ſupported this happy country many ages, and ſhe might periſh if they were loſt.

"Gentlemen, I will detain you no longer: I will bring before you many honourable perſons, who will ſpeak what they know of me in my profeſſion, and in private life; which will the better enable you to judge whether what I have offered in my defence may ſafely be received by you as truth. Gentlemen, I ſubmit myſelf entirely to your judgment. I hope to obtain my liberty through your verdict; and to employ it with honour in the defence of the liberties of my country."

He then called in his defence, Lords Hood, Nelſon, Hotham, and Minto; Sirs H. Parker and T. Trowbridge; Gen. Churchill; Captains Martin, Towry, Liddyard, Waller, Graham, Moore, and Fellows, with many other perſons of the higheſt reſpectability, who all bore the higheſt teſtimony to his noble and temperate conduct.—The Judge, in a ſhort ſpeech, impreſſed the jury with the neceſſity of not attending to the high character of the priſoner, as the Law was a ſtranger to thoſe nice rules of honour which guided the conduct of Gentlemen. They were bound to act by the evidence in ſupport of the charge, which was not denied by the priſoner himſelf.—The Jury, however, in a quarter of an hour, returned a verdict of *Not Guilty!*

Mr. Aſtlett, Aſſiſtant Caſhier at the Bank, has been committed to Newgate for trial, being charged with re-iſſuing ſecurities depoſited in

in his office, and raiſing large ſums thereon. His defalcations are ſaid to amount to 300,000l. at leaſt, which the Bank will have to make good.

DIED.—6th. In Piccadilly, in his 74th year, the Right Hon. Sir William Hamilton, K. B. &c. &c. He died at the houſe his lady bought for him, on an interruption of his own finances, with ſome jewels, a preſent to her by a foreign Princeſs, who, in a letter to our own Sovereign, praiſes Lady Hamilton, in full gratitude of heart, as, "her beſt friend and preſerver! to whom ſhe was indebted certainly for life, and probably for the crown!" Sir William was a man of moſt extraordinary endowments, and his memory will be dear to the literary world by the indefatigable exertions which he made through life to add to our ſtock of knowledge, and of models in the fine arts. His whole life, indeed, was devoted to ſtudies connected with the arts, and he made every intereſt contribute to the paſſion of his ſoul. He was the foſter-brother of his preſent Majeſty, which laid the foundation of that gracious attachment and friendſhip, with which he was honoured by the King through the whole of his public ſervice. By that immediate protection he procured the favourite appointment of Miniſter at the Court of Naples; which he enjoyed, with the uninterrupted approbation of the two Courts, for thirty-ſix years, and which he would not exchange for more lucrative ſituations. The zealous and ſucceſsful efforts which he made, during all this time, in bringing to light the buried treaſures of antiquity, and in promoting a juſt and correct taſte in the arts, by making known, in his works, the ſpecimens of the pure and chaſte ſtyle of the claſſic æra that he had diſcovered, need not be here enumerated. He was equally active and ſucceſsful in the duties of his appointment; and maintained the harmony of the two Courts at a period when it required all his influence and addreſs to counteract the deſigns of thoſe who had an intereſt in the breach of the amity that ſo happily ſubſiſted. The Engliſh nobility and gentry who travelled into Italy ſpeak with the warmeſt acknowledgements of the ſplendid hoſpitality with which he repreſented his Sovereign. About twelve years ago he married the preſent lady Hamilton; and never was an union productive of more perfect felicity. The anxious ſolicitude, the unwearied attentions, the domeſtic duties, joined to the uncommon talents and accompliſhments of Lady Hamilton, were ſources of the pureſt happineſs to both, as well as of delight to the circle in which they lived. Sir William derived from his lady, in his laſt illneſs, all the conſolations of which life was ſuſceptible; and he at length, without a ſtruggle or ſigh, breathed his laſt in her arms. He had a penſion of 1200l. a year on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, conferred on him for his long diplomatic ſervices, which ceaſes with his exiſtence. He has made his nephew, the Hon. Charles Greville (deputy lord chamberlain), his ſole heir. His eſtates near Swanſea, which he got by a former wife, amount to 5000l. per annum; theſe he has left charged with 700l. per annum,

as an annuity to the preſent Lady Hamilton during her life. His remains were interred at Milford Haven, in Pembrokeſhire. His "Obſervations on Mount Veſuvius, Mount Ætna, and other Volcanos, in a Series of Letters to the Royal Society," were republiſhed, with notes, in 1772, 8vo. (XLII. 334.)

MAY.

3d. The Mancheſter Paper of the 3d inſt. contained the following account of a moſt ſhocking murder:—On Tueſday an inquiſition was held at Hollinwood, on the bodies of one Heſketh, Alice Ogden, and an infant. It appeared that Heſketh and Ogden had lived together nearly three years, and that early on Monday morning, a man going to work in the garden of the deceaſed, ſaw a quantity of blood running under the door. He alarmed the neighbours, who found Heſketh with the infant acroſs his thighs, both quite dead, and miſerably bruiſed, lying upon the floor. Heſketh had the key of the door in his pocket, and the end of the tongs in his hand. Ogden was alſo in a dying ſtate, and ſo much bruiſed as to be incapable of giving any account of this horrid buſineſs. Theſe circumſtances induced the Jury to believe that one or both of them killed the child and each other.

5th. A moſt extraordinary forgery was practiſed in the city. At an early hour in the morning, a man delivered a letter at the Manſion-houſe, which he ſaid he had brought from Lord Hawkeſbury, and requeſted it to be delivered immediately: it was accordingly given to his Lordſhip, and ſoon afterwards the following literal copy appeared in front of the Manſion-houſe:

"Lord Hawkeſbury preſents compliments to the Lord Mayor, and has the honour to acquaint his Lordſhip, that the negotiation between this country and the French Republic is brought to an amicable concluſion.

Downing-ſtreet, Thurſday Morning, eight o'clock, May 5, 1803.

Printed notices were then poſted round the Cuſtom-houſe, declaring the embargo to be taken off ſhips loaded with *Saltpetre*, &c. and in conſequence of this deluſion, the Funds experienced an immediate riſe from 63¾ to 71¼. A real Treaſury Meſſenger, however, was ſoon diſpatched to announce the falſity of the news; on which the genuine commuication was read in the public ſtreet by the City Marſhall. The confuſion which now prevailed was beyond all deſcription. The Stock Exchange was immediately ſhut, and the committee came to the reſolution, *that all bargains made in the morning ſhould be declared null and void.* Some difficulty, however, aroſe reſpecting the actual purchaſes of Stock for money, Mr. Templeton holding up a transfer receipt for Reduced Stock, which he had juſt made for the Commiſſioners for liquidating the National debt. An appeal was in conſequence made to the Directors of the Bank, who gave it as their opinion, "that the money-purchaſers of Reduced Stock for Government, made that day, ſhould ſtand at yeſterday's cloſing

closing price, viz. 64; but reserved the delivery of any opinion on the points of money purchases until eleven o'clock on Friday." The subscribers then entered into a resolution, that all sales of the two days should be delivered to a committee of the House, to facilitate the discovery of the person who forged the notification. The consequence of the above artifice was a rapid fall of the Funds from 71 to 63. Mr. Goldsmid was the person who detected the forgery.

The Bank Directors have since altered their opinion respecting actual money bargains made in consequence of the forgery, and informed the Stock Exchange Committee, that the Government commissioners had authorised them to pay the full price for the reduced stock, which their broker had thus purchased on their account, namely, 69½ per cent.

11th. This day about three o'clock, an obstruction took place in the narrow part of the Strand, near Exeter Change, in consequence of the breaking down of an hackney coach. Two men and a woman, crossing the street, unfortunately ran between two coal waggons, then in contact with each other; when the two men and the woman were so jammed in, notwithstanding their screams and shrieks, before any assistance could be given, that they were killed on the spot.

12th. Early in the morning a fire broke out in an upper apartment of the left wing of Huntley Castle, the seat of the Duke of Gordon, which originated from the snuff of a candle left burning on the floor. This wing having been separated from the building by a stone wall, the door which communicated with it was quickly built up with turf, which secured the remainder from destruction. After burning for several hours, the conflagration was extinguished. Most of the property was saved by the villagers.

19th. The Installation of the Knights of the Bath took place. This ceremony usually occurs once in nine years; but owing to the war, and other circumstances, it has been delayed considerably beyond that period, the last having been in 1788. It is one of the most splendid shows in this country, and is only inferior to a coronation.

23d. Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, a fire was discovered in that beautiful edifice Boston church, which threatened its total destruction, but by the timely and judicious application of the engines, the fire was completely extinguished in the space of three hours. The accident happened by the carelessness of a workman, who had lighted a fire upon the lead in the gutter of the roof, which so rapidly extended itself along the spars and beams, that the whole interior space between the cieling and the roof was filled with such a volume of smoke, as for a long time to deny all entrance; but, by the spirited exertions of the firemen, the water was at length conveyed to the very heart of the fire, and that elegant building was thereby saved. Meantime an engine was very successfully employed within the church to extinguish the flames, as they appeared to spread along the ceiling. Considerable damage has been done by this accident (it is supposed not to a less amount

than 1000l.), but nothing equal to what might have been expected; indeed, about five o'clock, it was the general opinion that nothing could ſave the roof, as the lead began to melt and run. Fortunately the diſcovery was in the day time, and there was very little wind, or the church muſt have been a total ruin. Never were greater exertions uſed by all ranks and deſcriptions of perſons than on this occaſion; and it is but juſtice to ſay that the officers and ſoldiers quartered at Boſton, and every ſtranger there felt a natural impulſe to aſſiſt in ſaving this pride and ornament of the town.

26th. In the Common Pleas, an action was brought by Mr. Turner, to recover 1000l. of Mr. Eyles, the keeper of the Fleet Priſon, for allowing the eſcape of Johnſon, the ſmuggler, whom Mr. T. had confined for a debt to the above amount. After a long hearing, in the courſe of which it appeared no blame or negligence could be imputed to Mr. Eyles, the plaintiff was nonſuited.

28th. This night's Gazette contains a proclamation for increaſing the militia. The men are to be enrolled on or before July 16.

JUNE.

7d. A verdict of 700l. damages was given againſt Mr. Dickie, ſtationer, in the Strand, for defamatory reflections on the character of Governor Aris, of Coldbath-fields.

The Knights' Fete at Ranelagh was one of the moſt ſplendid entertainments ever given in this country;—there were preſent 2500 of the firſt characters in the kingdom. The ſupper conſiſted of the choiceſt delicacies of the ſeaſon; amongſt other rarities, there were cherries at a guinea a pound, and 900 quarts of peas at 14s. per quart. A dramatic piece was got up for the purpoſe, by Meſſrs. Fawcett and Byrne. None but Court dreſſes and regimentals were admitted; and thoſe of the ladies were new and ſplendid in the extreme. The expence was 7000l.

6th. A thunder-ſtorm which occurred this afternoon, did conſiderable damage.—Several houſes were greatly injured, and many perſons ſtruck down while walking in the ſtreets. A public-houſe at the corner of Abingdon-ſtreet, received great damage by a thunder-bolt, and every piece of iron in the ſtructure was reduced to the ſmalleſt particles. The houſe of Sir F. Whitworth, in Bruton-ſtreet, was injured in a ſimilar way: the wire of the door-bell was completely deſtroyed, all the leaden pipes were melted, the wainſcot burnt, and a great coat which hung in the kitchen was entirely conſumed. The damage was conſiderable in other parts of the town, and in the fields much injury was done among the cattle.

9th. This evening, at five o'clock, a moſt ſingular phænomenon took place in Panton-ſtreet, Haymarket. The inhabitants were alarmed by a violent and tremendous hail and ſhower-ſtorm, which extended only to Oxendon-ſtreet, Whitcomb-ſtreet, Coventry-ſtreet, and the Haymarket, a ſpace not more than about 200 acres; the torrent from the

the heavens was so great, that it could only be compared to a wonderful cascade from the brow of the most tremendous precipice. It lasted seven minutes, so that the cellars of all the inhabitants in Panton-street and Oxendon-street were filled with water. Astonishing to relate, in the midst of this hurricane an electric cloud descended in the middle of the street, and fell in the centre of the coach-way, and sunk in a great depth, without leaving a vestige or any particle of matter, but formed a complete pit. The smell of brimstone, for some seconds, was so strong, that the inhabitants expected every minute to be suffocated. Mr. Madden, who keeps a public-house near the spot, had water and beer butts thrown flat from the stillions, and no other damage whatever done.

17th. The eastern arm of Plymouth harbour is quite full of prizes. The total number brought into that port, to the 13th, amounted to 105.

Johnson, the smuggler, has been arrested at Flushing, by order of the French Commandant. He was accused of being a spy; his papers were all seized, and he was sent to prison.

A compound of platina and mercury was lately introduced to the world under the title of Palladium, or *New Silver*. The greatest heat of a blacksmith's fire will hardly melt it; but if touched while hot with a small bit of sulphur, it runs as easily as zinc. Its specific gravity by hammering only 11. 3. being considerably less than the specific gravity of the lightest of the two metals of which it is composed.

In the Court of King's Bench, Philips and Shipman, two sailors, who had conspired with others falsely to accuse their captain of the murder of his apprentice at Demerara (for which he was tried and acquitted) were brought up for judgment. One of them having added perjury to his conspiracy, the sentence of the court upon them was, "That Richard Shipman should be imprisoned in the House of Correction, Coldbath-fields, for two years, during which time he shall stand in and upon the pillory for one hour. That Benjamin Philips do suffer the same sentence for the conspiracy; and for the perjury be imprisoned one month in Newgate, and then be transported beyond the seas for the term of seven years. 27th.

Died.—At Balnacraig, in the parish of Aboyne, aged 103, Harry Troup, a shoemaker. He had experienced no bodily complaint, and retained his senses to the last; was sober and industrious, and never above 30 miles from his own house, in which he had lived upwards of 70 years.

In Kevin-street, Dublin, aged 112, Mrs. Lindsay, formerly in a respectable situation, but, having outlived an annuity, she was latterly indebted to a subscription of the Nobility for those comforts which she had been accustomed to, and which, at her great age, were become more necessary.

JULY.

At the Old Bailey came on the trial of Robert Astlett, who, being put to the bar, 8th.

was indicted for that he being a ſervant of, and employed by the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, was entruſted with a certain paper-writing, called an exchequer bill, of the value of 10001. and another of the ſame value, and a third of the ſame value. On the 26th of February laſt, he being ſuch ſervant, &c. did feloniouſly ſecrete and embezzle the ſaid exchequer bills, and did run away with them, ſo belonging to the ſaid governor and company. There were no leſs than ten different counts to the ſame effect.

Mr. Garrow was counſel for the proſecutor, and Mr. Erſkine for priſoner. The former ſtated, that the bank of England, being in the cuſtomary habit of purchaſing exchequer bills on account of government, theſe bills are either brought to the bank by one particular houſe, (Goldſmid and Co.) or by the bank broker, who purchaſes the bills in the market. On the delivery of theſe to the caſhier, Mr. Aſtlett, he gives an order for payment, and the exchequer bills remain with him till a ſufficient quantity are collected together, and made up in bundles, to deliver into the cuſtody of the directors in the parlour: theſe bundles are then counted, and a voucher given to the caſhier on their delivery: they are placed in a ſtrong cloſet, ſhut under three keys, and two of the keys are kept by the directors. Conformably to this practice, on the 26th day of February laſt, there were transferred from the cuſtody of Mr. Aſtlett, the caſhier, to the parlour, one bundle of

Exchequer bills, to the value of - - £. 100,000
Another, value 200,000
A third - - 400,000—700,000

An entry was made in the parlour book, and its correctneſs was vouched by the ſignatures of two directors, Meſſrs. Smith and Puget. The entry thus vouched, was, nevertheleſs, afterwards found to be for bills to the amount of 200,000l. more than the actual value of the bundles. On this diſcovery it came out, that Mr. Aſtlett had been re-iſſuing ſome of theſe bills to raiſe money; and Mr. Biſh, the Stockbroker, who had been applied to with ſome of them, by Aſtlett, ſuſpecting all was not right, gave intimation of his ſuſpicions to the bank, when Mr. Aſtlett's criminality became evident.

After Mr. Garrow had gone through his caſe, Mr. Erſkine, in behalf of the priſoner, inſiſted that Mr. Jennings, who had ſigned theſe purloined Exchequer bills in the firſt inſtance, had not had the proper authority renewed to him for ſo doing, as required by act of parliament; and ſo evident was this, that government had, ſince the commitment of Mr. Aſtlett, paſſed an act to remedy the omiſſion.

The Chief Baron Macdonald obſerved, that the charge was, for embezzling a valid bill of exchange. However great the crime in ſociety, and the magnitude of the ſum embezzled; though every one muſt regret the cauſe of it, and the effect upon ſociety, yet it was the bounden duty of the court to determine according to the regular, ordinary, and conſtant courſe of the adminiſtration of juſtice. It was certainly clear the preſent indictment was not to be maintained, as the charge therein alledged could not be proved. The late act of parliament

ment had recognized the invalidity of the bills which the priſoner embezzled.

The other Judges concurred in opinion, and the Lord Chief Baron directed the jury to acquit the priſoner. He was accordingly found *Not guilty*.

Mr. Garrow applied to the court to detain him in cuſtody; it being the intention of the bank directors to iſſue a civil proceſs againſt him for 100,000l. and upwards, the monies paid for the bills, which he had converted to his own uſe.

The priſoner was dreſſed in a lightiſh brown coat, his hair full powdered. He appeared quite collected, but held his head down; never once looking up, except when the application was made to keep him in cuſtody, when he expreſſed ſymptoms of great ſurprize, and looked very ſtedfaſtly at the court.

The total defalcation of Aſtlett, by exchequer bills purloined from the bank, amounted to 312,000l; of which 191,000. that had been pawned, was redeemed for 70,000l. So proſperous are the affairs of the bank, that there will be no reduction in the dividends on the bank ſtock.

9th. At 3'o clock this afternoon, an alarming fire broke out in the lantern over the choir of Weſtminſter Abbey; which threatened deſtruction to the whole of the venerable fabric; but which was happily extinguiſhed with much leſs damage than might have been expected.

14th. A half yearly general court of the proprietors of bank ſtock was this day held at the bank, for the purpoſe of declaring a dividend. In the courſe of doing this, it became neceſſary for the chairman of the court of directors to ſtate the loſs which the company had ſuſtained by Mr. Aſtlett. The actual loſs he ſtated at about 320,000l. about 78,000. had been employed in ſources from which the directors think they will be able to recover, and they are determined to proſecute to that effect. On the part of the directors it was ſtated, that the loſs by Mr. Aſtlett would make no alteration in the dividends. That loſs amounted to nearly the entire dividends of the half year; but the affairs of the company were in ſo proſperous a ſtate, that they would be able to divide as uſual. The chairman then proceeded to explain, that the court of directors were not to blame for the mal-practices of Mr. Aſtlett, who had ſucceeded in making away with the effects of the bank, by interlining ſums, and by calling out falſe ſums when the property was regulated. On this ſubject a very detailed and ſatisfactory explanation was given, in which the mode of doing the buſineſs was fully deſcribed. The directors too relied on Mr. Aſtlett's character and long fidelity. Under all circumſtances, it would have required a ſupernatural power to have at firſt detected him.

A remarkable circum- 16th. ſtance happened in Wych-ſtreet, oppoſite the gate of the New Inn. About 10 this morning, a woman, decently dreſſed, came up to a man paſſing that way, and attempting to lay hold of him fell back and immediately expired. On being ſearched, there was nothing which could lead to a knowledge of her name, or who ſhe was; for though ſome pawnbroker's duplicates were found in

her pocket, the articles appeared to have been pledged under ſome other names, as the pawnbroker declared he was unacquainted with the perſon of the woman. She was conveyed to the workhouſe, where the coroner's jury ſat on Sunday laſt, and found a verdict, "Died by the viſitation of God." The moſt extraordinary part of the anecdote is, that the man who was ſo accoſted by the deceaſed, and who appears to have been a porter in the Brownlow-ſtreet lying-in hoſpital, as ſoon as he came home, ſaid he had received a ſhock from which he ſhould never recover, and died in the courſe of the day.

All the Paris journals have given publicity to the following abſurd article:—"Some ſerious diſturbances have broken out at London, occaſioned by the aſſembling of crowds of the populace on Blackfriars bridge, in Whitechapel, and at the entrance of Catherine-ſtreet, in the Strand. They made large bonfires, for the purpoſe of burning Mr. Addington in effigy, of whom they had procured a ſtriking likeneſs. From his mouth was ſuſpended a label, with the following words in capital letters: "Give, give, give." The ſingularity and hardihood of this proceeding, drew together a prodigious crowd. The magiſtrates in vain endeavoured to diſperſe the multitude, and ran the riſk of perſonal injury; but the arrival of ſome light horſe relieved them from their embarraſſment. The captain of the detachment endeavoured to ſeize the effigy, by darting through the mob, and into the fire; but ſcarcely had he touched it, when the cords being conſumed, it fell into the blaze, while the efforts of the officer to recover it, made him alſo fall into the midſt of the fire, whence he was taken, after being burnt to death, amid the acclamations of the people. As Catherine-ſtreet is in the vicinity of the journaliſts devoted to the war faction, the populace, taking advantage of their ſtrength, attacked the different news-paper offices, broke the windows, and would have ſeized the proprietors and editors, if the armed force had not interfered and diſperſed them!!!

A heavy ſtorm of rain and hail, accompanied with loud peals of thunder and lightning, paſſed over the town of Leiceſter and neighbourhood, and did conſiderable damage. Many windows were broken by the hail, (which appeared like large pieces of ice, of all ſhapes and great ſize;) the foliage was cut from the trees in many places, and the corn much beat down. A ball of fire ſtruck the chimney of Mr. Kinton, of Rothley, and rent it aſunder; part went into the kitchen, and the other part into a room over it: a pan over the fire was forced into the middle of the kitchen, and Mr. Kinton, who was near, had his ſhoe ſtripped off one of his feet, without ſuſtaining much injury; the waſh-board was torn up, and driven to the other end of the houſe; a Swithland ſlate chimney piece in the upper room was daſhed to pieces, and part forced through the head of the bed: the ſtraw which had been put into the chimney was driven near to the bed, and had taken fire, but was fortunately diſcovered in time to prevent further miſchief: very providentially the windows and doors 21ſt.

were

were open, or the ſtrong ſmell of ſulphur left in every part of the houſe might have proved fatal to the family. Mr. John Murdock, farmer at Liddington, Rutland, hoeing turnips in the field, was killed by the lightning. A capital cow, in a cloſe adjoining the village of Morcot, the property of John Clarke, Eſq; was alſo killed by the lightning; and a barn at Littleworth-drove, belonging to Mr. Godly, ſet on fire and entirely conſumed. The cow was found dead under a large aſh tree, which was ſhivered in a remarkable way, nearly from top to bottom, and almoſt the whole of the bark forced off.

25th. The foreſt of Cubroſs was this day accidentally ſet on fire, by which an extenſive range of trees have been burnt down, and many others damaged. The fire commenced about eight in the morning, pretty far weſt, and was occaſioned by the burning of ſome whims at a place called Keir. The wind being ſouth-weſt, it took its direction to the north-eaſt; and at one time burned with ſuch fierceneſs, as to give reaſon to apprehend, the whole foreſt would have been conſumed: it, however, abated in the afternoon, and terminated in the evening.

26th. The iron railway from Wandſworth to Croydon was opened to the public for the conveyance of goods. The committee went up in waggons drawn by one horſe; and, to ſhew how motion is facilitated by this ingenious and yet ſimple contrivance, a gentleman, with two companions, drove up the railway, in a machine of his own invention, without horſes, at the rate of 15 miles per hour.

29th. A meeting of the freeholders of Middleſex was held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, to commemorate the anniverſary of the return of its preſent members for the county. The meeting conſiſted of at leaſt 300 freeholders, Mr. Townſhend in the chair. After ſome popular toaſts were given, Mr. Byng addreſſed the meeting in a very excellent ſpeech. Sir Francis Burdett likewiſe addreſſed the meeting, in a ſpeech which has been thought very ill-timed, at the preſent criſis; for among other things he ſaid,—"I have no heſitation in declaring, that in the preſent ſituation of the country, viewing the conduct of miniſters in the light I do, I think it impoſſible for any honeſt man to come forward in their defence, or be juſtified in lending an aſſiſting arm in defence of their country. If your government want ſailors to perform a particular act, though on moſt occaſions tardy juſtice they do them, yet they hold out ſomething to amuſe them, either the proſpect of a more equal diſtribution of prize-money, or ſome other object. But when the men who furniſh the means of remunerating the ſailors are called upon to ſacrifice their all in defence of the government, no proſpect is afforded of any future relief after the conteſt ſhall be terminated. I have one ſhort means of defence to propoſe, namely, to untread thoſe ſteps which have been taken, undo the acts which have undone England; reſtore to them the laws of the land; give them their rights and liberties; let miniſters do that, and there will be no occaſion to force Engliſhmen into the ranks to fight againſt a foreign people."

AUGUST.

2nd. A meeting of the freeholders was convened at the Mermaid, Hackney, to consider of an address to his Majesty on the state of affairs. Sheriff Welsh took the chair, and Alderman Skinner addressed the audience in an appropriate speech, illustrative of the object of the meeting: in the course of which he observed, that whatever little differences might prevail about internal matters, he trusted all would join in one sentiment against the common enemy. Mr. Travers proposed as an amendment in the address, that instead of "our destructive enemy," the words should be "our daring enemy, whose insatiable ambition nothing short of our destruction could gratify." A shout of applause followed, and the amendment was unanimously adopted. Sir Francis Burdett entered, and was received with murmurs and other signs of disapprobation. Alderman Curtis requested an explanation of the Baronet relative to his conduct at a late meeting; where he, Sir Francis, was charged to have introduced sentiments highly out of season; the purport of which were, that if we meant effectually to resist the foe, it should be done by restoring to the people their rights, &c. Sir F. Burdett then rose, and declared that the statement of his speech which had appeared in a certain print was an infamous libel; denied that he had ever said the people ought not to defend the country, or that he had excited the fleet to mutiny; but admitted he had said that the best mode of providing for the defence of the country was, to give the people their just rights at home. The last ministry had so accustomed the people, by repeated insringements on their rights, to a yoke at home, as had broken the spirit of Englishmen, and prepared them for the reception of a foreign yoke. (Loud hisses.) Sir W. Curtis observed, that the worthy Baronet had by no means justified himself. It was not true that sailors were influenced to perform their duty in consequence of boons. He himself was not aware that any boon had ever been offered, except what they, as sailors, were entitled to, such as their pay and clothing, and other things of the same nature. He was certainly very sorry for the conduct of the Hon. Baronet; and must now move, "that the Sheriffs, in presenting the address, be accompanied by Mr. Byng only; which was carried *nem. con.*

4th. *Novar.* Yesterday the lady of Sir Hugh Munro, of Fowlis, went to her usual place, in the Bay of Cromarty, to bathe, taking three of her servant maids along with her; and, as was always her practice, a servant was placed at a considerable distance to prevent any person from passing that way while she was bathing. Mr. Findlater, a merchant, coming near where the servant was placed, was alarmed by loud cries and shrieks, and insisted on going forward to see what was the cause, but the servant prevented him, saying he had orders to stop any person going that way, and that the cries were only occasioned by his lady and the maids ducking. Mr. F. however, not being satisfied with this, persisted in his determination, and instantly getting into a boat, made for the place, which he

he had no sooner reached, than he saw the four bodies floating on the water. He soon got them into the boat, and made for the shore. One of the servants revived when in the boat. Medical assistance was immediately procured for the lady and the other two servants; but, though every effort was made to recover them, all proved ineffectual. It is supposed that some of them had gone beyond their depth, and the others in attempting to save them shared their fate. But no positive information has yet been obtained from the survivor.

15th. This day the notorious Hatfield was tried on a charge of forgery, and convicted, at the Carlisle assizes. On being called on for his defence, the prisoner addressed himself to the jury. He said, he felt some degree of satisfaction in being able to have his sufferings terminated, as they of course must be, by their verdict. For the space of nine months he had been dragged from prison to prison, and torn from place to place, subject to all the misrepresentations of calumny. "Whatever will be my fate," said he, "I am content; it is the award of justice, impartially administered; but I will solemnly declare, that in all my transactions, I never intended to defraud or injure the persons whose names have appeared in the prosecutions. This I will maintain to the last of my life." The jury, notwithstanding the plausible defence of the prisoner, found him guilty on two indictments.—At eight on Tuesday morning, the prisoner was brought up to receive judgment; when Baron Thompson, after beseeching him to employ the remaining part of his time for eternity, and hoping that he would find mercy at the hour of death, and day of judgment, pronounced sentence of *death* in the usual form. —The prisoner heard it with firmness, bowed respectfully, and was taken away from the dock, and thence to the gaol. From the evidence which transpired on the trial it appears that Hatfield is of a respectable family. He is a man of much address, and formerly himself kept his carriage in Devonshire: his motives for the extraordinary career he has lately run are rather veiled in mystery, and will most likely remain so, as no hopes of pardon were held out to him on his condemnation; and he has since, we find, been ordered for execution on Saturday the 3d of September.

17th. A fire broke out at Chumleigh, a market town in Devonshire, twenty-two miles from Exeter, on the road to Barnstaple, Biddeford, and Torrington. It began at Mr. Ford's, soap-boiler, and extended to the whole neighbourhood, the premises being mostly thatched. It raged for about seven hours, and destroyed 100 houses; near three-fourths of the town. No lives were lost; but little property was saved. The damage is estimated at upwards of 25,000l.; and a subscription is opened for the relief of the sufferers.

DIED.—At Bourdeaux, the notorious Napper Tandy.

At Aberdeen, in his 68th year, James Beattie, LL. D. F. R. S. Edinburgh, one of the professors of moral philosophy and logic in the Marischal college, and member of several philosophical societies. This very distinguished writer was born in the county of Kincardine; studied at Aberdeen, and became a school-

ſchoolmaſter, firſt at Alloa, in Fife, and afterwards in his native province. Thence he went to Aberdeen, to aſſiſt as uſher in the grammar-ſchool of that place, and, while in that ſituation, wrote his celebrated "Minſtrel," and married the daughter of the ſchoolmaſter. He had before publiſhed, 1761, an octavo volume of original poems and tranſlations, reprinted in duodecimo; and, in 1766, "The Judgment of Paris, a poem," in 4to. The firſt book of "The Minſtrel" was publiſhed in 1770, and the ſecond in 1774. The elegance and feeling which characterize this poem, derived from Dr. Percy's Eſſay on the Engliſh Minſtrels, prefixed to the firſt volume of his "Reliques of Ancient Poetry," and written in imitation of Spenſer, have been generally acknowledged, and it is to be regretted that it was never finiſhed. In his odes and elegies he took Gray for his model. His beautiful ſong called "The Hermit," and other poems, have alſo obtained him diſtinguiſhed applauſe. Mr. Hume having ſeverely criticized his poems, he determined to ſeek his revenge in the character of a Chriſtian philoſopher, who had penetrated the ſophiſtry, and was deeply alarmed at the conſequences of his reaſonings. His "Eſſay on the Immutability of Truth, in Oppoſition to Sophiſtry and Scepticiſm, 1777," 4to, conciliated to him the friendſhip of Dr. Gregory, of Edinburgh, of Lord Lyttleton, Bp. Hurd, and particularly of Bp. Porteus. He was alſo honoured with the eſteem of the late Lord Manſfield, of whom he has been heard to declare, that he never converſed with any perſon who had conceived ſuch clear and juſt ideas of his philoſophy." He was promoted to a profeſſorſhip in Mariſchal college through the favour of the noble family of Errol. Not being in holy orders, he was recommended to his Majeſty for a penſion, which he obtained and held for many years.

The approbation of the great characters above-mentioned, is a ſufficient teſtimony in favour of the Eſſay on Truth. His manner of treating the ſceptics of the day, eſpecially Mr. Hume, gave great offence to many readers; and his work was anſwered by Dr. Prieſtley: but, from the clergy in general, it received the moſt deciſive approbation; and they juſtly eſtimated the merit of a writer who, on this occaſion, appeared an anxious promoter of the beſt intereſts of mankind, a judicious philoſopher, and a pertinent and captivating reaſoner. The quarto volume of "Eſſays" was publiſhed in that form at the deſire of many of the doctor's friends, and contains a republication of the "Eſſay on Truth," with the addition of the other ingenious "Eſſays on Poetry and Muſic, as they affect the Mind, on Laughter, and ludicrous Compoſition, and on the Utility of Claſſical Learning," which were not originally deſigned for the preſs, but which ſome of thoſe friends had ſeen and deſired to poſſeſs; and the ſuffrage of the world at large has borne teſtimony to their taſte. The "Diſſertations, moral and critical, 1783," one volume 8vo, were part of a courſe of lectures read to a young gentleman whom it was the author's buſineſs to initiate in moral ſcience. The ſubjects are, Memory and Imagination, Dreaming, the Theory of Language,

guage, Fable and Romance, the Attachments of Kindred, and Illuſtrations on Sublimity. They abound with criticiſms, both on books and men, are enlivened by many pleaſing images and ſcenes, as well as anecdotes, and are written in a ſtyle unaffected, ſimple, and perſpicuous. Virtue is recommended, not in the dry and unintereſting manner of didactic ſyſtem, but as ſhe appears in human form, in all the glowing colours of every amiable and heroic affection and paſſion. Such views of nature are exhibited as amuſe and elevate the fancy, and ſuch plain and practical truths as ſerve to direct the conduct of life. The "Evidences of the Chriſtian Religion, briefly and plainly ſtated, 1786," 2 vols. ſmall 8vo, were drawn up at the particular requeſt of the preſent Biſhop of London. "Elements of Moral Science," 2 vols. 8vo. I. 1790, II. 1793, conſiſt of the eſſence or ſubſtance of a ſeries of lectures delivered in the duty of his profeſſorſhip, comprifing metaphyſics, rhetoric, politics, and natural religion, as well as moral philoſophy, ſtrictly ſo called, and diſplay good ſenſe, extenſive knowledge, and able reaſoning. Dr. Beattie experienced a ſevere calamity in the death of his ſon, a youth of brilliant talents and promiſing genius, March 14, 1796. The doctor printed ſome Memoirs of his Life, to diſtribute among his numerous acquaintance, and not for general circulation.

SEPTEMBER.

2d. About half paſt two this morning, a dreadful fire broke out at Aſtley's Amphitheatre, in conſequence of the negligence of ſome of the perſons whoſe duty it was to ſee the lights carefully extinguiſhed. The accident originated in the repoſitories of the machinery and combuſtibles for the fire-works; and the immenſe quantity of inflammable materials cauſed the flames to rage with ſuch incredible fury, that every effort to preſerve the building was uſeleſs. Conſternation pervaded all the inhabitants of the adjoining houſes, called Amphitheatre-row, the back parts of which almoſt touch the theatre; the wretched inhabitants were ſeen running to and fro, nearly naked, throwing their goods out of the windows, and encreaſing the horror of the ſcene by ſcreams and ſhrieks. The ſame ſcene of miſery and diſtreſs occurred in Phœnix-ſtreet, which runs parallel with Amphitheatre-row. In the latter, the deſtruction proved fatal, nearly twenty houſes having been conſumed in that ſtreet alone; and the inhabitants being all poor, and chiefly induſtrious mechanics, their diſtreſs may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. The moſt melancholy part of the accident is the loſs of Mrs. Woodham. The total number of houſes deſtroyed is nearly forty. A number of wretches plundered the unfortunate ſufferers, previous to the arrival of the military.—The Royal Amphitheatre and ſtabling, with the ſcenery, wardrobe, properties, muſic, &c. coſt Meſſrs. Aſtley 30,000l. and were inſured only for 1700l. in the Phœnix office. All the horſes are ſaved.

3d. This day the notorious Hatfield prepared with great fortitude for his execution. After praying

praying for some time in the prison with two clergymen, he was conveyed in a post-chaise to the place of execution. When he came in sight of the tree, he said, "O! a happy sight; I see it with pleasure." Then he desired the executioner to be as expert as possible, and that he would wave an handkerchief when he was ready. The hangman then having fixed the rope, he put up his hand, and turned it himself. He also tied his cap, and took his handkerchief from his neck, and tied it about his head. At four o'clock he was turned off; and, after hanging the usual time, was conveyed to St. Mary's churchyard for interment.

15th. A man who some time ago leaped from London, Blackfriars, and Westminster bridges, into the Thames, in three quarters of an hour, undertook for a wager to perform the same exploit again. Having leaped from London Bridge into the water, he sunk and rose no more, and thus became a victim to his ill-applied courage. When the body was found, it appeared, that having gone down with his arms in a horizontal, instead of a perpendicular, position, they were both dislocated by the force of the water.

17th. *Dublin.* Yesterday evening, between six and seven, Major Sirr, attended by Hanlon, the keeper of the Tower in the Castle, surprised an offender, against whom there was an information as an insurgent, in a carpenter's shop in John-street, in the liberty where this fellow was at work. The major, on entering the place where two others were also employed, threatened that, if any should offer resistance, he would fire; this did not deter, for the ruffian whom they wanted, finding himself nearly secured, fought for a pistol he had; on doing which, Major Sirr snapped his at him, which missed fire. Hanlon immediately went to seize the fellow; but before he could, the latter fired, as did Hanlon at the same time, but he was unfortunately killed, and the desperado only shot in the left hand, where a ball lodged. The offender, with the two other persons, were seized, and lodged in the castle guard-house last night; the delinquent is a young man between 20 and 30 years of age.

21st. Mr. Moody and Mr. Parks, two midshipmen of the Leyden, lately quarelled slightly at Sheerness. They were, by their captain's interposition, mutually reconciled; but, within less than half an hour after, Mr. Moody taking up a pistol in the cock-pit, which he supposed not to have been loaded, sportively levelled it at Mr. Parks. Mr. Parks sunk on the floor in the agonies of death, and soon after expired.

24th. The king's horses from Hanover, were landed at Perry's dock. They consist of nine black stallions, eleven black mares, two cream-coloured stallions, and eight mares; ten white stallions, and five mares; five mouse-coloured stallions, and one mare; and two brown mares; in all, fifty-three. There were likewise brought with them several stallions and mares belonging to the Duke of Cambridge.—With them came thirty grooms, belonging to his Majesty, from Hanover; also, his Majesty's plate, from the same place. They were sent to Cumberland Lodge, in Windsor Great Park.

30th. A few days since a very serious and shocking accident happened in a timber-yard near the Adelphi. Two men were piling timber; and, as one of them was walking along a plank, his foot slipped: he was precipitated down to the ground, and instantly expired. The man who was pulling the timber up at top was also precipitated to the ground, and died the next day.

By the upsetting of a boat at Ramsgate-pier, last week, the following persons were lost: Mr. Charles Iggulden, son of John Iggulden, Esq.; Mr. Durban, chief clerk to Mr. Iggulden; Mr. Canney, a pilot; and Miss Sharpe, daughter of Mr. James Sharpe, bookseller; all of Deal. Mrs. Durban, wife of the above Mr. Durban, and one of the party, with her face downward, and apparently lifeless, was picked up, and, by timely medical assistance, recovered.

Died.—Joseph Ritson, Esq. a conveyancer, of Gray's Inn, deputy high-bailiff of the duchy of Lancaster, and a man of information, but more to be commended for his acuteness than for his good breeding or candour. His first publication was an anonymous quarto pamphlet, of "Observations on the Three Volumes of Warton's History of English Poetry;" one of the most illiberal productions we ever recollect to have seen. He wrote, also anonymously, three sets of remarks on the Editors of Shakspeare: 1. on Mr. Steevens's edition, 1778, intituled, "Remarks, critical and illustrative, on the Text and Notes of the last Edition of Shakspeare," 8vo; 2. "The Quip modest," &c. on Mr. Reed's republication of that edition, particularly illiberal; 3. "Cursory Criticisms," &c. on Mr. Malone's edition. He published a select collection of English Songs, in three vols. 8vo. Ancient Songs, from the time of Henry III. to the Revolution, 8vo. A volume of Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry, 8vo. "The English Anthology," a selection of poetry, in three small octavo volumes. "Robin Hood; a Collection of all the ancient Poems, Songs, and Ballads, now extant relative to that celebrated Outlaw. To which are added, Historical Anecdotes of his Life," 2 vols. 8vo, 1795. A Collection of Scotch Songs, with the genuine Music, 2 vols. 12mo. "Biographia Poetica: a Catalogue of English Poets of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centuries; with a short Account of their Works, 1801," 12mo. He put his name to "Ancient English Metrical Romances; selected and published by Joseph Ritson," 3 vols. 12mo, 1802. These two last publications are disfigured by an affectation of singularity in orthography, and are, perhaps, the least interesting of his publications.

OCTOBER.

4th. Charles Jones, Esq. an officer in the army, and Lieutenant Best, of the 48th regiment, being in a room together at Ibbetson's Hotel, Vere-street, and preparing to set out for the country, the former took up a pistol, to shew Mr. Best how he would serve a highwayman, if they met one on their intended journey; when, unfortunately,

fortunately, the piſtol went off, and killed Mr. Beſt. Coroner's verdict, *Accidental Death.*

The following is an account of the diſtances from the principal enemy's ports, to thoſe of England and Ireland; from Breſt to Galway, 180 leagues; to the Shannon, 150; to Bantry Bay, 115; to Cork and Kinſale, 100; to Plymouth, 60; to Torbay, 70; Cherbourg to Portſmouth, 26; Havre to Newhaven, 29; Abbeville to Pevenſey, 27; Boulogne to Rye, 14; Calais to Dover, 7; Dunkirk to Deal and Margate, 14½; Fluſhing to the Nore, 35; Helvoetſluys to Harwich, 30; Texel to Yarmouth, 36.

13th. Murdered, about eight this evening, near Throſtle-neſt-bridge, on the Stratford road, about a mile and a half from Mancheſter, Mr. James Aldred, a reſpectable farmer of Urmſton. He had been in Mancheſter on that day, to receive a large ſum of money (800l.) which, fortunately for his family, he lodged in the hands of two reſpectable attornies: and it is feared that his life was forfeited to his incautiouſly and imprudently mentioning the circumſtance of his having ſuch a ſum to receive, in the preſence of the unknown monſter who committed the horrid act. The deceaſed, who was upwards of 72 years of age, was ſhot through the heart, and a part of the wadding of the charge lodged in his breaſt; and, what is very extraordinary, a part of a pewter ſpoon was found in the body, the contents of the piſtol. He was a man of a truly good and benevolent diſpoſition; he had not more than about 13 or 14 ſhillings in his pocket, of which he was plundered.

Extract of a Letter from Venice, dated October 14.—"I ſend you an account of a very ſingular and extraordinary aerial voyage. Count Francis Zambeccari, of Bologna, Dr. Graſſetti, of Rome, and M. Paſqual, of Ancona, had prepared a very large air-balloon, which on Friday, the 7th of October, they filled in the city of Bologna. The filling proceeded very ſlowly; it was not full till about midnight, and the above-mentioned gentlemen propoſed to defer their aſcent till the next day; but the impatience and clamour of the people of Bologna obliged them to aſcend about three quarters after midnight. They, however, reſolved to come down again as ſoon as poſſible. The balloon being ſet at liberty, roſe with prodigious velocity, and ſoon attained ſuch a height, that Count Zambeccari and Doctor Graſſetti, benumbed with cold, which at the firſt produced an inclination to vomit, ſank into a kind of inſenſibility and a deep ſleep.

"M. Paſqual, who alone was awake, and in poſſeſſion of his ſenſes, could not aſcertain the height to which they had aſcended by the barometer, becauſe the wax-light they had carried with them in a lantern was gone out. About half after two in the morning, the balloon began to deſcend, and M. Paſqual diſtinctly heard the daſhing of the waves of the Adriatic Sea on the coaſt of Romagna. He then awakened his companions, and endeavoured to procure a light by means of phoſphoric matches, but did not ſucceed: he at length obtained

tained one by uſing tinder in the common manner. Soon after the balloon, with the car that was faſtened to it, fell into the Adriatic Sea, and with ſo much force, that the water daſhed over them above the height of a man. The Aeronauts, drenched with ſea-water, benumbed with cold, and in fear of immediate deſtruction, threw out a bag of ſand, all their inſtruments, and every thing they had with them; after which, the balloon roſe a ſecond time with extreme rapidity. They paſſed through three ranges of clouds one above the other; their clothes were covered with a hoar froſt; and, on account of the rarity of the air in which they were when they had aſcended above the clouds, they could ſcarcely hear each other ſpeak. The moon ſhone on the clouds below them, and appeared of a blood-red colour. Some time after three, the balloon again deſcended, though very ſlowly, and a briſk ſouth-weſt wind drove it over the Adriatic Sea towards the coaſt of Iſtria. The car frequently touched the water, and for five hours the adventurers were in momentary danger of death. At length, on Saturday morning, about eight o'clock, they were taken up, and reſcued from the perilous ſituation in which they were, by the *manzara* (a kind of large bark) of Antony Bazol, about ten Italian miles from the harbour of Veruda, in Iſtria. The balloon being given to the wind, flew over the mountain Oſſero, and probably went into Dalmatia. The Aeronauts came in the ſame ſhip, with their hands and feet entirely benumbed with cold, to Pola, a port in Iſtria, where they remained four days to recover from their fatigues. To-day, about eight in the morning, they arrived in Venice, and gave the above account of their adventures. Their aerial voyage from the coaſt of Romagna to Iſtria, is a diſtance of twenty German miles (about 120 Engliſh.) Had it not been for the brave ſeaman Antony Bazol, who very ably ſteered his ſhip to ſave them, they would, no doubt, have been buried in the waves. They were received here with the utmoſt hoſpitality, and do not appear to have any deſire to make another aerial excurſion at midnight."

The rebel general, Ruſſel, was tried at Carrickfergus, 19th. and, after a trial which laſted from ten in the morning till half paſt eight in the evening, convicted of High Treaſon, and executed on Friday following.

This day being appointed for a General Faſt, was obſerved with the utmoſt decorum in this great metropolis. The ſhops and all the public offices were ſhut, and the interior of every houſe wore the appearance of Sunday. The volunteer corps of London and Weſtminſter, and their environs, aſſembled at an early hour, and proceeded to their ſeveral places of worſhip, where they received the inſtruction of appropriate ſermons; and the clergy diſplayed, upon the occaſion, a moſt laudable zeal to ſtrengthen and improve thoſe generous and manly ſentiments with which their audiences were inſpired.—At half paſt ten, St. Paul's cathedral was ſurrounded with ſpectators; and before eleven the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and other city officers, with their different inſignia, attended divine worſhip. To this

this cathedral alſo repaired the Hon. Artillery Company, commanded by Alderman Le Meſurier, and conſiſting of upwards of 1000; the two troops of Loyal London Cavalry, commanded by Col. Anderton, and Mr. Alderman Rowcroft, their major; and the 3d regiment of Loyal London Volunteers, commanded by John Pooly Kenſington, Eſq. accompanied by the Rev. Henry Budd, Chaplain to the Corps, who muſtered at their head-quarters, in Bridewell-yard. At ten they marched for St. Paul's, accompanied by their band, in a moſt ſuperb new uniform; the band, under the direction of Mr. Hyde, playing the Duke of York's march. The ſtreets were ſo extremely crowded, that it was with the greateſt difficulty, and the moſt vigorous exertions of the pioneers, that the band could reach the cathedral, and when they had gained admittance, the choir was not large enough to contain them; numbers went into the organ loft, and the others were obliged to remain in the ailes during the whole time of divine ſervice. All the ſtreets leading to St. Pauls were crowded at the early hour of eight o'clock, and remained ſo the whole morning. About eleven, the Lord Mayor arrived in his ſtate carriage, accompanied by Aldermen Skinner and Boydell, the Sheriffs, and the City Officers. The crowd was ſo great in the cathedral, that it was difficult to make a paſſage for their entrance into the choir. The whole of the morning ſervice, both at the deſk and the altar, was moſt impreſſively and diſtinctly delivered by the Rev. John Pridden, one of the minor canons; and the ſermon was preached by his lordſhip's chaplain, the Rev. John Hutchins. After the ſermon, the 3d regiment was aſſembled by companies under the dome, and the oath of allegiance adminiſtered to the officers; and afterwards to the privates, ſix at a time. This regiment then returned to their head-quarters in the ſame order they came, and were diſmiſſed. Upon their return from St. Paul's, the London Cavalry drew up in front of the Manſion-houſe, where the Lord Mayor uncovered, in company with the Lady Mayoreſs, returned their ſalute. They were then diſmiſſed, after their horn had ſounded "God ſave the King," and their officers partook of a refreſhment at the Manſion-houſe. The other nine regiments attended divine ſervice in their reſpective wards. The firſt regiment of Loyal London Volunteers, commanded by Col. Birch, marched to St. Michael's Church, Cornhill. The ſecond regiment, commanded by Lieut. Col. John Smith, aſſembled at its head-quarters, Guildhall, at ten o'clock, depoſited their arms, and proceeded to St. Stephen's, Walbrook. The 4th regiment went to St. Sepulchre's. The 8th and 9th regiments, not finding accommodation for themſelves in large bodies, filed off into companies; and, for the moſt part, repaired to the churches of their reſpective pariſhes. A part of the firſt regiment of the Eaſt-India Company Volunteers attended at St. Mary Axe. At St. Creed's was another part of that regiment, and the Aldgate, or 7th regiment of City Volunteers, headed by Alderman Combe, their colonel. At Aldgate Church the remainder of the firſt regiment of Eaſt-India Volunteers, commanded by

by Adjutant Dickiſon; and the Portſoken Volunteers, headed in the abſence of Col. Shaw, who accompanied the Lord Mayor as one of the Sheriffs, by Major Pratt. The ſecond regiment of Eaſt-India Volunteers, commanded by Mr. Dominicus, amounting to 700; the Cuſtom-houſe Guards, headed by Commiſſioner Wilſon, amounting to about 300; and part of the River Fencibles, all in full uniform, attended at Allhallows, Barking. At St. Peter's, Cornhill, the third regiment of Eaſt-India Volunteers. The Bank Volunteers attended at St. Bartholomew's, behind the Exchange. The Loyal Britiſh Artificers, to the number of about 600, attended ſervice in Taviſtock chapel. The St. Clement Danes, their own church, whence they marched up Newcaſtle-ſtreet, and made a moſt ſoldier-like and reſpectable appearance. The Cecil-ſtreet Infant Aſſociation, commanded by Capt. Bradley, alſo attended at St. Clement's; their number amounted to 70, and if they did not boaſt a warlike appearance, they did a moſt intereſting one. The Somerſet-Houſe Volunteers went to the church of St. Mary-le-ſtrand. The Loyal City of Weſtminſter Volunteer Corps attended divine ſervice at the drum-head in Weſtminſter Hall. The ſervice was performed by the Rev. William Dakins. The novelty of the performance of divine worſhip in that place attracted a very numerous congregation; among them was the Earl of Inchinquin. The Law Aſſociation attended divine ſervice at the Temple Church, headed by their colonel, the Hon. Thomas Erſkine; where a moſt impreſſive diſcourſe was delivered by Dr. Rennell; whom a commanding eloquence and dignified manner have long rendered an object of general reſpect. On the preſent occaſion there was much ſolicitude expreſſed by many to get entrance to the church, which was crowded in all parts; and, indeed, the diſcourſe was ſuch as warranted the ſolicitude the expectation of it excited. The learned divine, after deſcanting upon the public evils which ſurrounded us, combated the opinions of ancient philoſophers, that there were two diſtinct principles of good and evil. He ſhewed from holy writ, that God was the author of all evil as well as good; but in doing this, he nevertheleſs juſtified the ways of God to man. He ſhewed that mankind, by their wickedneſs, had provoked the divine diſpleaſure, whoſe juſtice had ever been adminiſtered in the extremity of mercy; and thence took occaſion to admoniſh his hearers that they ſhould conciliate, by amended conduct, the favour of the deity, ſo that when they went forth to the protection of all that was dearer than themſelves, they might have his countenance with them, whether they went to death or to glory. After church, the corps returned to the ground, when it was announced that on Saturday next they would commence firing with ball. Col. Erſkine and moſt of the other officers were preſent. Afterwards the oath of allegiance was adminiſtered to them in the Temple-gardens. The St. George's Volunteers, Hanover-ſquare, attended at their own church. The ſermon was delivered by the Biſhop of London's nephew. The Loyal Britons Volunteer Infantry, under the command of Col. Alexander Da-

viſon, met in their ground in Bolton-row, and, after going through various evolutions, had an excellent diſcourſe delivered to them by their chaplain. The St. Giles's and St. George's, after attending divine ſervice at St. Giles's, proceeded at one to the Toxopholite ground behind Gower-ſtreet, where they received their colours among thouſands of ſpectators. The Kenſington Volunteers, under the command of Henry Knight, Eſq. their captain, after the uſual hours of parade, marched to their own church. The following corps alſo attended divine ſervice at the following churches and places. The Duke of Gloceſter's, at South Audley chapel. The Royal Mary-la-bonne, Upper Seymour-ſtreet chapel. The Bloomſbury in the chapel in the Foundling Hoſpital. The St. Pancras at the church at Somers' Town. The Highgate at Highgate church. The Riflemen, or Sharp Shooters, at St. Paul, Covent-garden. The Clerkenwell at St. James's, Clerkenwell. The Iſlington at their pariſh-church. The Bethnal-green at Spitalfields church. The Limehouſe, the Ratcliffe, the Wapping, the St. George's in the Eaſt, the Whitechapel, the St. Andrew's, Holborn, the Bermondſey, the Lambeth Aſſociation, the Fulham, the Hammerſmith, the Roehampton, the Richmond, and the Chriſt Church, Surry, each attended in their reſpective churches. The Duke of York and the whole brigade of Guards attended at the Almonry chapel, Weſtminſter, with the following diſtinguiſhed officers: Gen. Burrard, Gen. Leſlie, Gen. Calvert, A. G. Gen. Brownrigg, Q. M. G. General Wynyard, D. A. G. Col. Murray, with the Duke's Staff, the Hon. Capts. A. and T. Upton and Paget. Before and after the ſervice, the Duke of York's band performed; ſeveral of the Guards alſo aſſiſted in the choir. The Queen's Own, or Queen's Royal regiment of Volunteers, met in Mr. Holland's field, oppoſite Sloane-ſtreet, under the command of Lord Hobart. That fine corps began to aſſemble after eleven. When they were all collected, and had paraded for a ſhort time, they marched down to Ranelagh Houſe, where the morning ſervice was read by the Rev. Weeden Butler, jun. after which the Rev. Weeden Butler, ſen. Chaplain to the Duke of Kent and to the regiment, preached an eloquent diſcourſe. Mr. Watts (organiſt to Charlotte-ſtreet chapel, Pimlico), was then requeſted to preſide at the organ: and the whole regiment immediately ſang "God Save the King," in a ſlow, loud, and truly ſolemn manner. Many of the ſpectators were viſibly affected. The balconies were crowded with ladies; as were the lower boxes with gentlemen. There were about 3000 viſitors in all; and the *coup d'œil* was remarkably grand.

Such a number of corps attended this day, that it is impoſſible to enumerate them. Every principal church was crowded with the ardent patriots who fill the voluntary aſſociations; and there can be no doubt that in the preſent temper of the people of this country, not only every other great city and town, but even the ſmalleſt village or hamlet throughout the iſland, evinced a proportionate degree of fervour and animation in the holy cauſe. The corps who had not before taken the oath of allegiance did

did ſo this day, either on their drill grounds, or in their reſpective churches. Among the number, upwards of 300 of the moſt reſpectable individuals of the Jewiſh perſuaſion took the oaths to government. By an order from their high prieſt, they were prohibited from attending in our churches during the time of divine ſervice. The high prieſt, however, expreſſed his higheſt concurrence to their taking the oaths of fidelity and allegiance to our king and country. Theſe gentlemen accordingly took the oaths, either upon the drilling-grounds of their reſpective corps, or in the veſtry-rooms of the churches, as circumſtances required. They were ſworn upon the book of Leviticus, inſtead of the New Teſtament, having their heads uncovered.

26th. This was a truly proud day for the country. It preſented the ſublime ſpectacle of a Patriot Monarch, who reigns no leſs diſtinguiſhed in the hearts of his people than on his throne, meeting the brave citizens of his metropolis, armed in defence of his crown and of the Britiſh conſtitution; and, with the characteriſtic virtue of the ſons of Albion, reſolved to continue free, or glorioufly fall with the liberty and independence of their country. Such a ſpectacle is worthy of ſuch a people; ſuch a people are deſerving the ſuperior bleſſings they poſſeſs.

As ſoon as the light appeared, the greater part of the population of London was on the foot in every quarter, impelled by the moſt ardent and moſt laudable curioſity, to be preſent at this grand, intereſting, and glorious ſcene. There was on every countenance not a common curioſity, ſuch as was excited by former military ſpectacles, when the king reviewed his ſoldiers: it was a deeper and more lively intereſt. The ties which connect our gracious ſovereign with his people have been drawn cloſer, by the common danger with which our audacious enemy has dared to threaten both. The mutual affections which have ever united them are enhanced. Inſtead of thoſe common teſtimonies of mutual regard, which marked their meetings on former occaſions, there is now an uncommon ardour and earneſtneſs in the ſalutations which his Majeſty receives from the publick, and an extraordinary warmth in the manner in which he returns them, excited by the unprecedented circumſtances of the times. It is a ſtrong and ſolemn aſſurance of the people to ſtand or fall with their king, and of the king to ſtand or fall with his people. This day, therefore, muſt have been to his Majeſty, and the people of London, the moſt grateful of all the ſolemnities which they have celebrated together. The congratulations on the eſcape of his Majeſty from the various dangers to which his precious life has hitherto been expoſed, were ſcenes of gladneſs, in which the exultation was not reſtrained by any ſerious conſideration: it was a general feeling of good-natured joy, in which every diſpoſition that was not actually ſavage and inhuman muſt have indulged. But this day's ſolemnity was of a far different kind. The armed citizens of London came to ſhew their ſovereign that they were ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in his defence, in defence of the conſtitution

and of their country: the ſovereign came to behold their ardour in the glorious cauſe, and to evince his own. Theſe were the motives and the feelings of his Majeſty and the volunteers. The motives and the feelings of thoſe whom ſex and age and circumſtances rendered mere ſpectators, were too manifold to deſcribe, or even to imagine; but, though leſs ſublime, they were probably not leſs intereſting, nor leſs commendable. The fathers, children, mothers, wives, and daughters, whoſe deareſt relations go forth to meet the danger, muſt be agitated with a thouſand feelings of tender anxiety, which, though inferior in moral rank to thoſe that prompt the men in arms to the field, are ſtill much to be admired and eſteemed. All ſhewed a feeling in proportion to their condition; all ſhewed a feeling equally loyal and honourable. The corps evinced their zeal, and their ſtrict attention to their orders, by being at the ground appointed for them before the time at which their attendance was commanded.—As early as ſeven o'clock ſeveral of the corps entered the park at the Groſvenor and Hyde-park-corner gates. By eight o'clock all the corps ſtood aſſembled in cloſe column of companies, in and behind the right of its own ground. A quarter-maſter, with the camp-colour-men of each corps, were on the ground at ſeven, and one of them belonging to each corps attended at the different gates to conduct his regiment to its proper point. As the corps proceeded to their different ſtations, each marched with its right in front, ſo that when it arrived at the proper point, the right diviſion ſtood on the ground it was to occupy in the line, and the other diviſions were in cloſe column behind it. The advantage of this arrangement was, that all the corps could, without the ſlighteſt confuſion, deploy into line as ſoon as the ſignal was given. Soon after nine o'clock a ſignal gun, a twelve-pounder, was fired, and the general line was formed by deploying to the left: the line was formed at cloſe ranks. The ranks were then extended, and the officers advanced in front. The corps that had guns ſtationed them on their right. The deploying into line, the forming at cloſe ranks, and the ſubſequent opening of the ranks, were executed with great regularity and order, and did infinite credit to the diſcipline and attention of each regiment.

Majors General Finch, Burrard, Leſlie, and Fitzroy, were on the ground by eight; the Earl of Harrington, who commanded the line, about the ſame time. About nine the Commander in Chief entered from Hyde-park-corner, with the Duke of Cambridge, and their Aides-de-Camp. They proceeded along Rotten-row towards Kenſington gate. The Duke of Cumberland, in the uniform of his regiment of Light Dragoons, entered ſhortly after at Hyde-park-corner, and proceeded towards Kenſington-gate by the carriage road. A few minutes before ten, a twelve-pounder was fired as the ſignal of his Majeſty's approach, and immediately the whole force ſhouldered arms. It was not quite ten when his Majeſty, in his private carriage, attended by the Duke of Kent in his uniform as General, and the Duke of Clarence in the uniform of the Teddington

Aſſociation, entered the park at the Light Horſe-gate at Kenſington. On entering the gate, his Majeſty alighted from the carriage, and mounted his charger. His Majeſty then rode forward, preceded by the Life Guards, and the royal grooms, with four led horſes, elegantly capariſoned. His Majeſty was attended by the Princes, and followed by her Majeſty, with the Princeſs Auguſta and Princeſs Elizabeth, in an open landau. The Princeſs Sophia and the Princeſs Mary, with two attendants, came after in another of the royal carriages. The Princeſſes of the Glouceſter branch afterwards joined the cavalcade, in a yellow coach. Oppoſite the entrance of Kenſington-gardens, his Majeſty was met by the Duke of York, the Earls of Harrington and Cheſterfield, Generals Calvert, Stewart, Burrard, and Leſlie, with Lord Peterſham, Col. Macquarrie, and the whole of the Staff. As the proceſſion advanced, it was joined, near the ring, by Monſieur, dreſſed in green, with red facings; the Prince de Condé, in white, faced with blue; the Duke de Bourbon, in white, faced with red; and the Duke de Berri, in green. The French Princes were on horſeback, attended by ſeveral of the French nobleſſe, decorated with the inſignia of ſeveral military orders. General Dumouriez was in their train. The whole cavalcade was cloſed by a party of the 13th Light Dragoons; a regiment which has now frequently the honour to be aſſociated in guarding his Majeſty. The royal cavalcade paſſed rapidly along the carriage-road from Kenſington-gate, as far as the rear of the Knightſbridge barrack, where it turned, and croſſed to the right of the line by the bottom of the Serpentine river; the piles, which are placed to prevent horſes and carriages from paſſing that way, having been removed for the occaſion. As ſoon as his Majeſty entered the Park, a royal ſalute of 21 guns was fired by the guns of the Artillery company. A ſecond cannon announced his Majeſty's arrival at the centre of the line. The officers immediately ſaluted, the corps preſented arms, and the bands played "God ſave the King." Immediately afterwards a third cannon was fired, and the corps ſhouldered and then ſupported arms. His Majeſty now proceeded to the right of the line, and paſſed along from right to left, each corps carrying arms as his Majeſty arrived near the right of the corps. Whilſt his Majeſty paſſed along the front, the muſic played a variety of martial tunes. The grandeſt part of the ſpectacle was when his Majeſty deſcended the hill, to re-paſs, at the bottom of the Serpetine, to the corps on the left of the line, which were ſtationed along the footway to Kenſington-gardens, with their front towards the water. By this time, the fog, which had dimmed the ſplendour of the ſcene in the earlier part of the day, was in ſome degree diſpelled, and the whole of the royal proceſſion, as well as the immenſe crowd that followed in the train, had become tolerably conſpicuous. A ſight ſo grand, and ſo delightful, is ſeldom ſeen. The whole of the ground in the rear of the Royal train was covered to the ſummit, of the hill with women

elegantly dreſſed, interſperſed with volunteers, and officers in uniform; and, according as they deſcended, freſh numbers appeared on the ſummit ready to aſſume their places, till their progreſs was ſtopped at the Serpentine, to prevent the way from being choaked for his Majeſty's return. There was not the ſame opportunity of diſcerning perſons of rank in this crowd as on ordinary occaſions; from the attention to general accommodation, which ſo properly marked the general orders; no carriages, horſes, or ſervants, were admitted within the lines; and, from the abſence of thoſe appendages of wealth and condition, it was difficult to diſtinguiſh individuals. All that could be ſeen was, that the women within the line were chiefly in white dreſſes, and the men, with the exception of a few naval officers, ſharp-ſhooters, and volunteer cavalry, in red. The general *coup d'œil* was grand beyond deſcription. His Majeſty, having paſſed to the extremity of the line, returned again by the Serpentine, and took his poſition in the centre. Then, on the ſignal of the ſeventh gun, three vollies were fired by battalions from the centre to the flanks; and on the firing of the eighth gun, three loud, univerſal, and unanimous cheers were given, with hats and hands waving in the air, drums beating, and muſic playing "God ſave the King." On the firing of the ninth gun, the whole of the corps wheeled backwards on their left, by diviſions; and, having paſſed his Majeſty in the order preſcribed by the general inſtructions, proccaded by the moſt convenient way to their different quarters. The review being over at 20 minutes paſt one, the Royal Party, with the Foreign Princes, and the generals, returned again from the poſition which his Majeſty had taken in the centre of the Park, by the Serpentine, and along by Rotten-row, to Piccadilly gate, from which they croſſed over, and went on to Buckingham-houſe, followed all the way by the immenſe crowd. Being no longer reſtrained by the military employed in keeping the lines, the people ran in all directions, to indulge their affection for their Sovereign, with a view of his beloved perſon. The air reſounded with their ſhouts; and his Majeſty ſhewed the deepeſt ſenſe of their loyalty, as well by the ſatisfaction which was viſible in his countenance, as by pulling off his hat, and giving other marks of his reciprocal feelings. Never was ſuch a concourſe known with ſo little inconvenience. No one accident occurred: indeed, the only thing from which any accident could have been apprehended was, the extreme eagerneſs with which the crowd ran wherever his Majeſty could be ſeen; their impetuoſity was ſuch, on theſe occaſions, as to break through the beſt-fenced incloſures of the Park, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the troops employed in keeping the ground could ſtop them, though the goodneſs of the motive produced no relaxation in the enforcement of this very neceſſary duty. On the return of the corps, after the review, about half paſt one, all the windows in the ſtreets through which they were

to

the paſs, were crowded with ladies. The principal houſes in Piccadilly and Park-lane were filled with perſons of the firſt diſtinction, as were thoſe of St. George's-row, leading to Bayſwater, and ſeveral in Oxford-ſtreet. The ſmall houſes at the gate to Hyde-park, and the rails to the very top, had a moſt ſingular appearance from the number of perſons who had climbed to the top of them. Piccadilly was thronged with carriages of every deſcription, none but thoſe of Ambaſſadors and Princes being ſuffered to enter the Park. With a ſimilar laudable vigilance, carriages were excluded from Park-lane, Hereford-ſtreet, Green-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſtreet, Mount-ſtreet, and Brook-ſtreet. It is owing to this precaution, that ſuch an immenſe concourſe was enabled to view this ſublime ſight, without a ſingle accident. Among the perſons who attracted moſt notice in the park, was Elfi Bey, who followed, though, from etiquette, he could not join in the royal cavalcade. The Bey was in his carriage, accompanied by his Majeſty's and his own interpreter, and his aid-de-camp. His ſervants were dreſſed in ſcarlet and gold, with green cuffs and collars, gold epaulets, plain cocked hats, with gold loop and button, and high white feather. The whole number of ſpectators, and men in arms, could not be leſs than 200,000; every perſon who could come from within a circle of 20 miles being collected. Many came to town from a diſtance of above 100 miles, to be preſent at the ſight. The trees, the houſe-tops, every poſition from which curioſity could ſatisfy itſelf, was eagerly taken poſſeſſion of. If we were to enumerate the minute particulars which were obſerved with intereſt in every particular ſpot, the taſk would be endleſs, and the detail fatiguing. It was altogether a day on which we have to congratulate London and the empire at large: it was a day which afforded the moſt glorious ſight ever witneſſed, without a ſingle thing to excite the ſmalleſt regret.

The Volunteer Corps reviewed this day were, the Loyal London Volunteer Cavalry, 217 effective men; Hon. Artillery Company, 994; 1ſt Regiment of Royal Eaſt India Volunteers, 640; 2d ditto, 636; 3d ditto, 585; 1ſt Regiment of Loyal London Volunteer Infantry, 737; 2d ditto, 657; 3d ditto, 804; 4th ditto, 790; 5th ditto, 501; 6th ditto, 647; 7th ditto, 404; 8th ditto, 777; 9th ditto, 651; 10th ditto, 587; 11th ditto, 293; 1ſt Regiment of Tower Hamlets, 350; Whitechapel, 445; Mile End, 333; St. George in the Eaſt, 230; Radcliffe, 183; Shoreditch, 294; Bromley St. Leonard, 175; Bethnal Green, 166; St. Katherine, 121; and Chriſt Church Volunteers, 184. Total 12,401.

The eclat with which the grand review of the London diſtrict of Volunteers went off on Wedneſday, excited a laudable ambition in the breaſts of the Weſtminſter, Lambeth, and Southwark corps, to ſurpaſs, if poſſible, their brethren in arms, in diſcipline, in zeal, and military appearance. So great was the anxiety of ſome corps, that the majority of the men never laid down in the courſe of the preceding night, the whole 28th.

of which was ſpent in preparation; and even of thoſe who did, few, it may be preſumed, enjoyed a wink of ſleep. At ſix, the corps were muſtered in their reſpective drill-grounds, and at that time there was every proſpect of a fine bright day; but the appearance ſoon changed, and an approaching fog ſeemed reſolved that the Weſtern diſtrict ſhould have no advantage of weather over the Eaſtern diſtrict reviewed on Wedneſday. The fog, however, not content with equalling that of Wedneſday, increaſed to ſuch a degree, that at half paſt ſeven, not a ſingle object could be ſeen in the Park, and ſeveral of the corps would have paſſed by Oxford-ſtreet-gate, had they not been ſtopped by a party of Life-guards ſtationed there to guard the entrance. The eager expectation which uſhered in the morning, now changed to fearful anxiety. It was too dark to obſerve the expreſſion of the countenance; but every body, in tones of deſpondency, began to expreſs their apprehenſions that all the beauty of the military ſpectacle would be loſt, and that a glimpſe of the troops could not be obtained, much leſs a full view of them, and the embelliſhments of the ſcene. The houſes, ſcaffolds, carts, caravans, and carriages of all deſcriptions, drawn up for the accommodation of ſpectators along the Bayſwater-road, inſtantly began to drop their prices; and would have fallen ſtill lower had not the fog fortunately begun to clear away about half paſt eight, when the buſineſs of the day again aſſumed a chearful aſpect, and the ſpectators eagerly aſſembled in amazing crowds, and to a ſtill greater extent than on Wedneſday. The ſame excellent regulations to preſerve order were obſerved as thoſe which were adopted upon that day. The Park was ſhut up all night, and the gates were not opened for the admiſſion of the populace until eight o'clock, at which time the corps began to arrive. From that hour until 10 o'clock the crowds at Piccadilly-gate were ſo great, that the preſſure became intolerable; many perſons, it was feared, would be cruſhed or trampled to death, in the immenſe tide which endeavoured to force itſelf through the ſide-gates, the only ones for admiſſion. In this ſituation Jones, the Bow-ſtreet officer, under whoſe care the gate was, perceiving the imminent danger of the multitude preſſing in upon the Piccadilly ſide, occaſionally opened the main gates, and thus relieved the dreadful preſſure. The parties ſtationed here and at the other gates to preſerve order, conſiſted of detachments of the guards, patroles, and the Bow-ſtreet officers, except Townſend and Sayers, who attended their Majeſties. As each corps entered, the party of guards at the gates ſhouldered arms; and as the colours paſſed, they preſented arms. The corps immediately in the vicinity of the Park did not experience ſo much inconvenience from the darkneſs of the morning as thoſe at a diſtance, who were obliged to muſter earlier. From the lowneſs of their ſituation, the fog lay heavieſt upon Lambeth and Southwark; and, though this circumſtance was unfavourable to the ſcene as a ſpectacle, it was the

ſource

ſource of much intereſt and variety.

The regiments reviewed this day were, the London and Weſtminſter Light Horſe Volunteers, 727 effective men; Weſtminſter Regiment of Volunteer Cavalry, 225; Southwark Troop of Yeomanry, 69; Clerkenwell Cavalry, 46; Lambeth ditto, 40; St. George's regiment of Volunteer Infantry, 663; St. James's ditto, 954; Bloomſbury and Inns of Court ditto, 929; Royal Weſtminſter ditto, 961; Prince of Wales's ditto, 640; St. Margaret's and St. John's, 625; Loyal North Britons, 286; Mary-la-Bonne, 905; Law Aſſociation, 335; Duke of Glouceſter's, 462; the Somerſet Place, 380; the St. Giles's and St. George's, 605; the Clerkenwell, 701; Loyal Britiſh Artificers, 542; the Loyal Britons, 127; St. Andrew and St. George's, 514; 1ſt and 2d battalion of Queen's Royal, 926; the Knightſbridge, 124; the St. Clement's Danes, 245; 1ſt Surrey, 515; the St. Sepulchre, 174; the St. Saviour's, 151; the Loyal Southwark, 545; Lambeth, 555; Chriſtchurch, 171; St. John's, 138; St. Olave's, 116; Rotherhithe, 158; Duke of Cumberland's Corps of Volunteer Sharp Shooters, 84; and the Gray's Inn Corps of Volunteer Riflemen, 38. Total 14,676.

The total number of troops inſpected amounted, on both days, to 27,077: but in many inſtances a fourth part of the corps were abſent on buſineſs or otherwiſe; and we underſtand that the returns of the effective ſtrength of the ſeveral battalions, rendered ſome weeks before, made the number of Volunteers within the city to exceed 35,000. The corps in the vicinity of the metropolis, as the Hackney, Pancras, Fulham, Hampſtead, Iſlington, Camberwell, Wandſworth, &c. exceed 11,000, making in the whole a force of 46,000 men.

The King arrived at the Knightſbridge harracks, from Kew, about ten o'clock, accompanied by her Majeſty and the Princeſſes; and ſoon after entered the Park, preceded by a troop of horſe, and ſurrounded by the Dukes of York, Clarence, and Cumberland, and a number of officers on horſeback. The proceſſion moved acroſs the head of the Serpentine river, up to the centre of the Park. The fog now began to diſperſe, and the ſight became truly magnificent, as the cavalcade could be ſeen paſſing the lines to the diſtance of three quarters of a mile. After the King had inſpected the line, the whole formed into companies, and paſſed his Majeſty in review, preciſely in the ſame manner as the London Corps on Wedneſday laſt; and then retired in quick time. It is but juſtice to obſerve, that the regularity of the firing, on both occaſions, did infinite credit to ſo numerous a body. The multitude was beyond conception great, particularly females; and it ſeemed as if the whole non-military population of the metropolis had come forward in honour of their defenders. The following general orders were iſſued, from the office of the Commander in Chief, to the commanding officers of the ſeveral Volunteer Corps:

"*Horſe Guards, Oct.* 29.

"His Royal Highneſs the Commander in Chief has received the King's command to convey to the ſeveral Volunteer and Aſſociated Corps

Corps which were reviewed in Hyde Park on the 26th and 28th inſtant, his Majeſty's higheſt approbation of their appearance, which has equalled his Majeſty's utmoſt expectation. His Majeſty perceives, with heartfelt ſatisfaction, that the ſpirit of loyalty and patriotiſm, on which the ſyſtem of the Armed Volunteers throughout the kingdom was originally founded, has riſen with the exigencies of the times, and at this moment forms ſuch a bulwark to the Conſtitution and Liberties of the country, as will enable us, under the protection of Providence, to bid defiance to the unprovoked malice of our enemies, and to hurl back, with becoming indignation, the threats which they have preſumed to vent againſt our independence, and even our exiſtence, as a nation. His Majeſty has obſerved with peculiar pleaſure, that, amongſt the unprecedented exertions which the preſent circumſtances of the country have called forth, thoſe of the capital of his United Kingdom have been eminently conſpicuous. The appearance of its numerous and well-regulated Volunteer Corps, which were reviewed on the 26th and 28th inſtant, indicates a degree of attention and emulation, both in officers and men, which can proceed only from a deep ſenſe of the important objects for which they have enrolled themſelves, a juſt eſtimation of the bleſſings we have ſo long enjoyed, and a firm and manly determination to defend them like Britons, and tranſmit them, unimpaired, to our poſterity. The Commander in Chief has the higheſt ſatisfaction in diſcharging his duty, by communicating theſe his Majeſty's moſt gracious ſentiments, and requeſts that the Commanding Officers will have recourſe to the readieſt means of making the ſame known to their reſpective corps.

"FREDERIC,
"Commander in Chief."

DIED.—2d. At New-York, in his 82d year, Mr. John Adams, one of the firſt promoters of the American Revolution. The bells of the town tolled for half an hour; and clergy, ſtate officers, public functionaries, and foreign conſuls, were invited, by public advertiſement, to attend the funeral proceſſion. By his death the American States have loſt one of the oldeſt, moſt firm, and moderate ſupporters of their independence, and England one of its moſt ſteady friends in that country. After the death of the great Waſhington, the Engliſh party looked up to Adams as their chief, though, at the age of 82, at which he died, the energies of moſt men are ended. Mr. A. was the firſt American embaſſador in this country, where, with a true Rebublican ſimplicity, and in a manner ſuitable to the embarraſſed finances of his country, he reſided in the firſt floor of a bookſeller in Piccadilly, and afterwards as a lodger in Leiceſter-fields. He was a man of conſiderable abilities; and his "Hiſtory of Republicks," if not a firſt-rate production, is full of information, and, among the latter efforts of that ſpecies of literature, ranks high. Mr. A. died juſtly regretted and eſteemed by all wiſe and moderate men.

18th. At his apartments in Greenwich hoſpital, after a few days illneſs of a paralytic ſtroke, in his 51ſt year, John Willett Payne, Eſq. rear-admiral of the Red,

Red, vice-admiral of the coaſts of Devonſhire and Cornwall, treaſurer of Greenwich hoſpital, comptroller of the houſehold of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, and lord warden of the Stannaries. The profeſſional and private character of this gentleman have long ſtood ſo high in the public eſtimation that they can gain no addition by any eulogy. He began his career in the navy about the year 1769, on board the Quebec, of 32 guns, commanded by Lord Ducie; ſerved as midſhipman on board the Eagle, of 64 guns, bearing the flag of Earl Howe, in the American war; whence he was made lieutenant, and promoted to the rank of poſt-captain July 8, 1780; and diſtinguiſhed himſelf on ſeveral occaſions, particularly by his action in the Weſt Indies, 1783, with a ſhip of very ſuperior force, the Pluto. He alſo commanded the Ruſſell, one of the ſhips in Earl Howe's memorable action on the 1ſt of June, 1794. He was appointed Rear-Admiral of the Red, Feb. 14, 1799; and in the following year, on the reſignation of Lord Bridport, ſucceeded him in the office of Treaſurer of Greenwich Hoſpital. He had the honour to convey the Princeſs of Wales to England, in the Jupiter, of 50 guns. The high ſtation which this officer has long occupied with ſo much credit in the Prince's houſehold, afforded ſcope for the talents and courteſy of manners which he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree. His judgment was prompt and correct; his wit, though brilliant, was never ſevere; and his benevolence, though unbounded, was never expoſed to the glare of day. The prevailing feature in his character was an uniform mildneſs and good-will for all. —On the 25th, the remains of this worthy and gallant officer were interred in the vault at the north-weſt corner of St. Margaret's church, Weſtminſter, with unuſual tokens of reſpect, and marks of honour. The proceſſion, from Greenwich Hoſpital, to the place of burial, conſiſted of an hearſe, three mourning-coaches with ſix horſes each, and all the cuſtomary accompaniments of funeral grandeur. This laſt ceremony of reſpect to the corpſe of a departed officer was attended by a very long train of nobility and gentry in their carriages, and would have been ſtill farther dignified by the perſonal attendance of the Prince of Wales, had not the anxious ſolicitations of his friends prevented his Royal Highneſs, who has, for ſeveral years paſt, honoured the deceaſed Admiral with peculiar marks of his royal friendſhip and eſteem. To give every public proof of the intereſt taken by the heir apparent to the Crown in this laſt and ſerious duty, the equipage of the Prince manifeſted all the ſigns of royal reſpect: it conſiſted of his Royal Highneſs's coach (in which were Gen. Hulſe, Col. M'Mahon, and Mr. Tyrwhitt) drawn by ſix horſes, and accompanied by five out-riders, who, with the coachman and footmen, were all dreſſed in their ſtate liveries, and wore the uſual ſable inſignia of mourning. All the equipages bore ſimilar emblems; and the whole appearance of the ſolemnity was equally dignified and ſerious. The ſervice was performed in an admirable and pathetic manner by the Rev. J. S. Clarke, chaplain of the houſehold

to

to the Prince of Wales. A great concourſe of people crowded the church, and joined in lamenting the loſs of a gallant ſervant of the public, and a meritorious defender of his country and the illuſtrious family on its throne.

NOVEMBER.

10th. A grand entertainment was given to his Excellency Elfi Bey, and a number of other diſtinguiſhed viſitors, by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales.—The converſation turning upon the very excellent equeſtrian powers of the Mamelukes and the Turks, the Prince, in his uſual ſtile of affability, ſaid, "I have now in my ſtud an Egyptian horſe, ſo wild and ungovernable, that he will diſmount the beſt horſeman in the whole Bey's retinue." The Bey replied in Italian to the Prince —"I ſhall gratify your Royal Highneſs's curioſity to-morrow." An appointment conſequently took place the next day at two o'clock, in the Prince of Wales's riding houſe, Pall-mall; when the Bey, in company with Colonel Moore, his interpreter, and Mahomet Aga, his principal officer, a young man of apparent great agility, entered the riding-houſe, where the Prince and his royal Brothers waited, attended by ſeveral noblemen, to witneſs the management of the horſe, which never before could be ridden by any body. One of the Mameluke's ſaddles being fixed by the grooms, the animal was led out of the ſtable into the riding-houſe, in ſo rampant and unmanageable a ſtate, that the gentlemen preſent concluded no one would ever attempt to mount him. There never was a greater model of beauty. He is ſpotted like a leopard, and his eyes were ſo fiery and enraged, as to indicate the greateſt danger to any one who dared to mount him. Being led round the boundary, Mahomet Aga made a ſpring, ſeized him by the reins, and in an inſtant vaulted on the back of the animal, which, finding itſelf incumbered by a burden that it never before felt, and goaded by the tightneſs of the Egyptian ſaddle, gave looſe to his paſſion, and, in the height of ferocity, plunged, but in vain, in every direction. The Mameluke kept his ſeat during this proud diſtraction of the horſe, for more than twenty minutes, to the utter aſtoniſhment of the Prince and every beholder; and the apparently ungovernable animal was at laſt reduced to ſo tame and accommodating a ſtate, as to yield to the controul of the very able rider who had thus ſubdued him. The Prince expreſſed himſelf highly gratified; greatly complimented the officer for his equeſtrian ſkill; and, after retiring to Carlton Houſe, ordered ſome refreſhment, when Elfi Bey and his retinue departed, not a little proud of the diſplay of their eaſy victory.

11th. A dreadful ſcene happened this night at *Whitſtable*, near the oyſter-ground. The boat of the gun-brig called the Hackett, with ten men in it, was going to Faverſham, but the weather being bad, they returned; and going along-ſide of the ſhip, the ſails of the boat backed, and in a moment ſhe upſet. Seven out of the crew were drowned; one of the other three ſwam to the ſtern of the

the ſhip, and ſaved his life; the other two ſwam to the buoy, called the cullinbin buoy, and were taken off by another boat that belonged to the jolly boat. Amongſt the ſufferers were the doctor and a midſhipman, two fine men. The ſhip fired guns of diſtreſs, and hoiſted a black flag.

13th. A moſt beautiful vivid meteor deſcended this evening, about eight o'clock; taking a ſouth-weſt direction, and the whole atmoſphere, for the inſtant, appeared illumined with a vivid flame of blue light. Its appearance was exactly that of a firework, called a Bengal light, of a bright blue flame; it was not ſo large as has been ſtated, nor was its appearance accompanied by any heat or noiſe. This phænomenon is not calculated to excite that terror and dread which in the dark ages of ſuperſtition, the deſigning were wont to raiſe. A compariſon of well authenticated facts authoriſes a concluſion that ſimilar events are by no means uncommon; but by happening in the day-time, or after the inhabitants have, in general, retired to reſt, they are obſerved but by few; and the relation, if made, diſregarded; and it is perhaps as much owing to the time of the evening in which this meteor appeared, as to its magnitude and brilliancy, that it has excited ſo much curioſity. From the circumſtance of its appearance at *Dover*, *Cranbrook*, *Chelmsford*, *Lewes*, *Brighthelmſtone*, and *Southampton*, compared with its appearance in *London*, it ſeems that the body which occaſioned this light was moving with incredible ſwiftneſs at a vaſt height above the earth, in a direction nearly weſt or ſouth-weſt, and in a line paſſing to the ſouthward of the coaſt of Eſſex. It was expected in due courſe of time, to be ſeen in France, and probably further in a ſouth-weſt direction, and in the contrary direction acroſs England, Wales, and perhaps Ireland. It was obſerved near the Horſe-guards, in Weſtminſter, to paſs about 28 or 30 degrees to the ſouthward of the Zenith, and about 28 or 29 minutes after the hour of eight by that clock, which is well and conſtantly regulated to true or near time; the whole time which the light occaſioned by the meteor laſted, was not eſtimated to exceed five or ſix ſeconds. From the great height at which this meteor was moving, and its great velocity, little expectation was entertained of hearing of its fall, or of any of thoſe maſſes of iron and ſtony matters which have, in ſo many well-authenticated inſtances, fallen from the atmoſphere, and buried themſelves in the earth, or the burſting or extinction of many ſimilar meteors.

21ſt. As the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Webber were ſitting in their parlour at *Bathealton* parſonage, Somerſet, about eight o'clock in the evening, there came on a a hail-ſtorm, attended with lightning, when inſtantly the window-ſhutters burſt open; the window was ſhattered to pieces, and two ſlate ſtones were driven into the apartment. The houſe had been ſtruck in three directions, eaſt, weſt, and ſouth. It was totally ſtripped of the thatch, ſome of which was carried by the violence of the wind to a very great diſtance.

tance. Twelve out of fifteen windows, which were in the houſe, were literally ſhivered to atoms; and the lightning melted the lead in one of the chamber-windows. The roofs of a barn, ſtable, and many other out-houſes, were blown in and deſtroyed. The roof of the church was ſlightly ſtruck. Many trees were rooted up and carried to ſome diſtance. One large apple tree was thrown to the diſtance of twenty-four feet. Providentially no lives were loſt. The lightning continued very vivid, with very little intermiſſion, the whole night.

DIED.—At Curacloe, near Wexford, in Ireland, Mr. John Tute. Though in his 110th year, he poſſeſſed an unuſual degree of chearfulneſs and activity, not often found in men of half his age.

DECEMBER.

1ſt. A ſad accident happened during a gale in the middle of laſt week. Seven pilots belonging to the iſland of Agnes, periſhed near the Land's End. A Guernſey cutter privateer, with a Dutch Eaſt India ſhip, her prize, approached the iſlands; but, having loſt her rudder, it was not practicable, the day the pilots got on board, from the wind and tide not being ſufficiently favourable, to bring her into either of the harbours at theſe Iſles: ſhe was, therefore, brought to anchor as near as poſſible on the outſide. During the night, the wind became more adverſe, ſo that they were conſtrained to ſlip or cut; but, as each veſſel had a pilot on board, the boat with the other five men kept them company; but, the gale increaſing, and ſhifting to a different point, they were all driven off the harbour of St. Ive's, where we hear both ſhip and cutter now are in ſafety. The men then all took the boat, with hopes of regaining home; but, the weather growing worſe, and they not being perfectly acquainted with that coaſt, were obſerved from the land all to periſh, without the poſſibility of aſſiſtance.

7th. About two o'clock in the morning a fire was diſcovered in the long range of auction-rooms, manufactories, and warehouſes, between Frith-ſtreet and Dean-ſtreet, Soho. On the firſt alarm, the manufactory of Jackſon and Moſer, furniſhing-ironmongers, and the workſhops of Jameſon and Willis, coach-makers, appeared to be in flames. The drums of the St. James's and of the Royal Weſtminſter Volunteers immediately beat to arms, and detachments from each corps haſtened with the moſt commendable alacrity to lend their aſſiſtance in ſubduing the flames, and in protecting the property of thoſe perſons who were ſuffering from this calamity. About three, the ſight that preſented itſelf was truly aweful, no leſs than ten houſes in that ſtreet being all at once in flames, without the ſmalleſt poſſible chance to ſave one; and the fire ſpreading ſtill farther, and threatening deſtruction to Dean-ſtreet, which runs in a parallel line with Frith-ſtreet. At this time the ſtreets were crowded with the engines belong-

ing to the different fire-offices, beſides ſeveral private engines, the whole of which were rendered uſeleſs for nearly three hours and a half before there could be any water procured, excepting what was carried in buckets from the oppoſite houſes. As ſoon as a ſufficient ſupply was procured, by the alacrity of the firemen the flames were almoſt immediately arreſted. At day-light the fire was exhauſted, and the picture was truly deplorable — furniture of all kinds promiſcuouſly heaped together, whilſt the ſtreets were filled with different other articles ſaved from deſtruction; the feathers flying about gave it the appearance of a ſnowy morning, whilſt the volunteers and firemen were above their ſhoes in water. At nine o'clock the engines ceaſed playing, the whole being then only a heap of ſmoaking rubbiſh. The volunteers kept on guard the whole of Friday. The concourſe of ſpectators from all parts of the town was very great; none, however, were permitted to go through the ſtreets. Nine houſes were completely deſtroyed, and ten others materially injured, as well as ſeveral in Dean-ſtreet.

14th. This morning about half-paſt two, a fire was diſcovered in the dwelling-houſe of Mr. Thomas Stacey, at Ringwood, from whence the flames were rapidly communicated to the dwelling-houſes of W. Rabbits, W. Pearce, Miſs Street, and J. Morgan, all of which were in a ſhort time conſumed. On the firſt alarm that Mr. Stacey's houſe was on fire, the inhabitants haſtened to lend their aſſiſtance in ſubduing the flames, and in protecting the property of the ſufferers. Mr. Stacey caught his infant in his arms, forced through the ſmoke, and deſired his wife to follow him; but the poor woman, unfortunately, periſhed in the attempt. Her remains were afterwards dug out of the ruins. Great part of the premiſes and ſtock were inſured.

24th. This morning, between three and four, a poor man, employed at Mr. Elliot's brew-houſe, Pimlico, fell into the copper of boiling liquor, and was ſcalded to death before he could be got out. He has left a wife pregnant, and four ſmall children.

25th. During the ſevere hurricane of this day, the tops of many chimneys in the metropolis were blown down, and ſome houſes were nearly unroofed. There was no walking in the ſtreets with ſafety. Many paſſengers were hurt by the falling of tiles. The caſement of a window-light blew down from the garret window of the Flying-horſe, Lambeth-ſtreet, Whitechapel, on the head of a child who was paſſing at the time, and fractured its ſkull. The infant was immediately taken to the hoſpital, but without hopes of recovery. A boy about eight years old, croſſing the upper end of Park-ſtreet, was forcibly carried, by a ſudden guſt, to ſome conſiderable diſtance, and by its continued violence rolled ſeveral times over along the ground before he could be taken up; in the fall his under lip was ſhockingly lacerated through to the chin, and the whole of his face very much bruiſed: he was carried to a ſurgeon in North Audley-ſtreet. A ſtack of chimneys in St. James's-place was blown

blown down; they fell over the parapet into the ſtreet, but happily no perſon was paſſing at the time. Another ſtack in Norris-ſtreet, Haymarket, was blown down. About the ſame time, the parapet of the front of a public-houſe in Sutton-ſtreet, Soho-ſquare, had the ſame miſchance, attended by ſimilar circumſtances. Much damage has been done upon the river. Between Blackfriars and London bridges, four wherries were overſet and ſunk. Two coal-barges broke from their moorings, and drove upon the ſtarlings of London bridge, where they were daſhed to pieces by the impetuoſity of the waves; fortunately no perſons were on board. The ſmall veſſels appointed for the conveyance of the volunteers and impreſſed ſeamen from the Tender, ſtationed off the Tower, to the Nore, were unable to proceed farther than Limehouſe. The men were accordingly taken out at that place, and conveyed to their deſtination in veſſels better calculated to combat the ſtorm. A large tier of ſhips were driven from their moorings at Shadwell, and received much injury. Every other part of the river has ſuffered, more or leſs, from the ſame cauſe. In the Wet Docks, in the Iſle of Dogs, though ſeveral prize-ſhips broke from their moorings by the badneſs of their own tackling, the mooring-ſtones remained perfectly ſteady, as did all the ſhips that were properly moored. Some trifling damage was done to the copper roofs lately fixed on one or two of the new warehouſes, and to the ſhed upon the North Quay.—Almoſt every unfiniſhed new building along the Suſſex coaſt has been levelled with the ground; and chimneys, to the great annoyance and danger of the inhabitants, have been precipitated through the roofs, and many of them have made their way to the ground floor. A conſiderable part of the antient wall which ſurrounds the old park at Canonbury, with the embankment thrown up for the ball-firing of the London Volunteer Corps, were levelled with the ground; and part of the Royal Standard was blown from Windſor Caſtle.

Died.—1ſt. At his houſe at Batterſea Riſe, Surrey, in his 69th year, of a dropſical complaint, to which he had been for ſome time ſubject, Thomas Aſtle, Eſq. F.A.S. 1763, F.R.S. 1766, a gentleman well known for his extenſive and accurate acquaintance with the hiſtory and antiquities of his country; keeper of the records in the Tower, and late one of the keepers of the paper-office; truſtee of the Britiſh Muſeum, where, when a young man, he was employed to make an index to the Harleian Catalogue of MSS.; F. R. S. Edinb. Reg. Scient. Soc. Iſland. Soc. Antiq. Caſſel. & Soc. Volſcorum Velitris ſod. honorar. He was ſon of Mr. Daniel Aſtle, keeper of Needwood foreſt, in the county of Staffordſhire, who died 1774, and was buried in Yoxall church, where a neat mural monument is erected to his memory (ſee it in Shaw's Hiſtory of Staffordſhire, I. 101); and who appears to have been deſcended from a family of that name reſident at, and lords of, the manor of Fauld, in Hanbury pariſh adjoining the ſeat of Burton, the Leiceſterſhire antiquary. Mr. A., about 1763, obtained the patronage of Mr. Grenville, then firſt Lord of the Treaſury and Chancellor

cellor of the Exchequer, who employed him as well in his public as private affairs; and joined him in a commiſſion with the late Sir Joſeph Ayloffe, Bart. and Dr. Ducarel, for ſuperintending the regulation of the public records at Weſtminſter. On the death of his colleagues, Mr. Topham was ſubſtituted; and both were removed by Mr. Pitt during his adminiſtration. In 1765 he was appointed receiver-general of ſix-pence in the pound on the civil liſt. In 1766 he was conſulted by the committee of the Houſe of Lords concerning the printing of the antient records of parliament. To the ſuperintendance of this work he introduced his father-in-law Mr. Morant; and, on his death, in 1770, was himſelf appointed by the Houſe of Lords to carry on the work; a ſervice in which he was employed till its completion, five years afterwards. He was then appointed, on the death of Henry Rooke, Eſq. his Majeſty's chief clerk in the record office in the Tower of London; and, on the deceaſe of Sir John Shelley, he ſucceeded to the office of keeper of the records. Mr. A. was ſeveral times on the Continent on literary purſuits. His publications were numerous and ſcientific.

17th. At Llanfihangel, in Monmouthſhire, in his 103d year, Mr. John Powell. About twelve months before his death he often walked ten miles a day. He retained his faculties to the laſt; and could ſee to read the ſmalleſt print without glaſſes.

BIRTHS for the Year 1803.

Jan. 9. Lady Erroll, a daughter.
11. Marchioneſs of Bute, a ſon.
16. Viſcounteſs Powerſcourt, a daughter.
Counteſs of Limerick, a daughter.
22. Lady William Ruſſel, a daughter.
24. Lady Le Deſpencer, a daughter.
25. Lady Hervey, a ſon.
28. The Lady of the Hon. J. T. Capel, a ſon.
30. Lady Clifford, a ſon.
Lately, the Counteſs of Bandon, a ſon.
Lady Mary Murray, a daughter.
Lady Charles Fitzroy, a daughter.
The Lady of the Hon. Capt. Ramſay, of the 92d foot, a daughter.
The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Marſham, a daughter.
Feb. 5. Hon. Mrs. Baird, wife of Lieut. Col. B., a ſon.
6. The Counteſs of Ilcheſter, a ſon.
Lady Robert Fitzgerald, her ſixth daughter and eighth child.
7. Lady Mulgrave, a daughter.
8. The Hon. Mrs. Poyntz, a daughter.
The Hon. Mrs. Parker, a daughter.
9. Viſcounteſs Southwell, a daughter.
11. The Hon. Mrs. Smith, a Son.

Feb. 12. Lady Charles Somerſet, a ſon.
14. The Hon. Mrs. Spencer Percival, Lady of the Attorney-General, a ſon.
18. Hon. Mrs. Ryder a daughter.
20. The Queen of Pruſſia, a Princeſs.
Lady Blaney, a ſon.
24. The Lady of the Hon. Sir Edward Carrington, a ſon.
25. The Lady of the Hon. John Bridgman, a ſon.
28. The Lady of the Hon. Col. W. Mordaunt Maitland, a ſon.
Lately, Lady Stanley, a ſon and heir.
The Lady of the Hon. G. Villiers, a daughter.
The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Twiſleton, a daughter.
March 1. Lady Paget, a ſon.
3. Viſcounteſs Middleton, a daughter.
4. The Lady of the Hon. St. George Caulfield, a daughter.
13. The counteſs of Cork, a ſon.
16. The Ducheſs of Manchester, a daughter.
24. The Lady of the Biſhop of St. Aſaph, a ſon.
Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a ſon.
31. The hereditary Princeſs of Mecklenburg Schwerin, a Princeſs.
Lately, Lady H. St. George, a daughter.
April 6. The Lady of the Hon. James Abercromby, a ſon.
April 10. Lady C. Drummond, a ſon.
12. Counteſs of Berkeley, a daughter.
25. Lady William Beauclerk, a ſon.
The Lady of Lord Viſcount Brome, a daughter.
29. Lady G. H. Cavendiſh, a daughter.
May 2. Lady Leſlie, a daughter.
4. Lady Catherine Graham, a daughter.
5. Lady Sefton, a daughter.
Counteſs Sutherland, a ſon.
26. The Hon. Mrs. Boyle, a daughter.
30. The Lady of the Right Hon. Denis Browne. a ſon.
June 8. Lady Henry Steward, a ſon and heir.
12. Lady Mary Myers, a ſon.
16. The Counteſs of Albermarle, a daughter.
24. Lady Morpeth, a daughter.
25. Viſcounteſs Boyle, a daughter.
26. The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Thomas de Grey, a daughter.
28. Lady Cathcart, a ſon.
July 2. Lady Sinclair, a ſon.
The Lady of the Hon. Lawrence Dundas, a daughter.
5. Lady Viſcounteſs Aſhbrooke, a daughter.
7. Lady Charlotte Gould, a ſon and heir
12. Lady Louiſa Rodney, a daughter.

July 17. The Hon. Mrs. Bentick, wife of Governor B., a ſon and heir.
25. Lady A. M. Cotton, a ſon.
27. Viſcounteſs Dunlow, a ſon and heir.
Lately, Lady Maxwell, a ſon.
29. The Lady of Lord Chief Juſtice Ellenborough, their tenth child.
Aug. 8. Viſcounteſs Kirkwall, a ſon and heir.
12. The Marchioneſs of Winchester, a ſon and heir.
13. Lady Pelham, a daughter.
14. Lady Sarah Baily, a ſon.
16. Lady Jane Long, a ſon.
17. The Hon. Mrs. Bernard, a daughter.
The Lady of the Hon. Archibald Macdonald, a ſon.
Sept. 4. The wife of Col. Lowther, a daughter.
13. The Counteſs of Mansfield, a daughter.
14. The Hon. Mrs. Dundas, a daughter.
19. The Queen of Sardinia, two Princeſſes, whom the Pope baptized on the following day, by the names of Maria Thereſa, and Marianna.
22. Lady Auguſta Leith, a ſon.
Lady Douglas, a ſon.
Lady Elizabeth Lowther, a ſon.
Lady Hunloke, a ſon.
The Hon. Mrs. King, a daughter.
Lady Southampton, a daughter.
Oct. 1. Lady Lowvaine, a ſon.
Lady Charlotte Lenox, a daughter.
4. Lady Ann Aſhley, a ſon.
12. The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Hen. Ryder, a ſon.
17. The Marchioneſs of Bath, a ſon.
21. The Ducheſs of Somerſet, a daughter.
22. Lady Caroline Stuart Wortley, a daughter.
27. Lady Caroline Ruſhout, a daughter.
30. Lady Charlotte Howard, a daughter.
31. The Lady of the Hon. Col. Vaughan, M. P. a ſon.
Lately, the Counteſs of Meath, a ſon.
Lady Catherine Barlow, a ſon.
Nov. 5. Lady Viſcounteſs Falkland, a ſon.
6. Viſcounteſs Andover, a daughter.
8. The Counteſs Talbot, a ſon.
10. The Lady of the Hon. George Neville, a ſon.
13. The Lady of the Hon. E. J. Turnour, a ſtill born ſon.
14. Lady Amelia Raye, a a ſon.
19. Lady Wilton, a ſon.
20. Mrs. Jordan, a daughter.
24. Lady Amherſt, a ſon.
Dec. 12. Hon. Mrs. Warneford, a daughter.
17. The Lady of the Hon. William Fitzroy, a ſon.
19. The Hon. Mrs. Petree, a daughter.

Dec. 27. The Hon. Mrs. Grenfell, wife of Pascoe, G., Esq. M.P., a daughter.
Lady Mary Fludyer, a son.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1803.

Lately, Lord Clonbrock, to the Hon. Miss Blake, only child and heiress of Lord Wallscourt, and granddaughter of the late Earl of Louth.
William Bagwell, Esq. to the eldest daughter of the late Admiral Lord Graves.

Jan. 3. Lord Andover, to the Hon. Miss Dutton.
6. Lord Delaval, to Miss Knight.
10. The Hon. and Rev. George Rushout, son of Lady Northwick, to Lady Caroline Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Galloway.
13. Rev. William Digby, to the Hon. Miss C. F. Digby, Maid of Honour to her Majesty.
16. Charles Morley Balders, Esq. to the Hon. Miss Hare, daughter of Lord Ennismore.

Feb. 2. J. B. Ponsonby, Esq. to Lady Frances Villiers.
4. Capt. George Hope, of the Royal Navy, to Lady Jemima Johnstone.
9. The Hon. Major Gen. Hope, to Miss Louisa Dorothea Wedderburn.
19. Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, to the Hon. Miss Acheson.

March 7. The Hon. Mr. Dutton, brother to Lord Sherborne, to Miss Honoria Gubbins.
8. The Hon. Alexander Murray, to Miss Oliphant.
21. The Hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnson, to Madame Amelia Constance Gertrude Elienette de Clugny.
29. Lord Montgomery, to Lady Mary Montgomery.

April 11. Honourable Mr. Smith, to the youngest daughter of John Tylee, Esq.
15. Lord Polkemmet, to Miss Sinclair.
16. Lord Cloncurry, to Eliza, youngest daughter of Major Gen. Morgan.
21. The Hon. Thomas Kenyon, to Miss Charlotte Lloyd.
J. M. Scott, Esq. to Lady Arabella Brabazon.

May 4. Thomas D. Hall, Esq. of Seymour-street, to the Hon. Miss Lysaght, daughter of Lady Lisle.
5. Thomas Tenison, Esq. to Lady Frances King.
9. The Hon. Henry Blackwood, Captain in the Royal Navy, to Miss Gore.

May 24. Lord Viſcount Galway, to the widow of P. Drummond, Eſq.

June 4. The Hon. and Rev. John Blackwood, to the widow of Colonel Brice.

6. Lord Redeſdale, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, to Lady Fra. Percival.

7. Honourable and Rev. W. Capel, to Miſs Salter.

William Strode, Eſq. of Northaw, to the Hon. Mrs. W. Finch.

8. Lieut. Col. Maitland, to the ſecond daughter of Lady Crofton.

23. His Grace, John, Duke of Bedford, to Lady Georgiana Gordon.

27. Lord Graves, to Lady Mary Paget.

Aug. 4. Lord Viſcount Fincaſtle, to Lady Suſan Hamilton.

11. Phillip Roche, Eſq. to the Hon. Anne Plunkett.

Hon. John Dutton, to the Hon. Miſs Legge.

13. Sir Charles Douglas, to Lady Caroline Scot, third daughter of the Duke of Buccleugh.

24. Inigo Freeman Thomas, Eſq. to the Hon. Miſs Broderick.

Sept. 5. David Erſkine, Eſq. to the youngeſt daughter of the late John, Lord Keith Elphinſtone.

20. The Hon. Mr. Wellesley, to Lady Charlotte, ſecond daughter of Lord Cadogan.

Nov. 1. George Auſt, Eſq. to the Hon. Mrs. Murray.

5. Rev. E. Evans, M. A. to the Hon. Miſs Bradſhaw.

6. At Berlin, Francis James Jackſon, Eſq. envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary at that Court, to Mademoiſelle Dorville, daughter of the lord ſteward, of the court of the late Elizabeth, of Pruſſia.

10. The Earl of Belvidere, to Miſs M'Cay.

19. Lord Viſcount Mahon, to the Hon. Catherine Lucy Smith.

23. His Excellency Comte de Ralley, to Mademoiſelle Adelaide, Princeſs of Bourbon.

28. William Churchill, Eſq. to the Counteſs of Strafford.

Dec. 1. T. Walpole, Eſq. to Lady Margaret Percival.

The Hon. F. P. Irby, Captain in the Royal Navy, to Emily, ſecond daughter of the late William Drake, M. P. for Amerſham, Bucks.

4. Sir Thomas Manners Sutton, Solicitor-general to his Majeſty, to Miſs Copley.

20. Mr. Serjeant Vaughan, to Auguſta, ſecond daughter of Lord St. John.

Rev. R. F. Halifax, ſon of the late Biſhop of St. Aſaph, to Mis Ricketts.

Dec. 20. Baron Spaen, to Lady Louisa King.

Lately, Michael Cox, Esq. to the Hon. Miss Prittie.

PROMOTIONS for the Year 1803.

Whitehall, Jan. 1. Right Hon. Thomas Steele, and John Hiley Addington, Esq. appointed pay-master-general of his Majesty's forces; the latter *vice* Lord Glenbervie, resigned.

War-Office, Jan. 4, Brevet. Col. Hugh Lyle Carmichael, of the 2d West-India regiment, to be brigadier-general in the island of Jamaica only.

Whitehall, Jan. 5. Right Hon. Sylvester Lord Glenbervie, appointed surveyor-general of his Majesty's woods, oaks, forests, and chaces, *vice* Robinson, dec.

7th. The king has been graciously pleased, in consideration of the signal services performed to his Majesty, and to his ally the Ottoman Emperor, by Sir William Sidney Smith, knight, commander and grand cross of the royal Swedish military order of the sword, a captain in the royal navy, and representative for the city of Rochester, in the parliament of the united kingdom; and to evince the sense which his Majesty entertains of the great ability and heroic perseverance manifested by him, the said Sir William Sidney Smith, upon divers occasions, and more especially of his able and highly distinguished conduct in the defence of the town of St. John d'Acre, in Syria, in the year 1799; his royal licence and authority, that he may bear the following honourable augmentations to the armorial ensigns, borne by his family, viz. on the cheveron, a wreath of laurel, accompanied by two crosses calvary; and, on a chief of augmentation, the interior of an ancient fortification, in perspective; in the angle a breach; and, on the sides of the said breach, the standard of the Ottoman empire, and the union flag of Great Britain, as then displayed: and for crest, the imperial Ottoman chelengk, or plume of triumph, upon a turban—in allusion to the highly honourable and distinguished decoration transmitted by his said imperial Majesty to Sir William Sidney Smith, in testimony of his esteem, and in acknowledgment of his meritorious exertions in the aforesaid defence; and the family crest, viz. a leopard's head, collated and lined, issuant out of an oriental crown: the said arms and crests to be borne by him, the said Sir William Sidney Smith, and by his issue, together with the motto, "Cœur De Lion." And although the privilege of bearing supporters be limited to the peers of the realm, the knights of his Majesty's orders, and the proxies of princes of the blood royal at installations, except in such cases wherein, under particular circumstances, his Majesty has been pleased to grant his especial licence for the use thereof; yet, in order to give a further testimony of his Majesty's particular approbation of the services of the said Sir William Sidney Smith, he has been graciously pleased to allow him to bear, for supporters to his arms, a tiger guardant, navally crowned; in the mouth a palm branch,

branch, being the ſymbol of victory, ſupporting the union flag of Great Britain, with the inſcription, "JERUSALEM, 1799," upon the croſs of Saint George; and a lamb, murally crowned; in the mouth an olive branch, being the ſymbol of peace, ſupporting the banner of Jeruſalem: the ſaid armorial enſigns being firſt duly exemplified according to the laws of arms, and recorded in the heralds' office. And alſo to order that this his Majeſty's ſaid conceſſion and eſpecial mark of his royal favour be regiſtered in the college of arms.

War-Office, Jan. 15. Hoſpital-ſtaff ſurgeon Alexander Lawrie, from half-pay, to be ſurgeon of a recruiting diſtrict, *vice* Waugh, removed to the firſt royal garriſon battalion.

War-Office, Jan. 25. Barracks, George Little (lieutenant on half-pay), to be barrack-maſter in Great Britain, *vice* Fox, reſigned.

Whitehall, Jan. 29. Wm. Drummond, Eſq. to be his Majeſty's embaſſador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Sublime Ottoman Porte.—Hugh Elliot, Eſq. to be his Majeſty's envoy-extraordinary and miniſter-plenipotentiary to the court of Naples.—Anthony Merry, Eſq. to be his Majeſty's envoy-extraordinary and miniſter-plenipotentiary to the United States of America.—Edward Thornton, Eſq. to be his Majeſty's ſecretary of legation at the Hague.

St. James's, Feb. 2. Major Charles Holloway, of the royal engineers, knighted.

Whitehall, Feb. 5. Hon. and Rev. George Pelham, D. D. recommended, by congé d'elire, to be elected Biſhop of Briſtol, *vice* Dr. H. F. Walker, tranſlated to the ſee of Hereford.

Downing-ſtreet, Feb. 5. Col. Thomas Hiſlop, appointed lieutenant-governor of the iſland of Grenada and its dependencies.

War-Office, Feb. 5, Brevet. Col. Thomas Hiſlop, of the 11th Weſt-India regiment, to be brigadier-general in the leeward and windward Charribbee Iſlands only.

Dublin Caſtle, Feb. 11. Edmond Henry Viſcount Limerick, created Earl of Limerick; and William Power Keating, Viſcount Dunlo, Earl of Clancarty, co. Cork. Charlotte Baroneſs Newcomen, wife of Sir William Gleadowe Newcomen, Bart. created Viſcounteſs Newcomen, of Moſs town, co. Longford, with remainder to the heirs-male of her body by the ſaid Sir William Gleadowe Newcomen.

St. James's, Feb. 16. Right Hon. John Hiley Addington, ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council.

Dublin Caſtle, Feb. 22. Marquis of Donegal, ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council.

War-Office, Feb. 22. Brevet. Col. Robert Brereton, of the 63d foot, to be brigadier-general in the Windward and Leeward Charibbee Iſlands only.—*Garriſons*. Rev. Thomas Maurice, late chaplain at Tobago, to be chaplain to the garriſon of Trincomalé, in the iſland of Ceylon.—*Barracks*. Michael Gordon, to be barrack-maſter at Shelburne, in Nova Scotia, *vice* Flynn, appointed pay-maſter of a recruiting diſtrict. Robert Foy, Eſq. (captain, on half-pay, of marines) to be a barrack-maſter in Great Britain, *vice* Thomas Foy, reſigned.

Whitehall, March 4. George Harrison, Esq. Norroy king of arms, appointed Clarenceux king of arms, and principal herald of the south, east, and west parts of England, *vice* Lock, dec.

War-Office, March 5. Staff, John Sweetland, to be principal commissary of stores and provisions at Gibraltar.—*Royal Military College*. Lieut.-col. James Butler, of the invalid artillery, to be commandant of the junior department. Major Benj. D'Urban, of the 89th foot, to be superintendant of the junior department, *vice* Butler.—*Barracks*. Thomas Phillips, to be a barrack-master in Great Britain, *vice* Bowen, resigned.—*Hospital-staff*. Apothecary Stewart Henderson, from half-pay, to be surgeon of the Athlone recruiting district, *vice* Muttlebury, removed to Marlborough.

Whitehall, March 8. Rev. Peter M'Master, presented to the church and parish of New Luce, in the presbytery of Stranraver, and county of Wigtown; and Rev. Andrew Jameson, to the church and parish of St. Mungo, in the presbytery of Lochmaban, and county of Dumfries, *vice* Dickson, dec.

War-Office, March 12. Staff, Brevet-major Charles Irvine, of the 85th foot, to be deputy-quarter-master-general to the forces serving in Jamaica, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, *vice* M'Murdo resigned. Lieut.-col. Willoughby Gordon, of the 85th foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the said forces, *vice* Irvine. Brevet-major Wm. Gifford, of the 26th foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the troops at Malta, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, *vice* Fitzgerald, dec. Major Charles Philipps, of the 44th foot, to be deputy-quarter-master-general to the said troops, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, *vice* Airey, resigned.

War-Office, March 15. Staff, major-general Robert Brownrigg, to be quarter-master-general to the forces, *vice* Gen. Dundas, who is placed on the staff as a general, and resigns his office as quarter-master-general of the forces.

St. James's, March 16. William Paxton, William Blizard, and Charles Blicke, Esqrs. knighted.

War-Office, March 19. Hospital-staff surgeon —— Albert, from half-pay, to be surgeon to the cavalry depôt at Maidstone, *vice* Grant, exchanged.

Whitehall, March 26. Mr. Patrick Fotheringham, appointed commissary of the commissariot of Orkney and Zetland, *vice* Stewart, dec.

War-Office, March 26. Barracks, Henry Strachey Amiel, Esq. captain, on half-pay, of the 8th West-India regiment, to be barrack-master in Great Britain, *vice* Winchester, resigned.

Whitehall, March 29. Rev. Peter Hawker, jun. of Woodchester, co. Gloucester, appointed one of the domestic chaplains to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, *vice* Peach, dec.

St. James's, March 30. James Duberley, of Gains-hall, Huntingdonshire, Esq. Francis Searle, of Kingston-upon-Thames, Esq. and John Dumaresq, Esq. knighted.

War-Office, April 2. Barracks. Geo. Lane, Esq. late captain in the 4th foot, to be barrack-master in Great Britain, *vice* Venables, dec. Wm. Byam, late barrack-master at Silver-

Silver-hill, to be barrack-maſter in Great Britain, *vice* Harben, dec.

Whitehall, April 4. Ralph Bigland, Eſq. Richmond herald, appointed Norroy king of arms, and principal herald of the north parts of England, *vice* Harriſon, promoted to the office of Clarenceux king of arms.

Whitehall, April 9. Right Hon. Francis Lord Napier, appointed his Majeſty's high commiſſioner to the General Aſſembly of the Church of Scotland.

War-Office, *April* 9. Staff, Lieut.-col. Lewis Lindenthal, of the Queen's German regiment; Daniel Patterſon, on the retired liſt of the invalids; Wm. Eden, of the 79th foot; George Murray, of the 3d regiment of foot-guards; and John Brown, of the royal ſtaff-corps, to be aſſiſtants to the quarter-maſter-general of the forces.—*Royal Military Aſylum.* George Williamſon, Eſq. late captain in the 70th foot, to be commandant of the Royal Military Aſylum, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, ſo long as he ſhall retain the ſituation of commandant.—*Hoſpital-ſtaff.* Apothecary —— Crump, from half-pay, to be ſurgeon of the Newry recruiting diſtrict, *vice* Graham. To be ſurgeons of recruiting diſtricts in Great Britain: ſurgeon —— Graham, from the Newry recruiting diſtrict, *vice* Tayler, retired on half-pay; ſurgeon Robert Freer, from half-pay; and apothecary J. H. Beaumont, from half-pay.

Downing-ſtreet, April 19. James Gambier, Eſq. appointed his Majeſty's conſul-general at Liſbon.

War-Office, April 19. Hoſpital-ſtaff, Ralph Green, M. D. to be aſſiſtant-inſpector of hoſpitals, *vice* Franklin, promoted. John Webb, M. D. to be aſſiſtant-inſpector of hoſpitals. Surgeon M. Bolton, to be inſpector of field-hoſpitals, *vice* Green, promoted. Apothecary George Mackenzie, from half-pay, to be ſurgeon of a recruiting diſtrict, *vice* Fleming, dec.

Whitehall, April 19. Richard, Earl of Cavan, major-general of his Majeſty's forces, permitted to receive and wear the badge of the order of the Creſcent, tranſmitted to him by the Grand Seignior.

War-Office, April 23. Staff, Stephen Aveling, Eſq. late a lieutenant in the 65th foot, to be paymaſter of a recruiting diſtrict. Aſſiſtant commiſſaries, Wm. Jeſſe Cooper, and Charles Wright, to be deputy commiſſaries-general of ſtores, proviſions, and forage. To be aſſiſtant commiſſaries: Gottlieb Lewis Engleback, Edward Couch, Charles Lutyens, and James Toole. To be deputy-commiſſary-general of ſtores, proviſions, and forage to the forces ſerving in Ireland: deputy-commiſſary-general P. Œ. Singer, from half-pay. To be aſſiſtant commiſſaries to the ſaid forces: aſſiſtant commiſſaries Wm. Henderſon and Wm. Hannigan, from half-pay.

War-Office, April 30. Staff, Major Thomas Birch, of the 16th light dragoons, to be an aſſiſtant to the quarter-maſter-general to the forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Major Edward Henry Bunbury, on the half-pay of the late 9th Weſt-India regiment, to be an aſſiſtant to the quarter-maſter-general to the forces.

War-Office, May 3. Staff, John Aldrich, Eſq. on half-pay as paymaſter of the late 2d battalion of the

the 27th foot, to be pay-master of a recruiting district.

St. James's, May 4. William, Earl of Mansfield, took the oaths on being appointed lord-lieutenant of the shire of Clackmannan, in North Britain.—Col. Cha. Green, Wm. Bulkeley Hughes, Esq. and Francis Hartwell, Esq. knighted.

Whitehall, May 5. Joseph Hawker, Esq. late Rouge Croix pursuivant of arms, appointed Richmond herald, *vice* Bigland.

War-Office, May 7. Staff, Col. Frederick Augustus Weatherall, of the 82d foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces serving in Nova Scotia. Lieut. Richard Leonard, of the 54th foot, to be fort-major of Frederick town, New Brunswick.

Downing-street, May 9. Major-general David Douglas Wemyss, to be commander of all his Majesty's land forces serving in the island of Ceylon.

War-Office, May 17. William Finlayson, Esq. lieutenant on half-pay of the 89th foot, and William H. Phillips, Esq. late captain and adjutant in the Northamptonshire militia, to be pay-masters of recruiting districts.

War-Office, May 21. Garrison. Major-general John Doyle, to be lieutenant-governor of the island of Guernsey, *vice* Sir Henry Dalrymple, resigned.

St. James's, May 23. Sir James Pulteney, bart. lieut.-col. Francis Whitworth, capt. Robert Bolton, of the royal navy, Rupert George, Esq. and Richard Hankey, Esq. knighted, as proxies to five of the Knights of the Bath at the late installation.

Whitehall, May 24. Rev. Edward Bowyer Sparke, D. D. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Bristol, *vice* Layard, dec.—Rev. Wm. Nelson, D. D. appointed prebendary of the metropolitical church of Canterbury, *vice* Lynch, dec.

Whitehall, May 28. Rev. Howel Holland Edwards, M. A. appointed a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, *vice* Finch, dec.—Rev. Wm. Baker, LL. B. presented to the vicarage of Stonehouse, co. Gloucester.

War-office, May 28. Staff. Lieut.-general the Hon. H. E. Fox, to be commander of his Majesty's forces in Ireland. Major Wm. Nicholson, of the 72d foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the King's troops serving in India, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, *vice* Robertson resigned. To be assistants to the quarter-master-general of the forces: Lieut.-col. Wm. Gordon, from the 85th foot; major H. Lowe, from the royal fuzileers; major W. H. De Lancey, from the 45th foot; and captain H. F. Brownrigg, from the staff corps, with the rank of major in the army.—*Hospital-staff.* Dr. Alexander Robertson, to be a deputy-inspector of hospitals in the island of Jamaica, *vice* Lind, retired on half-pay. L. Krazelsen, to be surgeon to the forces.

St. James's, June 1. Right Hon. George Tierney, treasurer of his Majesty's navy, sworn of his Majesty's privy-council.

Whitehall, June 4. Henry, Duke of Beaufort, confirmed in the barony of Bottetourt, and created Baron de Bottetourt.

War-Office, June 4. Staff. Henry Charles Lewis, Esq. deputy-pay-master and accomptant of the army-depôt, to be pay-master of a recruiting district. John Cockburn,

to

to be deputy-paymaſter and accomptant of the army-depôt, *vice* Lewis.—*Garriſon.* Hoſpital-mate, Thomas Johnſtone, to be garriſon-mate of Gibraltar, *vice* White, promoted.—*Barracks.* Robert Mann, to be a barrack-maſter in South Britain, *vice* Bouchier, retired.

War-Office, June 11. Brevet. Col. Martin Hunter, of the 48th foot, to be a brigadier-general in North America. Col. William Dyott, of the 25th foot, to be a brigadier-general in the windward and leeward Charibbee Iſlands.—*Staff.* Captain, the Hon. D. G. Hallyburton, from the 1ſt foot-guards, to be aſſiſtant to the quarter-maſter-general of the forces in Great Britain, with the rank of major in the army. To be aſſiſtants in the quarter-maſter-general's department in Ireland: major Ch. Harcourt, from half-pay of the 40th foot; captain John Pine Coffin, from the ſtaff corps, with the rank of major in the army.

Whitehall, June 14. Richard Brooke de Capell Brooke, of Great Oakley, co. Northampton, and of Ahadoe and Roxborough, co. Cork, Eſq.; Right Hon. John Stewart, of Athenree, co. Tyrone; and the Rev. James Stronger, M. A. of Tynan, co. Armagh, and of Thornhill, co. Dublin; created baronets of the united kingdom.

Council-Office, Whitehall, June 17. George, Earl of Dorcheſter, appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Dorſet, *vice* Lord Rivers, dec. took the oaths thereupon.

War-Office, June 18. His Royal Highneſs Prince Adolphus Frederick, K. G. late lieutenant-general in the Hanoverian ſervice, appointed lieutenant-general in the army, by commiſſion dated Aug. 24, 1798.

War-Office, June 21. Hoſpital-ſtaff. Apothecaries, Wm. Phillips and —— Longmore, from half-pay, to be apothecaries to the forces.

Downing-ſtreet, June 25. Spencer Smith, Eſq. appointed envoy-extraordinary at the Court of his Serene Highneſs the Elector of Wurtemburg; and Henry Watkin Williams Wynn, Eſq. at the Court of his Serene Highneſs the Elector of Saxony; Spiridion Foreſti, Eſq. reſident to the Republic of the Seven Iſlands; Henry Savage Yeames, Eſq. conſul-general in the Ruſſian ports in the Black Sea; Waller Wright, Eſq. conſul in the ſeveral ports of the Republic of the Seven Iſlands; and Charles Denis, Eſq. conſul at Civita Vecchia.

Whitehall, June 25. George Hilario Barlow, Eſq. a member of the Council of Fort William in Bengal, created a baronet.—Rev. Thomas Burgeſs, D. D. prebendary of Durham, recommended, by congé d'elire, to be elected Biſhop of St. David's, *vice* Murray, dec.—Rev. John Fiſher, D. D. prebendary of Windſor, recommended, by congé d'elire, to be elected Biſhop of Exeter, *vice* Courtenay, dec.

Whitehall, June 28. Sir Rupert George, knt. Ambroſe Serle, and Thomas Hamilton, Eſqrs. the Hon. Edward Bouverie, and James Bowen, Eſq. appointed commiſſioners for conducting the tranſport ſervice, and for the care and cuſtody of priſoners of war.

War-Office, June 28. Garriſon. Brevet-major Colin Dundas Graham, of the late Scotch brigade, to be fort-major of Edinburgh caſtle, *vice*

vice Sir James Foulis, reſigned.—*Hoſpital-ſtaff.* Apothecary, James Fitzgerald, from half-pay, to be ſurgeon to a recruiting diſtrict. Surgeon, T. Wilſon, from half-pay of the 35th foot, to be ſurgeon to ditto. To be ſurgeons to the forces in Ireland: ſurgeons Clement Archer, Thomas L. Whiſtler, and Thomas Kenning, from half-pay.

War-Office, July 5. Barracks. Alexander Walker, Eſq. late deputy-barrack-maſter at Windſor, to be barrack-maſter in Great Britain, *vice* Tuffnel, dec.

War-Office, July 11. Staff. Major-general George Hewett, to be inſpector-general of the Royal Army of Reſerve. To be aſſiſtant-inſpectors of ditto, lieut.-col. Jn. James Barlow, of the 61ſt foot; captain Peter Carey, of the 27th light dragoons. To be ſuperintendant of cloathing, &c. of ditto, lieut.-col. George Williamſon. To be deputy-inſpector in North Britain, colonel Thomas Scott, of the 94th foot.

War-Office, July 12. Staff. Col. George Horsford, of the 4th Weſt-India regiment, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces ſerving in Jamaica, *vice* Gordon, placed on the ſtaff in Great Britain.—*Hoſpital-ſtaff.* Aſſiſtant-inſpector William Greaves, from half-pay, to be an aſſiſtant-inſpector to the forces. John Buffa, M. D. from half-pay, to be phyſician to the forces. Surgeon Richard Morell, from half-pay, to be ſurgeon to the forces. Hoſpital-mate —— Boulger, to be ſurgeon to the forces.

Whitehall, July 19. Rev. Wm. Beaumont Buſby, M. A. appointed a prebendary of Windſor, *vice* Fiſher, promoted to the ſee of Exeter.

War-Office, July 19. Hoſpital-ſtaff. W. Domcier, M. D. to be phyſician to the foreign depôt in the Iſle of Wight. Apothecary, Thomas Ruſs, to be ſurgeon to the forces. Surgeon, Robert Salmond, from the 43d foot, and ſurgeon M. Harbinſon, from the 81ſt foot, to be ſurgeons to recruiting diſtricts. To be apothecaries to the forces: apothecaries, John Crane, Wm. Wood, A. Stuart, W. S. Holland, T. L. Bolton, Rob. Allen, T. Roſs, from half-pay.

War-Office, July 26. Brevet. Capt. Thomas Hardyman, of the 50th foot, to be major in the army.—*Staff.* James Fiſher, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 62d foot, to be pay-maſter of a recruiting-diſtrict. To be aſſiſtant-commiſſaries to the forces in Ireland: aſſiſtant-commiſſaries W. Dillon, Arthur Ormſby, and Thomas Gilſton, from half-pay.—*Royal Military College.* Captain James M'Dermott, of the 10th light dragoons, to be inſpector of the 2d company of cadets in the junior department, and inſtructor of tactics.—*Barracks.* To be aſſiſtant-barrack-maſter-generals, with the rank of major ſo long as their ſervices ſhall continue in the barrack-department: Charles Wm. Thornton, Eſq. late an aſſiſtant-barrack-maſter-general; John Baddeley, Eſq. captain on half-pay of the 22d light dragoons.—*Hoſpital-ſtaff.* To be aſſiſtant-inſpectors of the forces: aſſiſtant-inſpectors, J. Borland, A. Baillie, J. M'Nieil, R. Patrick, A. Jamieſon, R. Walters, from half-pay. To be phyſicians to the forces: James Rogerſon, M. D. and James Fellows, M. D. from half-pay. To be ſurgeons to the forces: ſurgeons ——

Tucker,

Tucker, H. B. Worth, W. Ferguſſon, —— Andrews, Francis Downing, John Crozier, A. Grant, T. Dockery G. E. Lockley, J. R. Grant, from half-pay. Aſſiſtant-ſurgeon, Peter Adrian, from the 61ſt foot. To be ſurgeons of recruiting diſtricts: ſurgeon John Henry, from half-pay; ſurgeon Michael Balfour, from the 9th foot.

Whitehall, July 29. Major-general John Doyle, lieutenant-governor of the iſland of Guernſey, permitted to receive and wear the inſignia of the order of the Creſcent, tranſmitted to him by the Grand Seignior.

War-Office, July 30. Brevet. Captain Levett Ibbetſon, of the 28th foot, to be major in the army. *Staff.* Charles Gordon, Eſq. pay-maſter of the 2d battalion royals, to be pay-maſter of a recruiting diſtrict.

War-Office, Aug. 9. Staff. Major-general Richard England, to be lieutenant-governor of Plymouth, *vice* Campbell, retired. Colonel Sir Samuel Achmuty, of the 10th foot, to be commandant of the iſle of Thanet.—*Brevet.* Captain Henry Bromley, of the 26th foot, to be major in the army.—*Barracks.* To be barrack-maſters in Great Britain: G. Manby, Eſq. late captain-lieutenant of the Cambridgeſhire militia; G. Roope, Eſq.; G. Wathen, lieutenant, on half-pay, of 4th foot; E. Pyott, Eſq.; David St. Clair, Eſq.; H. Kilvington, Eſq. late cornet in the 12th light dragoons; J. Fielde; P. Van Courtland, Eſq.; Wm. Roſs Darby, Eſq.; George Winter, Eſq. captain in the royal marines; G. Maſon, lieutenant in ditto.

War-Office, Aug. 13. Staff. Major Wm. Wilſon, Eſq. pay-maſter, on half-pay, of the 54th foot, to be pay-maſter of a recruiting diſtrict, *vice* Brereton, retired on half-pay.—*Barracks.* To be barrack-maſters in Great Britain: Charles Bacon, Eſq.; Wm. G. Child, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 19th light dragoons; —— Wilſon, Eſq. late a captain in the 39th foot; Auguſtus Duggan, Eſq. late major of the Norfolk fencible cavalry; John L. Bucknall, Eſq.; John Boys, Eſq.; James Duffey; John Reid, late enſign in the 36th foot; Joſeph Lambly, late a lieutenant in South Lincoln militia.

War-Office, Aug. 16. Brevet. Colonel George Moncrieffe, of the 90th foot, and colonel An. Dunlop, of the 21ſt light dragoons, to be brigadier-generals in the Weſt-Indies only.—*Staff.* To be aſſiſtant-quarter-maſters-general to the forces in Ireland: lieut.-col. G. Airey, of the 8th foot; lieut.-col. A. R. Dillon, on half-pay of the 115th foot; captain R. Owen, of the 56th foot; and major James Forſter, of the 11th foot.—*Hoſpital-ſtaff.* William Balmain, Eſq. late chief ſurgeon at New South Wales, to be ſurgeon to the forces.

St. James's, Aug. 17. Right Hon. Charles Yorke, ſworn one of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

Whitehall, Aug. 20. David Wedderburn, of Ballindean, co. Perth, Eſq. created a baronet, with remainder to the heirs-male of the body of Sir Alexander Wedderburn, of Blackneſs, deceaſed.

War-Office, Aug. 22. Francis Moore, Eſq. appointed, by the Right Hon. Charles Bragge, ſecretary at war, his deputy, *vice* Matthew Lewis, Eſq.

War-Office, Aug. 30. Brevet. To

To be majors in the army: capt. Th. Borrington, of the 15th battalion of Reſerve; capt. J. Dumareſque, of the 9th ditto; capt. G. Wade, of the 30th foot; and capt. Charles Morley Baldero, of the 53d foot.—*Hoſpital-ſtaff.* Surgeon John Philips, to be aſſiſtant-inſpector of hoſpitals. To be ſurgeons to the forces: ſurgeon Wm. Chambers, from the 10th light dragoons; ſurgeon Major Carroll, from the 45th foot; ſurgeon Al. Dunlop, from the 38th foot; ſurgeon Jn. Coſſins, from the 12th light dragoons; ſurgeon Thomas Kidd, from the 63d foot; ſurgeon —— Cobbe, from the 20th light dragoons; and ſurgeon Thomas Gunning from the 47th foot.

Dublin-Caſtle, Sept. —. Right Rev. Dr. Wm. Knox, Biſhop of Killaloe and Kilfenora, alias Tanabor, tranſlated to the ſee of Derry, *vice* the Earl of Briſtol, dec.

Whitehall, Sept. 8. His Excellency Wm. Drummond, his Majeſty's ambaſſador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the Sublime Porte, permitted to receive and wear the inſignia of the order of the Creſcent, tranſmitted to him by the Grand Seignior.

Whitehall, Sept. 10. Right Hon. George Keith, Baron Keith of Stonehaven-Mariſchal, co. Kincardine, in Scotland, K. B. and admiral of the blue, created a baron of the united kingdom, by the title of Baron Keith of Banheath, co. Dumbarton; with remainder, in default of iſſue, with the dignity of a baroneſs, to Margaret Mercer Elphinſtone, only daughter of the ſaid Baron Keith, and the dignity of a baron to the lawful heirs-male of her body.

Whitehall, Sept. 10. Dr. James Cowper, appointed profeſſor of practical aſtronomy and obſerver in the Univerſity of Glaſgow; and the Rev. Mr. Ouchterſon, preſented to the church and pariſh of Baldernock, in the preſbytery of Dumbarton, and county of Stirling, *vice* Cowper.

Whitehall, Sept. 13. Wm. Waſs Langford, Eſq. appointed his Majeſty's agent and conſul-general at Tripoli.

War-Office, Sept. 13. Hoſpital-ſtaff. Edw. N. Bancroft, M. D. from half-pay, to be phyſician to the forces. Hoſpital-mate Richard Lewis, to be apothecary to the forces. To be ſurgeons to the forces: ſurgeon Perkins Crofton, from the 21ſt foot, and ſurgeon G. T. Aveling, from the 1ſt dragoons.

War-Office, Sept. —. Hoſpital-ſtaff. Surgeon James Whitelocke, to be an aſſiſtant-inſpector of hoſpitals. Deputy-purveyor Robert Stewart, from half-pay, to be deputy-purveyor to the forces. Apothecary —— Burke, to be garriſon-ſurgeon of the iſland of Barbadoes.—*Barracks.* To be barrack-maſters in Great Britain: T. Haynes, Eſq. major of the Briſtol Volunteers; Francis White, retired enſign of the Tower Invalids; Chriſt. Middlemaſs, Eſq. major of the Dunbar Volunteers; James Galbreath, late deputy-barrack-maſter at Yorke; John Johnſtone, late barrack-maſter in the iſland of Minorca; John Shearman; Geo. Lamb.

War-Office, Sept. 24. Staff. To be inſpecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteers, with temporary rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army ſo long as they continue to hold theſe appointments,

ments, viz. Col. Charles Mac Murdo, late of the 31ſt foot; Lieut-col. John Jenkinſon, on half-pay of the late Sheffield regiment; Lieut-col. Wm. Thomlinſon, on ditto of the late 91ſt foot; Major Ralph Gore, on ditto of the late York Fuzileers; William Harris, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 2d foot; John C. Cowell, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 1ſt battalion of Royals; Henry Harnage, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 104th foot; John D. Kane, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 4th foot; Heneage Twyſden, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 4th foot; James Kirkman, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 52d foot; W. Dalrymple, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 2d foot; John Stewart, Eſq. late major of the 27th foot; J. Hugh M'Leroch, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the Rifle-corps; Wm. Gore, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the Birmingham Fencibles; Col. H. M. Clevering, of the late Argyllſhire Fencibles; Lieut-col. Robert Garden, on half-pay of the 54th foot; Lieut-col. G. Duke, on half-pay of the 65th foot; and Major Frederick Metzner, on half-pay of the late American Provincials.

War-Office, Sept. 27. Brevet. To be majors in the army: Capt. Wyndham Quinn, of the 3d foot; Capt. Thomas Mellor, of the 81ſt foot; Capt. Robert Campbell, of the 42d foot; Capt. Nathaniel Myott, of the 26th foot; and Capt. Edward Draper, of the 3d foot guards. Staff. Capt. William Macondy Harvey, of the 1ſt Weſt-Indian regiment, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces ſerving in the Charibbee Iſlands, with the rank of major in the army, *vice* Modern, deceaſed.

War-Office, Oct. 1. His Majeſty has been pleaſed to appoint

Lieutenant-generals William Shirreff, William Grinfield, Samuel Hulſe, Albemarle Bertie, Charles Vallancey, John Earl of Clanricarde, Sir James Steuart, bart. Thomas Carleton, James Marſh, Cavendiſh Liſter, James Ogilvie, Sir Robert Lawrie, bart. Wm. Edmeſton, David Home, Hugh Debbieg, Montgomery Agnew, Alexander, Earl of Balcarres, Cornelius Cuyler, Charles, Earl of Harrington, the Hon. Richard Fitzpatrick, Niſbet Balfour, Edmund Stephens, Sir Thomas Trigge, K. B. Francis, Earl of Moira, and Peter Craig, to be generals in the army.

Major-generals, George Bernard, George Nugent, John Bowater, Thomas Averne, James Barker, John Campbell, Charles Tarrant, John Barcklay, William Macarmak, John Freke, Sir Robert Stuart, bart. Richard England, William Keppel, John Hely, Lord Hutchinſon, K. B. John Hamilton, Alexander Hay, Thomas Goldie, Simon Fraſer, James Stewart, Charles Haſtings, Thomas Davis, Robert Manners, William Loftus, William Myers, Oliver Nicols, Alexander Mercer, George Hewet, and Charles Baron Hompeſch, to be Lieutenant-generals in the army.

Colonels General Elliott, of the Royal Marines; Duncan Campbell, of ditto; Patrick Wauchope, of the 50th foot; Baldwin Leighton, of the 46th foot; Patrick Sinclair, on half-pay of 54th foot; Richard Chapman, of the Invalid Artillery; John Coffin, on half-pay of the

the King's American Regiment; Richard Armſtrong, on half-pay of the Queen's American Rangers; John Murray, on half-pay of 96th foot; Sir Charles Green, Knt. of 30th foot; William St. Leger, of 27th Light Dragoons: Henry Magan, of 39th foot; Richard N. Hopkins, of 32d foot; John Smith, of the 1ſt foot-guards; Alexander Mackay, adjutant-general in Scotland; Thomas Hartcup, of the invalid engineers; William O. Huddleſtone, of the artillery; George Fead, of ditto; James Sowerby, of the invalid artillery; Thomas Blomefield, of the artillery; Gother Mann, of the engineers; Donald Macdonald, of 55th foot; John Pratt, of the late Iriſh artillery; Forbes Champagne, of the 26th foot; Joſiah Champagne, of a regiment of infantry; Harry Calvert, of 5th Weſt India regiment; George Cockburn, on half-pay of 92d foot; Edward Dunne, on half-pay of the Pembrokeſhire fencible cavalry; James Drummond, of 43d foot; Edwin Hewgill, of 19th foot; William Dowdeſwell, of 18th foot; Alexander Mackenzie, of 86th foot; George Moncrieffe, of 90th foot; Thomas Meyrick, of 21ſt foot; Charles Craufurd, on half-pay of Rutland fencible cavalry; George H. Vanſittart, of 12th battalion of reſerve; the Hon. Charles Fitzroy, of 1ſt foot-guards; Francis Hugonin, of 4th dragoons; and Thomas P. Vandeleur, of the 8th light dragoons; to be major-generals in the army.

Lieutenant-colonels Duncan Mackintoſh, of 60th foot; Francis Carruthers, on hal-pay of 61ſt foot; Robert Shaw, of 74th foot; Chriſtopher Darby, of 54th foot; David Clephane, of 20th foot; William Balfour, of 57th foot; William Wilkinſon of 30th foot; William Dickſon, of 42d foot; Bulſtrode Whitelocke, of 77th foot; Henry Tucker Montrefor, of 18th foot; Albert Gledſtanes, of 57th foot; John Hodgſon, on half-pay of the late 131ſt foot; Charles Stevenſon, of a regiment of infantry; Lawrence Bradſhaw, of 1ſt life-guards; George William Richard Harcourt, of 12th foot; William Palmer Acland, of the coldſtream foot-guards; Nicholas Nepean, of the late Banffſhire fencibles; James Taylor, of 12th foot; Miles Nightingale, of 51ſt foot; James Hay; the Hon. William Eardley, on half-pay of 82d foot; William Cochell, of 5th foot; Leonard Shaftoe Orde, on half-pay of 132d foot; Richard Bingham, of 3d foot; Joſeph French, on half-pay of 102d foot; John Lee, on half-pay of 112th foot; Henry Clinton, of 1ſt foot-guards; John Sontag; James Robertſon, of 92d foot; Edward William Leyborne, of the late Cambrian rangers; James Dunlop, of 77th foot; Fitzroy J. Grafton Maclean, of 60th foot; Walter Ker, of the late Britiſh fencibles; Alexander Campbell, of 74th foot; and John Pigott, on half-pay of 113th foot; to be colonels in the army.

Majors Wyndham Quinn, of 3d foot; Thomas Dorrington, of 15th foot; Thomas Mellor, of 81ſt foot; G. Wade, of 30th foot; John Dumareſq, of 9th battalion of reſerve; T. Hardyman, of 30th foot; H. Bromley, of 26th foot; Robert Campbell, of 42d foot; Robert Al. Dalzell, of 1ſt foot-guards; Clans Pell, of 16th foot; George

George Sutherland, of ditto; Robert Balfour, of 2d dragoons; Dugald Campbell, of 46th foot; James Macdonald, of 73d foot; James Green, of 26th foot; George Bowater, of the artillery; William Borthwick, of ditto; John Barton, of ditto; George Scott, of ditto; George Miller, of 57th foot; Robert Walker, of 7th foot; Breon Bordes, of 73d foot; Archibald Mosman, of ditto; Henry Teesdale, of 1st dragoon-guards; Thomas Goldie, of 9th dragoons; James Cuming, of 47th foot; Robert Hamilton, on half-pay of 7th West-India regiment; Jasper Grant, of 41st foot; Pierre L'Ardy, of Meuron's regiment; Francis Piackand, of ditto; Henry Erskine, of 91st foot; James St. Clair, of the late Cambrian rangers; and R. A. Seymour, of the 15th light dragoons; to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.

Captains the Hon. Henry A. B. Craven, of 9th battalion of reserve; Lewis C. Mears, of the marines; George Stephens, of 47th foot; John H. Brown, of 78th foot; Wm. Campbell, of ditto; Wm. Wishart, of 15th foot; Andrew Patton, of 92d foot; Geo. Bruhl, of 3d foot-guards; Charles Macquarrie, of 42d foot; Charles Hill, of 50th foot; Colin Campbell, of 60th foot; John Macdougal, of 91st foot; G. P. Hutchinson, of 4th dragoons; Ames G. Norcott, of 9th foot; John Balcomb, of 1st dragoon-guards; John White, of 80th foot; Isaac P. Tinling, of 1st foot-guards; Wm. Shipley, of 54th foot; W. Hilliard, of 89th foot; John Stoddart, of 45th foot; George Evans, of 32d foot; Charles Bruce, of 39th foot; John Blair, of 1st battalion of royals; Nuttall Green, of 3d foot; William Ledwill, of 2d battalion of reserve; J. F. Fitzgerald, of the new Brunswick fencibles; Patrick Ross, of 22d light dragoons; Ar. Christie, of 6th foot; the Hon. J. T. Deane, of 38th foot; James B. Horner, of 84th foot; Thomas Costello, of 28th foot; Charles Hicks, of 61st foot; George E. Vinicombe, of the marines; Brook Young, of the artillery; Donald Macbean, of the 41st foot; James Shortall, of the late Irish artillery; Richard Legge, of ditto; Charles F. Hill, of 10th foot; and Robert Crawford, of the late Irish artillery; to be majors in the army.

War-Office, Oct. 1. Barracks. To be barrack-masters in Great-Britain: Thomas Figg, late barrack-master at Shoreham; Tenison Smith; John F. Smyth, Esq. late captain of the American provincials; Thomas West, late a lieutenant in the 72d foot; Jas. Townsend, Esq. captain-commandant of the Honiton volunteers; John Stuart, Esq. late a captain of the 37th foot; and Henry Lefanu, Esq. late a captain in the 56th foot.——Staff. J. P. Milbanke, Esq. captain on half-pay of 47th foot, to be paymaster of detachments at Bristol. To be assistant-commissaries of stores, provisions, and forage to the forces; Charles William Sidney, John Crauford, Philip Rawlings, and Edward P. Henslow.

War-Office, Oct. 3. Lieutenant-general Char. Leigh, appointed a general in the army.

War-Office, Oct. 4. Brevet. Lieutenant-colonels Henry Frederick Campbell, of the 1st foot-guards, William Burnett, of the

14th foot, Richard Stewart of the 43d foot, and the Hon. Charles Stuart, of the 18th light dragoons, to be aides-de-camps to the King.—Staff. To be inſpecting field-officers of yeomary and volunteer corps, with the rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army, ſo long only as they continue to hold theſe appointments, viz. Sir James G. Baird, late lieutenant-colonel of the 28th dragoons; Lieut. col. George Robert Ainſlie, of the late Birmingham fencibles; Robert Douglas, Eſq. late lieutenant colonel of the 58th foot; Joſiah Cottin, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 10th light dragoons; Joſeph Hardy, Eſq. late of the 93d foot; Francis Gore, Eſq. late major of 17th light dragoons; Lieut. col. Manley Power, on half-pay of the 20th foot; Sir Nathaniel Duckenfield, bart. late lieutenant-colonel of the Windſor foreſters; Col. Ronald Craufurd Ferguſon, on half-pay of the 93d foot; George Lyon, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 11th light dragoons; and Francis Mannouch, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 68th foot.

Whitehall, Oct. 4. Henrietta-Laura, Baronneſs of Bath, (wife of lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney, bart.) created Counteſs of Bath, co. Somerſet, with the dignity of Earl of Bath to her lawful male-iſſue.

War-Office, Oct. 13. Brevet. Major Henry Euſtace, of the late Iriſh engineers, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Capt. John Thomas Eyre, on the ſtaff at army depôt, to be major in the army.—Staff. To be inſpecting field-officers of yeomanry and voluuteer corps, with the temporary rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army, ſo long only as they continue to hold theſe appointments, viz. Peppard Knight, Eſq. late major of the 4th foot; J. P. Addenbroke, Eſq. late major of the 54th foot; H. P. Pulleine, Eſq. late major of the 21ſt light dragoons; H. Maſſer, Eſq. late major of the 52d foot; and Wm. Douglas, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 85th foot. To be deputy-commiſſary-general to the forces ſerving in Ireland: aſſiſtant-deputy-commiſſary-general, William Finny. To be aſſiſtant-commiſſaries to the ſaid forces: William Maturin, Joſeph Moore, and Robert Boyes, gents.—Hoſpital Staff. Surgeon, Robert Moore Peile, to be aſſiſtant-inſpector to the forces ſerving in Ireland; aſſiſtant-inſpector, G. R. Redmond, from half-pay, to be an aſſiſtant-inſpector. To be deputy-purveyors: deputy-purveyors, J. Paterſon, C. T. Aveling, and C. Winicki, from half-pay. To be aſſiſtant-ſurgeon to the garriſon of Gibraltar: hoſpital-mate, Matthew Hutchinſon, *vice* Johnſtone, reſigned. To be aſſiſtant-ſurgeons to the light infantry battalions of the line formed in Ireland: 1ſt battalion, Edward Purdon; 2d John Carter; 3d William Griffin. To be aſſiſtant-ſurgeons to the light infantry battalions of militia forming in Ireland: 1ſt batallion, Patrick Hughes; 2d John M'Caſey; 3d C. H. Quinn; 4th Henry Forcade; 5th David Linn; and 6th Robert Maxwell.

War-Office, Oct. 15. Staff. Edward Buckley, gent. to be an aſſiſtant-commiſſary of ſtores and proviſions to the forces.—Garriſon. Rev. John Deeds, to be chaplain to the garriſon of Port d'Eſpagne, in the iſland of Trinidad.

dad.—Barracks. Robert Wilson, Esq. late captain in the 49th foot, to be barrack-master in Great Britain.

Dublin-Castle, Oct. 20. Hon. and Rev. Charles Lindsay, D. D. to be bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora, alias Tanabor, *vice* Knox, translated to the see of Derry.

War-Office, Oct. 20. Brevet. Col. John Ramsay, of the Chasseurs Britanniques, to be a brigadier-general in the island of Malta only. Major James Campbell, of the 91st foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Capt. Henry James Shawe, of the 61st foot, and captain Francis Forrester, of the 15th light dragoons, to be majors in the army. Capt. Daniel Lyman, of the 2d Royal garrison battalion, to be major in the army in the island of Scilly only.—Staff. Lieutenant-general, William Lord Cathcart, to be commander of his Majesty's forces in Ireland. To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the temporary rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army, so long only as they continue to hold these appointments, viz. John Enys, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 29th foot; lieutenant-colonel Daniel Seddon, on half-pay of the late 22d light Dragoons; and—Dodd, Esq. late major of the Inverness fencibles.—Hospitals-Staff. Surgeon Clement Archer, from the Irish establishment, to be surgeon to the forces in Great Britain, *vice* Crofton, who exchanges. Surgeon—Crofton, from the English establishment, to be surgeon to the forces in Ireland, *vice* Archer.

War-Office, Oct. 22. Barracks. To be barrack-masters in Great Britain: Samuel Palmer, captain in the Beer and Seaton volunteer artillery; James Dusantoy, lieutenant of invalided marines, *vice* Davies, promoted to be extra-assistant-barrack-master-general; and George Lawson Hall, late a captain in the 30th foot.

St. James's, Oct. 26. Henry-Charles, Duke of Beaufort, sworn lord-lieutenant of the counties of Monmouth and Brecon, *vice* his Father, deceased.

War-Office, Oct. 27. Hospital-Staff. Surgeon, James Pitcairn, to to be assistant-inspector to the forces serving in Ireland. Surgeon Ebenezer Browne, from the 30th foot, to be surgeon to the forces. Surgeon George Mitchelson, from the 26th foot, to be surgeon to a recruiting-district, *vice* Fitzgerald, deceased.

Whitehall, Oct. 27. John Halkett, Esq. appointed captain-general and governor in chief of the island of Tobago.

Whitehall, Oct. 29. Right Hon. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, the Duke of Portland, Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Hobart, Charles Yorke, Henry Addington, Lord Glenbervie, Thomas Wallace, Edward Golding, and Thomas Maitland, Esqrs. appointed his Majesty's commissioners for the affairs of India.—Rev. J. Brereton, M. A. appointed a prebendary of Salisbury cathedral, *vice* Burgess, now bishop of Bristol.

Dublin-Castle, Nov. 1. William Downes, chief justice of the court of King's Bench, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable Privy-council of Ireland.

War-Office, Nov. 1. Barracks. James Taitt, Esq. late an assistant-deputy-quarter-master-general in America, to be barrack-master at

the Bahamas, *vice* Carre, deceaſed. To be barrack-maſters in Great Britain: John Brown, Eſq. captain in the 5th battalion of reſerve; John Macdonald, Eſq. late of the regiment of the Iſles, *vice* Crichton, reſigned; and Charles Wright, Eſq. captain on half-pay of the 72d foot. To be deputy-barrack-maſters in Great Britain: Thomas Halls, lieutenant of retired marines, and Launcelot Hayman.

War-Office, Nov. 3. Brevet. Lieutenant-colonel Richard Thomas Nelſon, on half-pay of the late Eſſex fencibles, to be colonel in the army.—His Majeſty has been pleaſed to appoint the following officers of the Eaſt India Company's forces, to take rank by Brevet in his Majeſty's army in the Eaſt Indies only: To be major-generals, colonel Richard Lucas, and colonel Kenneth Mackenzie; to be lieutenant-colonels, Majors, John Charles Witter, John Bell, and John Arthur Tanner; to be majors, captains James Robertſon, and John Griffith.—Staff. To be inſpecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the temporary rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army, ſo long only as they ſhall hold the ſaid appointments, viz. colonel John Gordon Cuming, of the late Inverneſs fencibles, and —— Blakeney, Eſq. late major of the 23d foot.—Hoſpital Staff. Surgeon, Thomſon Forſter, from half-pay, to be ſurgeon to the forces.

War-Office, Nov. 5. Barracks. Nathaniel Forſter, lieutenant on half-pay of the late loyal Sheffield regiment, to be a barrack-maſter in Great Britain. John George Fell, lieutenant in the Leiceſterſhire militia, to be a deputy-barrack-maſter in Great Britain.

Dublin-caſtle, Nov. 7. Right Hon. St. George Daly, one of the barons of the court of exchequer in Ireland, appointed one of the juſtices of the court of King's bench, *vice* Right Hon. William Downess, appointed chief juſtice of the ſaid court.—James M'Clelland, Eſq. ſolicitor-general in Ireland, appointed one of the barons of the court of exchequer in Ireland, *vice* Daly.—William Conyngham Plunkett, Eſq. one of his Majeſty's counſel at law, appointed his Majeſty's ſolicitor-general in Ireland, *vice* M'Clelland.

St. James's, Nov. 9. Right Hon. Thomas Lord Pelham, ſworn chancellor of the duchy and county-palatine of Lancaſter, *vice* Earl of Liverpool, reſigned.

War-Office, Nov. 9. Staff. Captain William Samuel Currey, of the 86th foot, to be deputy-quarter-maſter-general to the forces ſerving in both the Canadas, with the rank of major in the army.—Hoſpital Staff. Surgeon, George Heatherley, from the 37th foot, to be garriſon-ſurgeon of St. Lucia. Surgeon, David Hutcheſon, from the 68th foot, to be apothecary to the forces.

Downing-ſtreet, Nov. 12. Hon. Henry Pierrepont, appointed his Majeſty's envoy-extraordinary at the court of Stockholm.

Whitehall, Nov. 12. Rev. Walter King, D. D. to be prebendary of Canterbury, *vice* Buſby, reſigned.

War-Office, Nov 15. Staff. John Offay, to be an aſſiſtant-commiſſary of ſtores, proviſions, and forage to the forces. William Fiſher, to be an aſſiſtant-commiſſary of

of ſtores, proviſions, and forage on home ſervice.

Whitehall, Nov. 15. Major-general John Stuart, permitted to receive and wear inſignia of the Ottoman imperial order of the creſcent, conferred upon him by the Grand Seignior.

Whitehall, Nov. 16. Right Hon. Robert Banks Jenkinſon (commonly called Lord Hawkeſbury,) ſummoned to the houſe of peers, by the ſtile and title of baron Hawkeſbury, of Hawkeſbury, co. Glouceſter.

War-Office, Nov. 17. Lieutenant-general, his Royal Highneſs Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge, K. G. to be colonel in chief of the King's German legion.—Brevet. Major William Kent, of the 10th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.—Staff. Major Lachlan M'Quarrie, of the 86th foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces lately ſerving in Egypt, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Lieutenant-colonel Henry Cuyler, on half-pay of the 27th foot, to be an inſpecting field-officer of yeomanry and volunteer corps, *vice* Dodd, reſigned. Rev. George Clarke, to be chaplain to the royal military aſylum.—Garriſon. Surgeon, Alexander Straith, from the ſecond garriſon-battalion, to be extra-garriſon-ſurgeon of Gibraltar, *vice* Pym, promoted.—Hoſpital-Staff. Surgeons, H. B. Worth, and W. North, ſen. from half-pay, to be ſurgeons to the forces. Surgeon, James Rogers, from the 4th garriſon-battalion, to be ſurgeon to the forces ſerving in Ireland, *vice* Peile, promoted. To be ſurgeons to the diviſions of light infantry militia in Ireland: 1ſt diviſion, aſſiſtant-ſurgeon, S. L. Steele, from the 89th foot; 2nd, aſſiſtant ſurgeon, Alexander Boyle, from the 62 foot; 3d, aſſiſtant-ſurgeon, John Henning, from the 3d dragoons.

Whitehall, Nov. 19. Right Hon. Henry Addington, George Thynne, Eſq. (commonly called Lord George Thynne,) Nathaniel Bond, William Brodrick, and Edward Golding, Eſqrs. appointed commiſſioners for executing the office of treaſurer of his Majeſty's exchequer.

Whitehall, Nov. 22. James Mackintoſh, Eſq. appointed recorder of Bombay, *vice* Sir William Syer, deceaſed.

St. James's, Nov. 23. Right Hon. Thomas Maitland, and Right Hon. Nathaniel Bond, ſworn of the privy council.

Whitehall, Nov. 36. Brook Watſon, of Eaſt Sheen, co Surry, Eſq. commiſſary-general to his Majeſty's forces in Great Britain, created a baronet of United Kingdom, with remainder, in default of iſſue male, to William Kay, Eſq. deputy commiſſary-general of the ſaid forces, great nephew of the ſaid Brook Watſon, Eſq. and to Brook Kay, Eſq. an officer in the naval ſervice of the Eaſt India company, and to their reſpective male iſſue.

William Henry Jervis, Eſq. captain in the Royal Navy, appointed treaſurer and receiver-general of Greenwich hoſpital, in the room of admiral Payne, deceaſed.

War-Office, Nov. 29. Staff. Lieutenant and adjutant — Jervis, to be captain of the ſtaff at the army Depôt, in the Iſle of Wight.—To be inſpecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the rank of lieutenant-colo-

riels in the army, so long only as they continue to hold the said appointments; colonel Walter Ker, on half-pay of the late British fencibles; lieutenant colonel Boyle Travers, on half-pay of the late 112th foot; lieutenant-colonel George Jackson, on half-pay of the late Argyleshire fencibles; lieutenant-colonel Thomas Molyneux, on half-pay of the late 104th foot; lieutenant-col. Francis Delaval, on half-pay of the independents; lieutenant-colonel Sir Montagu Bourgoyne, bart. on half-pay of the 21st light dragoons; Thomas R. Grey, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 20th foot; Robert Bell, late lieutenant-colonel of the 86th foot; Henry Chaytor, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 1st foot-guards; Frederick Keppel, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 49th foot; Sir Edward Barnes, Knt. late lieut. colonel of the 83d foot; Andrew Wight, Esq. late major of the 36th foot; John Murray, Esq. William Gooch, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 5th foot; colonel George Warde, of the late horse grenadier-guards; and C. Watson, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 3d dragoons.—Hospital-staff. Apothecary, J. Gaynor, from half-pay, to be apothecary to the forces. Deputy purveyor C. James, from half-pay, to be a deputy-purveyor to the forces.

War-Office, Dec. 1. Barracks. Stackhouse Thompson, Esq. paymaster of the 4th battalion of reserve, to be a barrack-master in Great Britain.

Carlton-House, Dec. 6. Thomas Tyrwhitt, Esq. M. P. for the borough of Portarlington, appointed (by the Prince of Wales) lord warden of the Stannaries, and admiral of the duchy ports and harbours, in the counties of Cornwall and Devon, *vice* admiral Payne, deceased.—John M'Mahon, Esq. M. P. for the borough of Aldborough, appointed secretary and keeper of his Royal Highness's privy-seal and council-seal, and auditor of the duchy of Cornwall. *vice* Tyrwhitt, promoted.

War-Office, Dec. 8. To be inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps: Lieutenant-colonel Matthew Sharpe, from half-pay of the late 28th light dragoons; and lieutenant-colonel William Hutchinson, on half-pay of the late independent companies.—Hospital-Staff. Surgeon W. Adams, from the 39th foot, to be surgeon of a recruiting-district, *vice* Pitcairn, promoted.

War-Office, Dec. 10. Staff. Leeds Booth, Esq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 87th foot, to be an inspecting field-officer of yeomanry and volunteer corps, (with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, so long only as he shall hold the said appointment,) *vice* Molyneux, resigned. Assistant commissary John Bissett, to be a deputy-commissary-general of stores, provisions, and forage to the forces, *vice* Longden, resigned. John Durie, to be an assistant-commissary of stores, provisions, and forage to the forces serving in the West Indies, *vice* Sandiford, resigned.—Garrison, George Gordon, D. D. to be chaplain to the garrison of Fort George, *vice* James Gordon, resigned.—Hospital-staff. Surgeon William Comins, to be an assistant-inspector of hospitals to the forces serving in Ireland. Surgeon Huson Bigger, to be surgeon to the said forces.

forces.—Barracks. To be barrack-maſters in Great Britain: Robert Edward Hunter, Eſq. captain in the Margate volunteer infantry; Thomas B. Tindal, Eſq. captain and adjutant of the Cornwall militia, *vice* Foy; William Wightman, lieutenant of the retired marines, and of the firſt Devonſhire militia; and John Belſon, lieutenant of the reduced marines, and of the 2d Staffordſhire militia.

Whitehall, Dec. 15. Rev. George Hutton, M. A. preſented to the vicarage of Sutterton, co. of Lincoln, *vice* Dr. Charles Lindſay, promoted to the ſee of Killaloe and Kilfenora in Ireland.

Whitehall, Dec. 17. John Lane, Eſq. of Upper Eaton-ſtreet, Groſvenor-place, to be receiver-general of the duty of one ſhilling in the pound on ſalaries, fees, and wages of any offices and employments payable by the crown in North-Britain, *vice* the earl of Leven and Melville, reſigned.

St. James's, Dec. 21ſt. James Mackintoſh, Eſq. to the honour of knighthood.

Downing-ſtreet, Dec. 22. Charles Cameron, Eſq. appointed captain-general and governor in chief in and over his Majeſty's Bahama Iſlands in America.

War-Office, Dec. 24. Brevet, Major William Maundy Harvey, of the 1ſt Weſt India regiment, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.—Staff. Captain David Williams, from the 7th foot, to be captain on the Staff at the army depôt, *vice* Wooldridge, exchanged. To be inſpecting field officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps: colonel G. Bromhead, on half-pay of the late Lochaber fencibles; Colonel William Murray, on half-pay of the late 24th light dragoons; lieutenant-colonel John Lee, on half-pay of the 14th 112th foot; lieutenant-colonel James Orde, on half-pay of the 4th foot; and Gordon Skelly, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the Royals, (with temporary rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.)—Hoſpital-ſtaff. Surgeon William Huſſey, from the Royal horſe-guards, to be an aſſiſtant-inſpector of hoſpitals. Surgeon Edward Porteus, from the 45th foot, to be ſurgeon to the forces, *vice* Balmain, deceaſed.—Barracks. Webſter Whiſtler, late a lieutenant in the 24th light dragoons, to be a barrack-maſter in Great-Britain, *vice* Pyott, deceaſed.

Downing-ſtreet, Dec. 26. John-Philip Morier, Eſq. appointed conſul-general in Albania, the Morea, and the adjacent territories of the Ottoman empire. Charles Lock, Eſq. to be conſul-general in the kingdom of Egypt.

War-Office, Dec. 27. Brevet. Captain Earneſt Miſſet, of the Queen's German regiment, to be major in the army.—Staff. Captain William Marlay, of the Staff corps, to be a permanent aſſiſtant in the quarter-maſter-general's department (with the rank of major in the army,) *vice* Lowe, appointed to the command of a corps. Enſign —— Baron, of the 1ſt Royal garriſon battalion, to be adjutant to the detachments in Hilſea barracks, *vice* Stevenſon, appointed adjutant to the 1ſt Royal garriſon battalion. H. Biſhoppe, Eſq. late major in the 17th light dragoons, to be inſpecting field-officer of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with temporary rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army.

Downing-ſtreet, Dec. 27. Right

Hon. Percy Lord Viſcount Strangford, appointed ſecretary of legation to the court of Liſbon.

DEATHS for the Year 1803.

Jan. 1. At Paris, the Hon. Mrs. Cecil, mother of the Marquis of Exeter. She was a foreign lady, Charlotte Gornier, married to the Hon. Mr. Cin, 1753.

4. At Raphoe, in Ireland, Mrs. Hawkins, lady of the Biſhop of Raphoe.

12. At Edinburgh, Lady R. Bruce, daughter of the late William Earl of Kincardine, and aunt to the preſent Earl of Elgin.

14. At Paris, of a decline, the Hon. Temple Luttrell, next brother to Earl Carhampton.

17. The Counteſs Dowager of Ayleſbury.

20. At Nice, of a decline, the Hon. Mrs. Charles Ellis, only daughter of the late Lord Hervey.

24. At Edinburgh, Lady Elizabeth Wemyſs, widow of the Hon. James W. of Wemyſs, and ſiſter to the late Earl of Sutherland.

29. At Duſſeldorf, Baroneſs Hompeſch, wife of Major-general Baron Ferdinand H. and eldeſt daughter of the late Sir Hugh Chriſtian, K. B.

Lately, in the Mediterranean ſea, whither he had gone for the recovery of his health, the Hon. Cap. Duncan, of the guards, eldeſt ſon of Lord Viſcount D. His body was conveyed to Malta, where it was interred with military honours.

Feb. 3. At Offenbach, in his 68th year, the Prince of Yſenbourg. He is ſucceeded by his ſon, Prince Charles-Frederick-Louis-Maurice, of Yſenbourg, commander of the order of Malta.

6. Hon. Mrs. Henniker, widow of Major H. Eſq. ſecond ſon of the late Lord H.

11. In Ireland, the Hon. James Tonſon, ſecond ſon of the late Lord Riverſdale.

12. At Munich, aged 3 years, Prince Maximilian of Bavaria, third ſon of the Elector.

At Bath, the Hon. Mrs. Bagwell, eldeſt daughter of the late Lord Graves.

26. The Hon. Edward Griffin Kinnaird, ſecond ſon of Lord K.

March —— At her houſe at Elford, co. Stafford, in her 87th year, Mary dowager Viſcounteſs Andover. She had lived ſecluded from all ſociety, but that of her relations and moſt intimate friends, for the laſt 20 years; and has died immenſely rich, both in landed and perſonal property. She was ſiſter to the late Earl of Aylesford, and married William Lord Viſcount Andover, ſon of Lord Suffolk, who died before his father. Her children by him were, the Earl of Suffolk, formerly ſecretary of ſtate, and the Hon. Mrs. Howard, married to the Hon. Richard Bagot, now Mr. Howard, brother to the late Lord Bagot. Lord Suffolk, in 1777, married his firſt couſin, Lady Charlotte Finch, eldeſt ſiſter to the Earl of Aylesford.

4. At his Lordſhip's houſe in Stratton-ſtreet, the infant ſon of Lord Pelham.

At Harrow ſchool, the Hon. Frederick Nugent, ſecond ſon of the Earl of Weſtmeath.

6. In Lincoln's Inn Fields, the widow of Samuel Ruſſey, Eſq. ſiſter of the Dowager Lady Duckenfield.

8. At his town-houſe in Cleveland-row, about half paſt 3 o'clock in the morning, after a ſhort illneſs from

from a cold, which brought on the complaints accompanying the influenza, Francis Duke of Bridgewater, Marquis of Brackley, Earl of Bridgewater, Viſcount Brackley, and Baron of Elleſmere, of Worſley, in Lancaſhire, and Aſhridge, Bucks. He was born May 21, 1726; and ſucceeded the late Duke John, his brother, in 1748; and remained unmarried. Of thoſe illuſtrious characters that have done honour to the Britiſh peerage, the Duke of Bridgewater deſerved to be placed in the firſt rank. That time and fortune which too many others have devoted to purpoſes, if not injurious to ſociety, at leaſt uſeleſs, his Grace ſpent in purſuits that entitle him to be called the benefactor of his country. By his active ſpirit, and his unſhaken perſeverance, he amaſſed immenſe wealth. But the publick grew rich with him; and his labours were not more profitable to himſelf than they were to his country. His return to the income-tax was 110,000l. a year; the greater part acquired by his own exertions, and derived from circumſtances of the higheſt benefit to the nation. He was the third Duke of Bridgewater, and died without iſſue.

11. At Richmond, Surrey, in her 71ſt year, the Hon. Julian Howe, ſiſter to Viſcount H.

14. Mrs. Lowth, relict of the late Biſhop of London.

20. In his 82d year, the Hon. James-Everard Arundel, ſecond ſon of Henry ſixth Baron Arundel of Wardour, by his firſt wife, Elizabeth-Eleanor, daughter and heir of Baron Everard, of the principality of Liege, one of the barons of the empire. He married, 1751, Anne, daughter and heir of John Windham, Eſq. of Aſhcombe, Wilts, by whom he had James-Everard, who died young, and was buried in Saliſbury cathedral; James-Everard, born 1763; Thomas-Raymond, born 1765; Eleanor-Anne, born 1752; Mary-Windham, born 1757; and Catherine-Elizabeth, born 1759; married, 1792, to Geo. Ryves, Eſq. captain of his Majeſty's ſhip Agincourt, and eldeſt ſon of the late G. R. Eſq. of Ranſton, Dorſet, by whom ſhe has ſeveral children.

21. At Wandſworth, Surry, aged 40, H. Benge, Eſq. late of the royal navy.

In his 76th year, the Hon. Thomas Walpole, ſecond ſon of Horatio firſt Lord Walpole, of Woolterton, co. Norfolk.

In Blackman-ſtreet, Southwark, in his 70th year, John Pardon, Eſq. treaſurer of the county of Surrey.

At Twinſted-hall, near Sudbury, Suffolk, while ſitting in his chair, aged 72, Sir James Marriott, Knt. maſter of Trinity-hall, Cambridge, late judge of the high court of admiralty, and alſo late M. P. for Sudbury, which he repreſented in two parliaments.

28. At her ladyſhip's ſeat at Bounds, in her 56th year, Mary Countreſs of Darnley, relict of John third Earl of Darnley. Her ladyſhip was only daughter and heireſs of John Stoyte, Eſq. of Street, co. Weſtmeath, Ireland (by Mary Howard, ſiſter of Ralph Viſcount Wicklow,) and married, 1766, John Earl of Darnley, by whom ſhe had ſeven children, the eldeſt of whom, John, is the preſent Earl of Darnley in Ireland, and Baron Clifton in England, and married, 1791, Miſs Brownlow, daughter of the late Right Hon. Wm. Brownlow,

low, of Lurgan, in Ireland. Her remains were interred at South Borough chapel, near Tunbridge Wells; a number of poor children, educated and cloathed at her expence, attended the funeral in mourning.

At Munich, Lady Wallace, ſiſter to the Ducheſs of Gordon, and, in former times, well known in the literary world and the circles of faſhion.

29. At Vienna, aged 70, Geof. Baron Van Swieten, commander of the order of St. Stephen, and director of the Imperial library. He was ſon of the celebrated Baron Van Swieten, the phyſician, and was, ſome years ſince, the imperial envoy at the court of Berlin. He has bequeathed his library (including a very conſiderable muſical collection) to the univerſity of Vienna.

April 2. In Scotland, Sir James Montgomery, late lord chief baron of Scotland, and uncle to the unfortunate colonel M. who was killed in a duel with captain Macnamara on the 6th.

3. At Burton-Pynſent, co. Somerſet, the Right Hon. Heſter Grenville, Baroneſs of Chatham in her own right, and Counteſs-dowager of Chatham. Her ladyſhip was the only daughter of Richard Grenville, of Wotton, by Heſter Temple, Viſcounteſs Cobham, to which title ſhe ſucceeded on the death of her brother, and was created Counteſs Temple 1749. Heſter Grenville, Baroneſs of Chatham, was the only daughter by this marriage, and was created a peereſs Oct. 5, 1761, having married, Nov. 6, 1754, William Pitt, the illuſtrious Earl of Chatham, by whom ſhe has left iſſue the preſent Earl and the Right Hon. William Pitt.

5. At her houſe, in Wimpole-ſtreet, aged 86, Lady Frances Williams Wynn, relict of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn.

7. At Edinburgh, in his 77th year, Patrick Crichton, Earl of Dumfries, elected, 1786, one of the 16 peers of Scotland. He ſucceeded his uncle, the fourth earl; and married, 1771, a daughter of Ronald Crawford, Eſq. of Reſtalrig, by whom he had a ſon, born 1776, and a daughter, born 1773.

9. At his houſe in Jermyn-ſtreet, in his 63d year, Gen. de Bonermeiſter, reſident-miniſter from the court of Heſſe-Caſſel. His remains were depoſited in the Savoy chapel. In the death of this diſtinguiſhed perſonage the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel has loſt an able general and a faithful miniſter. His Excellency's military career has ſhewn itſelf moſt conſpicuouſly in the German, American, and late continental wars; and he bore to his grave the honourable wounds he received in thoſe conteſts. His ſervices were principally with his Britannic Majeſty's troops. His ſuavity and mildneſs of manners endeared him particularly to their Majeſty's and the Royal Family, to moſt of the Nobility, and to all thoſe who had the honour of his acquaintance. His Excellency's illneſs was long and painful; during which time the attention of his Excellency's ſecretary, N. G. Lewis, Eſq. and a number of friends, was unremitted; which muſt afford much conſolation to his relatives abroad.

10. At Holton Park, co. Oxford, in her 24th year, the Hon. Mrs. Parker,

Parker, wife of colonel P. brother to the Earl of Macclesfield.

15. At Vienna, in his 89th year, the Archbishop of that see, Cardinal Prince Migazzy. On the preceding day he had taken a walk upon the Prater; found himself unwell; and, returning home, expired almost immediately. Cardinal M. it is well known, was not upon the best terms with the Emperor Joseph II. and refused to promote any of that Monarch's views of reform. He was of a very ancient family, which distinguished itself in the Valteline in the year 1200; and, for some time, he filled the office of imperial envoy at Madrid. His remains were interred on the 19th at Vienna, by torch-light; the funeral procession being opened by the children of the orphan-house, and the poor belonging to several other charitable foundations.

18. At Stratford-house, Essex, John Lord Henniker, Baron Henniker, of Stratford-upon Slaney, F. R. S. and LL. D. His Lordship was born in 1724, and married, 1747, Anne, eldest daughter (and coheiress with her sister, Elizabeth Duchess of Chandos) of Sir John Major, Bart. of Warlingworth-hall, co. Suffolk, and had issue, 1. the Hon. John Henniker-Major; 2. the Hon. Major Henniker, deceased; 3. the Hon. Gen. Brydges-Henniker; 4. Anne-Elizabeth, married, 1787, Edward Stratford, Earl of Aldborough, and died at Aldborough-house, Dublin, July, 1802, without issue. His Lordship was descended from an ancient family in Kent; succeeded to the title of baronet 1781, and was created a peer July 30, 1800, by the title of Baron Henniker of Stratford upon-Slaney, in the county of Wicklow. He is succeeded in his title and large estates by his eldest son, the Hon. John-Henniker-Major, F. R. S. of Portman-square, now second Lord Henniker, who married Emily, daughter of Robert Jones, Esq. of Duffrin, Glamorganshire.

25. At Brighthelmstone, after a lingering illness, in his 7th year, the Hon. Wm. Neville, youngest son of Lord Braybroke.

27. At his seat of Castletown, in Ireland, the Right Hon. Thomas Conolly.

30. At her father's seat, the Priory, near Stanmore, co. Middlesex, in her 22d year, after a short illness of an inflammation of the membrane which lines the windpipe, and which very suddenly produced suffocation, Lady Harriet Hamilton, eldest daughter of the Marquis of Abercorn. She was to have been married to the Marquis of Waterford in a few days.

In Frederick-street, Dublin, Lady Grace Queade, daughter of John first Earl of Aldborough, sister to the present Earl.

May 1. At her house in Upper Seymour-street, Lady M. Milbourne.

5. At Camelford-house, co. Oxford, aged 65, Anne, dowager Lady Camelford. She was daughter and coheir of Pinkney Wilkinson, of Burnham, co. Norfolk, Esq. and married, 1771, to Thomas Pitt, Lord Camelford, by whom she has left one son, and a daughter, married, 1792, to William Wyndham, Lord Grenville.

7. At Stratfield Say, Hants, aged 83, George Pitt, Lord Rivers, a lord of his Majesty's bed-

bed-chamber, and lord lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Dorſet, in which he is ſucceeded by Lord Dorcheſter. The peerage deſcends, in the preſent inſtance, to his only ſon, the Hon. George Pitt.

21. At Kenſington, the Hon. Mrs. Luttrell, relict of the Hon. Temple L. next brother of Henry Earl of Carhampton. She was daughter of Sir Henry Gould, Knt. one of the judges of the court of common pleas in England, and ſiſter of Honoria Counteſs of Cavan.

At Hazlewood, co. Sligo, Ireland, William Willoughby Cole, Earl of Enniſkillen, ſo created 1789.

At her houſe, at St. Donlough's, near Dublin, Lady Catharine O'Toole, ſiſter to the Earl of Mountnorris.

26. At Lydiard-Tregeze, near Wootton-Baſſet, the Hon Mr. St. John, eldeſt ſon of Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke.

June 2. In Welbeck-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare, aged 73, Mrs. Catherine Trapaud, relict of the late Gen. Cyrus T. who died May 3, 1801, and aunt to the late Duke of Bridgewater.

3. In Cavendiſh-ſquare, in his 43d year, the Right Hon. and Rev. George Murray, D. D. Lord Biſhop of St. David's, and brother to the Duke of Athol.

4. At Euſton-hall, Suffolk, in her 22d year, of a cold, which ſettled in the cheſt, Lady Caroline Fitzroy, ſixth daughter of the Duke of Grafton.

At Forglen, in Scotland, William Ogilvie, Lord Bamff.

5. At the Earl of Derby's, in Groſvenor-ſquare, after a ſhort illneſs, Mrs. Farren, mother of the Counteſs of Derby.

6. At her apartments near Kenſington, the Hon. Miſs Lambe, daughter of Lord Melbourne.

9. In Lower-Groſvenor-ſtreet, the Right Rev. Henry Reignald Courtenay, D. D. Lord Biſhop of Exeter, ſon of Sir Wm. C. of Powderham, co. Devon, bart. brother to the firſt Viſcount Courtenay, and uncle to the preſent.

12. At Florence, Lady Catherine Burgeſs, ſiſter to the Duke of St. Alban's.

20. At Bath, after a long illneſs, aged 66, the Right Hon. Nathaniel Lord Harrowby.

22. The wife of Thomas Wilkinſon, Eſq. of Binchester, co. Durham, Daughter of the late Hon. Mr. Lyon.

July 1. The infant daughter of Lord George Henry Cavendiſh; interred, on the 8th, at his Lordſhip's houſe, in Hertford-ſtreet, aged four years, the youngeſt daughter of Lord Bruce.

8. At Albano, near Rome, of a ſevere attack of the gout, aged 73, Frederick Hervey, Earl of Briſtol, grandſon of the firſt Earl, in which title he ſucceeded his brother, Auguſtus-John, 1779, and Biſhop of Cloyne, 1767, of Derry, 1768, and a privy-counſellor of Ireland. He was born in 1730; educated at Mr. Newcome's ſchool at Hackney; admitted of Corpus Chriſti College, Chambridge, 1747, where he took no degree; but the honorary one of D. D. was conferred on him by mandamus. He was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the King, and a principal clerk of the privy-ſeal, both which he reſigned when appointed a biſhop. He married Elizabeth, daughter of

of Sir Germayn Davers, who died at Ickworth, Suffolk, Dec. 19, 1800, by whom he had two ſons: George, late captain of the Zealous man of war, and Auguſtus-John; and two daughters, Mary, married to John Lord Erne of Ireland, and Elizabeth, married to John-Thomas Foſter. He was among the leaders of the Iriſh patriots during the American war, and a member of the famous convention of volunteer delegates held in Dublin in 1782; on which occaſion he was eſcorted from Derry to Dublin by a regiment of volunteer cavalry, and received military honours in every town through which he paſſed in that long journey. His Lordſhip was building at his family-ſeat at Ickworth, a villa on the Italian model, by Italian architects and artiſts of every claſs; to which he had appropriated 12,000l. annually, and the ornaments of which are ſo tender and ſharp as to require covering to preſerve them from injury by the external air. As an amateur, conniſſeur, and indefatigable protector of the fine arts, he died at his poſt, ſurrounded by artiſts, whoſe talents his judgment had directed, and whoſe wants his liberality had relieved. His love of the ſciences was only ſurpaſſed by his love to his country, and by his generoſity to the unfortunate of every country; neither rank nor power eſcaped his reſentment when any illiberal opinion was thrown out againſt England. At a dinner with the late King of Pruſſia and the Prince Royal of Denmark, at Pyrmont, in 1797, he boldly ſaid, after the converſation about the active ambition of England had been changed into enquiries about the delicacy of a roaſted capon, that he did not like neutral animals, let them be ever ſo delicate. In 1798 he was arreſted by the French in Italy, and confined in the caſtle of Milan; was plundered by the republicans of a valuable and well-choſen collection of antiquities, which he had purchaſed with a view of tranſmitting to his native country; and was betrayed and cheated by many Italians, whoſe benefactor he had been. But neither the injuſtice nor the ingratitude of mankind changed his liberal diſpoſition: he no ſooner recovered his liberty than new benefactions forced even the ungrateful to repent, and the unjuſt to acknowledge his elevated mind. The Earl of Briſtol was one of the greateſt Engliſh travellers (a capacity in which his merits have been duly appreciated by the celebrated Martin Sherlock;) and there is not a country in Europe where the diſtreſſed have not obtained his ſuccour, and the oppreſſed his protection. He may truly be ſaid to have cloathed the naked, and fed the hungry; and, as oſtentation never conſtituted real charity, his left hand did not know what his right hand diſtributed. The tears and lamentations of widows and orphans have diſcovered his philanthropy when he is no more; and letters from Swiſs patriots and French emigrants, from Italian catholics and German proteſtants, prove the noble uſe his Lordſhip made of his fortune, indiſcriminately, to the poor, deſtitute, and unprotected of all countries, of all parties, and of all religions.

17. At his apartments at Brixton cauſeway, Surrey, in his 25th year,

year, of a tedious and painful illneſs, which he bore with manly fortitude, Alexander Manners Leſlie, Eſq. nephew to Lord Newark.

At Barchfeld, of a lingering diſeaſe, in his 61ſt year, his Serene Highneſs Adolphus, reigning Prince of Heſſe Philippſthal-Barchfeld.

Aug. 4. At Bath, in her 32d year, the wife of the Rev. Dr. Edwards, and niece of Lord Chief Juſtice Ellenborough.

12. In St. James's-ſquare, Bath, Mrs. Jervis, aunt of Earl St. Vincent.

21. At Teignmouth, Devon, in his 75th year, Cornwallis Maude, Viſcount Hawarden and Baron De Montalt, of Hawarden, in Flintſhire.

28. At Alnwick caſtle, Northumberland, in her 19th year, Lady Frances Percy, third daughter of the Duke of Northumberland.

Sept. 14. Killed, in gallantly boarding a privateer off Civita Vecchia, the Hon. Henry Fitzgerald, ſon of Lord Lecale (brother to the Duke of Leinſter.)

22. At Badminton, co. Glouceſter, aged 17, Lady Aune-Eli, zabeth Somerſet, youngeſt daughter of the duke of Beaufort.

At Edinburgh, in the prime of life, the Ducheſs of Gramont, who who was diſtinguiſhed at the Court of France, during the Monarchy, for her beauty and merit.

At the palace of Kilmore, in Ireland, of a convulſive fit, Miſs Anaſtaſia Beresford, ſecond daughter of the Biſhop of Kilmore.

October. At Ardſalla, co. Meath, the Right Hon. Peter Ludlow, Earl Ludlow, ſo created in 1760, Baron Ludlow of Ardſalla, 1755. He was born in 1730, being ſon of Peter Ludlow, Eſq. of Ardſalla, by Mary, daughter and heir of John Preſton, Eſq. of Ardſalla. He married, 1753, Lady Frances Sanderſon, eldeſt daughter of Thomas, third Earl of Scarborough, by whom he had Auguſtus Viſcount Preſton, his ſucceſſor, born 1753, two other ſons, and four daughters.

1. At Barrogill Caſtle, of a fever, in her 17th year, the Hon. Lady Helen Sinclair, ſecond daughter of the Earl of Caithneſs.

3. Mrs. E. Mathew, aunt to the Earl of Landaff.

8. Interred, in St. George's chapel, Windſor, in the ſame grave with her beloved huſband, the Hon. Anne Brudenell, relict of the Hon. Col. Robert Brudenell.

11. At his ſeat at Badminton, co. Glouceſter, of the gout in his ſtomach, in his 59th year, the moſt noble Henry Somerſet, Duke of Beaufort, Marquis and Earl of Worceſter, Earl of Glamorgan, Viſcount Groſmont, Baron Herbert, Lord of Ragland, Chipſtow, and Gower, Baron Beaufort, of Caldecot Caſtle, Baron Bottetourt (to which he ſucceeded on the death of his mother, April 8, 1799,) lord-lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the counties of Monmouth and Brecknock, and K. G. He was born Oct. 16, 1744; and was married, April 2, 1766, to Elizabeth, youngeſt daughter of the late Admiral Boſcawen, and ſiſter to George Evelyn, Viſcount Falmouth, by whom he has left eight ſons and three daughters; the eldeſt of whom, Henry Charles, Marquis of Worceſter, and M. P. for Glouceſterſhire, ſucceeds him in his titles and eſtates. His Grace will be very much lamented by his family, his friends,

friends, his neighbours, and his numerous tenantry, in the counties of Glouceſter and Monmouth. He maintained the dignity of his ſtation rather by the noble ſimplicity of his manners, and his provincial hoſpitality, than by attentions to exterior ſplendour and diſplay of faſhion. It was not to his taſte, nor did it ſuit with his fancy, to ſolicit notice by any of thoſe attractions at which the public gaze with temporary admiration. Groſvenor-ſquare was not diſturbed by his feſtivities; but at Badminton and Troy-houſe every viſitor felt the honour of his reception, and was delighted with the ſatisfaction that accompanied it. In politics he ſupported a tranquil, dignified independence. He never engaged in the ranks of oppoſition; and the ſupport he generally gave to his Majeſty's miniſters could never be juſtly attributed to any motives but ſuch as were perfectly conſiſtent with the integrity which diſtinguiſhed his honourable life. His remains were, on the 20th, interred in the family-vault at Badminton.

12. Miſs Jane Lyon, fourth daughter of the late Hon. Thomas L. of Hetton, Durham.

14. At her houſe in Gay-ſtreet, Bath, Viſcounteſs Northland, wife of Lord Viſcount Northland, of Ireland.

18. At Stonehouſe, near Plymouth, the Hon. Miſs Suſan De Courcy, third daughter of Lord Kinſale, of Ireland.

19. At Cumner, Berks, aged 83, the widow of the Rev. John Bertie, youngeſt brother of Willoughby, Earl of Abingdon.

21. At his houſe at Twickenham, Middleſex, Lord Frederick Cavendiſh, uncle to the Duke of Devonſhire and Lord G. H. Cavendiſh. He was born in Auguſt 1729.

26. At his ſeat, Trentham-hall, co. Stafford, in his 68th year, Granville Leveſon Gower, Marquis of Stafford, Earl Gower, Viſcount Trentham, Baron Gower, and K.G. He is ſucceeded by Earl Gower, his eldeſt ſon, who was married, 1785, to the Counteſs of Sutherland, now Marchioneſs of Stafford. The late Marquis was born Aug. 4, 1721; firſt married, in 1744, to Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Fazakerley, Eſq.; ſecondly, March 28, 1748, to Louiſa Egerton, daughter of Scrope, Duke of Bridgewater.

30. At Woneriſh, near Guildford, co. Surrey, aged 95, Grace dowager Lady Grantley, daughter of Sir Wm. Chapple, knt. judge of the King's Bench; married, 1741, to Sir Fletcher Norton, afterwards created Lord Grantley, by whom ſhe had four ſons and one daughter.

November 2. At Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of Lord Forbes, ſiſter to the Ducheſs of Athol, and wife of John Hay, Eſq. banker, of Edinburgh.

16. At Rome, in her 75th year, the Princeſs Matilda, of Eſte, ſiſter of the late Duke of Parma.

22. At Bradley-hall, co. Stafford, in her 15th year, of a ſcarlet fever, Lady Harriet Stanhope, eldeſt ſurviving daughter of the Earl of Cheſterfield. She was his Lordſhip's only daughter by his firſt wife, Anne, daughter of Alexander Thiſtlethwaite, Eſq. of Titherley, co. Hants.

24. At Pleſſe, in Upper Sileſia, of a ſevere nervous fever, in her 20th

20th year, having been married only three months, the reigning Princeſs of Anhalt Coether-Pleſſe, born Princeſs of Holſtein-Beck.

27. In Lancaſhire, the lady of the Hon. Capt. Jones, brother of Lord Viſcount Ranelagh.

December 7. At her houſe at Twickenham, in her 79th year, Anne Lady Mendip.

8. In York-place, Kingſland-road, the Hon. Mrs. Murray, only daughter of the late Lord John M. and wife of Col. M. of Banner Croſs, co. York.

12. At her houſe in Seymour-place, in her 70th year, Lady Charlotte Tufton, aunt to the preſent Earl of Thanet.

His Royal Highneſs Prince Frederick Adolphus, Duke of Oſtrogothia, uncle to the King of Sweden.

18. In Portland-place, after a long and ſevere illneſs, the wife of William Goſling, Eſq. and daughter of Lady Cunliffe.

24. In his 43d year, after a long illneſs, his Serene Highneſs George Duke of Saxe Meiningen; born Feb. 4, 1761.

28. At Vienna, of a paralytic ſtroke, in his 79th year, the miniſter plenipotentiary, from Hanover, Baron Von Muhl, many years ſenior of the diplomatic corps.

29. At Corhampton, Hants, Heſter Counteſs Dowager of Clanricarde, relict of John, eleventh Earl of Clanricarde, mother of the preſent Earl, and grandmother of Sir Francis Vincent, bart. She was youngeſt daughter of Sir Henry Vincent, of Stoke D'Abernon, Surrey, and mother of two ſons and three daughters.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council, for the Year* 1803.

Bedfordſhire. Godfrey Thornton, of Moggerhanger, Eſq.

Berkſhire. Daniel Agace, of Winkfield, Eſq.

Buckinghamſhire. Joſeph Franklin, of Haddenham, Eſq.

Cambridgeſhire and Huntingdonſhire. James Duberley, of Gain's Hall, Eſq.

Cheſhire. John Fielden, of Great Mollington, Eſq.

Cumberland. Robert Warwick, of Warwick Hall, Eſq.

Derbyſhire. Sir Robert Wilmot, of Chaddeſden, Bart.

Devonſhire. Sir Stafford Northcote, of Pynes, Bart.

Dorſetſhire. John Wedgewood, of Grenville, Eſq.

Eſſex. Stephen Fryer Gillum, of Shenfield, Eſq.

Glouceſterſhire. Samuel Wathen, of Woodcheſter, Eſq.

Herefordſhire. Benjamin Biddulph, of Burghill, Eſq.

Hertfordſhire. Henry Brown, of North Mims Place, Eſq.

Kent. Chriſtopher Cooke, of Aſh-grove, Eſq.

Leiceſterſhire. James Vann, of Belgrave, Eſq.

Lincolnſhire. Sir Henry Nelthorpe, of Sealby, Bart.

Monmouthſhire. George Jones, of Magor, Eſq.

Norfolk. Thomas Hare, of Stow Hall, Eſq.

Northamptonſhire. John Harvey Thurſby, of Abington, Eſq.

Northumberland. Shaftoe Craſter, of Craſter, Eſq.

Nottinghamſhire. William Coape Sherbrooke, of Oxton, Eſq.

Oxfordſhire. James Taylor, of Sandford, Eſq.

Rutlandſhire.

Rutlandſhire. Joſeph Cooke, of Edith Weſton, Eſq.

Shropſhire. Thomas Kinnerſley, of Leighton, Eſq.

Somerſetſhire. Sir Hugh Smith, of Wraxhall, Bart.

Staffordſhire. George Birch, of Hampſtead, Eſq.

County of Southampton. William Mills, of Biſtern, Eſq.

Suffolk. Sir Harry Barker, of Melford, Bart.

Surrey. John Pooley Kenſington, of Putney, Eſq.

Suſſex. John William Commerell, of Strood, Eſq.

Warwickſhire. Henry Greſwold Lewis, of Malvern Hall, Eſq.

Wiltſhire. Thomas Henry Hele Phipps, of Weſtbury Leigh, Eſq.

Worceſterſhire. John Philips, of Winterdyne, Eſq.

Yorkſhire. Sir Henry Carr Ibbetſon, of Denton, Bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Caermarthen. John Llewellyn, of Caſtle Piggin, Eſq.

Pembroke. George Bowen, of Llwngwair, Eſq.

Cardigan. John Lloyd, of Mabus, Eſq.

Glamorgan. John Morris, of Claſemont, Eſq.

Brecon. Sackville Gwynne, of Trimawr, Eſq.

Radnor. T. H. M. Gwynne, of Llanelwith, Eſq.

NORTH WALES.

Merioneth. John Forbes, of Ofabodig, Eſq.

Carnarvon. Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle, of Wern Fawr, Eſq.

Angleſey. William Bulkeley Hughes, of Plas Coch, Eſq.

Montgomery. J. Winder, of Vaynor, Eſq.

Denbigh. Henry Ellis Boates, of Roſe Hill, Eſq.

Flint. Owen Molyneux Wynne, of Overton, Eſq.

Prince *of* Wales's *Council.*

County of Cornwall. Thomas Rawlings, of Badſtow, Eſq.

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

Diſpatch from Lieut. Gen. Grinfield, Commander in Chief of His Majeſty's Troops in the Windward and Leeward Charibbee Iſlands, to Lord Hobart, Principal Secretary of State for the War Department.

St. Lucia, June 22.

" My Lord,

" It is with ſatisfaction I have the honour to acquaint your Lordſhip, that this day the fortreſs of Morne Fortunée was carried by aſſault; and the Iſland of St. Lucia is in conſequence unconditionally reſtored to the Britiſh Government.—I have to ſtate to your Lordſhip, that in conſequence of his Majeſty's order, ſignified to me in your letter, dated the 16th of May, and received on the 14th inſtant, which I immediately communicated to Commodore Hood, he arrived at Barbadoes on the 17th: the troops, ſtores, &c. were on board, or embarked on the 19th; ſailed on the 20th. On the 21ſt, at day-break, they were off the north end of St. Lucia; in the courſe of the day the greateſt part of the troops were diſembarked in Choque Bay; about half paſt five the out-poſts of the enemy were driven in, the town of Caſtries taken, and a ſummons was ſent to the commander of the troops of the French Republic.—In conſequence of the refuſal of Brigade General Nogues to accede to any terms, and the expectation of approaching rains, it became neceſſary to get poſſeſſion of the Morne with as little delay as poſſible. It was therefore determined, this morning, to attack the fortreſs by aſſault, which was done accordingly at four o'clock; and it was carried in about half an hour, and with leſs loſs, conſidering the reſiſtance, than could have been expected; but the loſs has been chiefly among the higher ranks of officers, and thoſe the moſt truly valuable; but it is yet to be hoped moſt of them will recover, for the real benefit of his Majeſty's ſervice.—I cannot omit a circumſtance which reflects ſo much credit, as well on the Britiſh nation, as on the conduct of the ſoldiers actually employed, that, notwithſtanding the ſevere and ſpirited reſiſtance of the French troops, yet, no ſooner were the works carried by aſſault, and the oppoſition no longer exiſted, than every idea of animoſity appeared to ceaſe, and not a French ſoldier was either killed or wounded.—The return of the killed and wounded is herewith incloſed, which, excepting the number of officers of high rank, is not equal to what might have been expected, and

and by far less than it would have been, in all probability, had a formal investment of the fortress taken place. These dispatches will be delivered to your Lordship by my Aid-du-Camp, Capt. Weir, to whom I beg to refer your Lordship for any information you may require."

Killed, Wounded, and Missing, of the Troops in the Assault, and Capture of the fortress of Morne Fortunée, in the Island of St. Lucia, in the Morning of the 22d of June.

Royal Military Artifices, 1 serjeant killed.—2d Battalion of Royals, 1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, killed; 1 field-officer, 1 captain, 2 serjeants, 43 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—64th Regiment, 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file, killed; 2 field-officers, 1 captain, 1 subaltern, 2 serjeants, 31 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file missing.—68th ditto, 1 drummer missing.—3d West India Regiment, 1 serjeant, 3 rank and file, killed; 2 subalterns, 23 rank and file, wounded; 5 rank and file missing.—Staff, 1 field-officer wounded. Total, 4 serjeants, 16 rank and file, killed; 4 field-officers, 2 captains, 3 subalterns, 4 serjeants, 97 rank and file, wounded; 1 drummer, 7 rank and file, missing.

Officers Wounded.—2d Battalion of Royals, Lieut. Col. Macdonald, severely; Captain Chaloner, severely.—64th Reg. Lieutenant-Col. Pakenham, severely; Major Sir G. Richardson, Capt. Galway, Lieut. F. Rowan, slightly.—3d West-India Regiment, Lieut. Moultrie, slightly; Ensign Fagan, slightly.—Staff, Lieut. Col. Morden, Deputy Adjutant-General, severely.—N. B. Hospital-Mate, Heyes, attached to the 3d West-India Regiment, severely wounded, not included above.

(Signed) W. TATUM,
Capt. Assistant Adj. Gen.

Letter from Commodore Hood, Commander in Chief at the Leeward Islands, to Sir E. Nepean, Bart. dated on board the Centaur, in Choque Bay, St. Lucia, June 22.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, on my arrival at Barbadoes on the 17th, late in the evening, having consulted Lieut. Gen. Grinfield with respect to the intended co-operation of the army and navy, I instantly took measure to prevent further supplies being thrown into St. Lucia, (the ships on this service, under the orders of Captain O'Brien, of the Emerald, made some captures of trading vessels), and every disposition was settled for embarking the troops and light artillery on board the ships of war, and the necessary stores, &c. in small vessels, for the expedition: by great exertions the whole was effected on the 20th, and the arrangements completed. The Lieut. General having embarked with the troops, I put to sea with the ships named in the margin*; was joined next morning by the Emerald and Os-

* Centaur, Courageux, Argo, Chichester, Hornet, and Cyane.

prey, having Brigadier-General Prevoſt on board, and were all anchored by eleven o'clock in this Bay. There being a ſtrong breeze, the boats of the ſquadron had a heavy pull with the firſt diviſion of the army, compoſed of the 2d battalion of the Royals, and two field-pieces, under the command of Brig. Gen. Brereton; but, by the great energy and excellent diſpoſition made by Captain Hallowell, were landed in good order about two P. M.; and by the perſeverance of every officer and man employed in landing the remainder of the troops, the Lieutenant-general was enabled to make an early arrangement for an attack on that very important and ſtrong poſt, Morne Fortunée, where the force of the enemy was aſſembled, which, on the Commandant refuſing to give up when ſummoned, was ordered to be attacked with that deciſion and promptitude which has always been the characteriſtic mark of Lieutenant-general Grinfield, and carried by ſtorm at half paſt four this morning, with the ſuperior bravery which has ever diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh ſoldier: this placed the colony completely in our poſſeſſion. To Captain Hallowell's merit it is impoſſible for me to give additional encomium, as it is ſo generally known; but I muſt beg leave to ſay, on this expedition, his activity could not be exceeded; and, by his friendly advice, I have obtained the moſt effectual aid to this ſervice, for which he has been a volunteer; and, after the final diſembarkation, proceeded on with the ſeamen to co-operate with the army. The marines of the ſquadron, by deſire of the Lieutenant-general, were landed and ordered to take poſt near Gros Ilet, to prevent ſupplies being thrown into Pigeon Iſland, which, on the fall of Morne Fortunée, was delivered up. We are already occupied in re-embarking troops and other neceſſary ſervice for future operations. Capt. Littlehales, of this ſhip, is charged with the diſpatch, whoſe aſſiduity and attention I with much ſatisfaction acknowledge, will be able to give their Lordſhips any further information.

I am, &c.
SAM. HOOD."

Diſpatch from Lieutenant-General Grinfield, Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Troops in the Windward and Leeward Iſlands.

Scarborough, Tobago, July 1.

"MY LORD,

"I have the honour to report to your Lordſhip the ſurrender, by capitulation, of the fort of Scarborough, and the reſtoration of the Iſland of Tobago to the Britiſh Government. I have the ſatisfaction to add, that this event appears to be received by the colony, the inhabitants of which are almoſt entirely Britiſh, with the livelieſt ſenſe of gratitude. The circumſtances which led to this fortunate and valuable conqueſt were as follow: On the 25th, Commodore Hood, with the fleet and troops, ſailed from St. Lucia; and yeſterday, at day-break, we made this iſland. About five in the afternoon, having landed the greater part of the troops, the two leading columns marched towards Scarborough; and, meeting with no oppoſition in the defiles of St. Mary's,

Mary's, advanced to Mount Grace; from which place I ſent a ſummons to the Commandant, Gen. Berthier, who returned an anſwer by propoſing terms of capitulation, which were finally ſettled about four this morning, and at eleven poſſeſſion of the fortreſs was given to the Britiſh forces; the French garriſon marching out with the honours of war, and laying down their arms, after paſſing the guard of honour, under the orders of Brigadier-general Picton. The fort having ſurrendered without reſiſtance, I can only ſpeak in general terms of the excellent diſcipline and good conduct of the officers and ſoldiers in this expedition. There is no doubt, had the French garriſon been ſufficiently ſtrong to have hazarded reſiſtance, they would have met with as obſtinate an attack as was experienced by the garriſon of Morne Fortunée. It is next to impoſſible for me to ſay too much in praiſe of the co-operation of the navy. The troops are in the higheſt degree indebted to Commodore Hood, for the accommodation afforded to them on board, and to the judicious arrangements and execution in the embarking and diſembarkation of them by Capt. Hallowell. I take the liberty to incloſe a copy of the orders given to the troops. I likewiſe incloſe a liſt of the troops of the French Republic who laid down their arms in conſequence of the capitulation; alſo the return of ordnance and military ſtores taken in the fort and other batteries in this iſland. Captain Draper, my aid-de-camp and ſecretary, returning to England, will have the honour to deliver this diſpatch to your Lordſhip. I beg leave to recommend him to your notice, as an intelligent, diligent, and active officer.

I am, &c.
W. GRINFIELD,
Lieutenant-General."

Terms of Capitulation agreed upon between General Grinfield and Commodore Hood, and General Berthier, dated Providence-Houſe, June 30.

Art. 1. To deliver up to the commander in chief of his Britannic Majeſty's forces the fort of Scarborough in the ſame ſtate in which it now is, together with the artillery and military ſtores. Agreed to.—2. The garriſon ſhall march out with all the honours of war, drums beating, and taking their arms and baggage, with one piece of field-artillery. Agreed to. The Britiſh troops being permitted, at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning, to have poſſeſſion of the force of Scarborough; and the French garriſon at the ſame time to march out with the honours of war, drums beating, arms and baggage, and one piece of field-artillery; but the arms are to be laid down, and the field-piece given up, as ſoon as they ſhall have paſſed the glacis.—3. The captain-general, his ſtaff, all the officers, all the perſons in military or civil employments, with all the ſoldiers, ſeamen, ſervants, and generally all the French attached to the ſervice of the Republic, with their wives and children, ſhall be embarked within a month, and ſent back to France at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty. Agreed to. And ſhall be ſent within the time, or as ſoon after as poſſible.—4. A proper veſ-

ſel ſhall be furniſhed, as ſoon as poſſible, for the conveyance of the captain-general, his family, ſtaff, and other perſons in his ſuite, with the goods and effects belonging to them. Agreed to.—5. The ſick and wounded ſhall be attended to in the military hoſpital of Scarborough, at the expence of his Britannic Majeſty, and ſent to France when cured. Agreed to.—And they ſhall be ſent to France as ſoon as they may be recovered.—6. The property of every kind belonging to the inhabitants of the colony ſhall be reſpected; their laws, cuſtoms, and uſages, will be preſerved, as they have hitherto been by the French Government. Agreed to. The colony will have the laws exiſting when under the Britiſh Government previous to its laſt ceſſion to the French Republic.—7. The captain-general, Cæſar Berthier, ſhall immediately diſpatch the national brig Souffleux, now at Scarborough, to apprize his government of this capitulation. The neceſſary paſſport for this purpoſe ſhall be given by the commander of the naval forces of his Britannic Majeſty. Agreed to by me, but ſubject to the commodore's opinion. An unarmed veſſel may be ſent to France, and if the Souffleux is diſarmed, ſhe may be ſent to France.—8. The French merchant veſſels, now in Scarborough Roads, under the batteries of the fort, ſhall be allowed to ſail for ſuch port of Europe or America as they ſhall think proper. A. Requires to be referred to the Commodore. Provided the property does not belong to perſons who have come to the iſland ſince its ceſſion to the French Republic.—9. None of the inhabitants ſhall be moleſted on account of the conduct they may have held, or opinions they may have profeſſed, under the French Government. Agreed to.—10. During the ſpace of two years, to commence this day, it ſhall be permitted to ſuch inhabitants as are deſirous of quitting the iſland, to diſpoſe of their properties, and remove the amount to whatever place they pleaſe. Agreed to.

[Here follow the general orders of the commander in chief, in which he highly compliments the whole of the forces, and attributes their ſucceſs principally to the ſteady co-operation of Commodore Hood and Captain Hallowell. He compliments the alertneſs of the Artillery and Artificers, and attributes the ſpeedy ſurrender of the colony to the advance march of the firſt column, conſiſting of two companies of the 64th regiment, and five companies of the 3d Weſt-India regiment, under Brigadier-general Picton.]

Return of the French troops and ſailors in Fort Scarborough, in the Iſland of Tobago, at the time of its ſurrender to the Britiſh forces, on the 1ſt of July, 1803.—3 captains, 2 ſerjeant-majors, 8 ſerjeants, 16 corporals, 73 grenadiers, 9 drummers, 120 ſailors.—Total 228. The general and ſtaff-officers not included.

(Signed) C. LUXEMBOURG,
Capitaine Commandant."

Next is a return of the ordnance and ſtores found on the iſland, and amongſt which are a vaſt quantity of ammunition, and ſeveral pieces of artillery of different calibre, in very good order.

Diſpatch

Dispatch from Commodore Hood, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Leeward Islands, to Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. Dated the 1st of July.

Centaur, Great Courland Bay, Tobago, July 1.

"SIR,

"Having sailed from St. Lucia on the evening of the 25th of last month, accompanied by his Majesty's ships Centaur, Argo, Ulysses, Chichester, and Hornet, with Lieutenant-general Grinfield, and troops for the attack of Tobago, embarked on board, and several small ordnance and provision vessels, we arrived off the island yesterday forenoon, and were joined by his Majesty's ships Venus and Port Mahon, neither of which having troops, I directed Captain Graves to anchor close to the battery on the east point of Courland Bay, and commence the attack, that the first division of the army (composed of two companies of the 64th regiment, and five companies of the 3d West-India Regiment, commanded by Brigadier-general Picton, and conducted by Captain Hallowell, of the Argo) might be covered in proceeding to land in the Bay, and Capt. Nevill to run in with the Port Mahon close to the back of the battery, to cover the landing; and as soon as the two companies of the 64th were in the boats, I bore up with the Centaur, with an intention of supporting the ship and sloop; but the steady and judicious conduct of these officers in the execution of this service, was so completely effective, that the battery was soon silenced by the fire of the Venus, and the Port Mahon drove them from the back, landed and took possession without any loss, by which the troops were disembarked unmolested. From the superior energy of Lieutenant-general Grinfield, the rapid movements of the army were such as to cause Gen. C. Berthier to propose for the surrender of the Fort of Scarborough the same evening, and the articles of capitulation, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose, were completed by half past four this morning. I should do great injustice to the Lieutenant-general, and the several officers and soldiers under his command, if I did not mention the most cordial good understanding which has subsisted between us during the whole of our operations, as I should also do to the several captains, officers, petty officers, seamen, and royal marines, of the several ships, for their unremitted attention and good conduct. The Royal Marines, and a body of seamen, were landed to co-operate with the army, under the command of Captain Hallowell; and it is scarcely necessary for me to add, his zeal and exertions were equally conspicuous as on the late expedition to St. Lucia. He is charged with this dispatch, and will give their Lordships any further information they may desire on the subject.

I am, &c.

SAM. HOOD."

The following Returns of Troops and Stores taken at St. Lucia, together with the General Orders issued by Lieutenant-general Grinfield upon that Occasion, have been received by this opportunity.

1 brigadier-general, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 10 captains,

8 lieutenants, 12 second-lieutenants, 1 surgeon-major, 1 surgeon, 1 assistant-surgeon, 13 serjeant-majors, 77 serjeants, 74 corporals, 18 drummers, 402 privates, 11 women, 9 children. Total 640.—N. B. One hundred and sixteen of the prisoners included in the total are returned sick. Taken from the Prefect's return.

WILLIAM TATUM,
Captain, Assistant-Adjutant-Gen."

[Here follows a return of ordnance, ammunition, and stores, found at Morne Fortunée, and batteries adjoint, by which it appears there were 32 iron and 2 brass guns of different calibre, with 4 brass and iron mortars, &c.]

Letter from Captain Malbon, commanding his Majesty's Ship Aurora.

"On the 30th June, about four o'clock in the morning, I made the island of Peter's; and at five sent the large cutter and launch, manned and armed with a 12 pound cannonade, under the command of Lieut. Richard Longfield Davies, and Lieut. Baillie, of the Marines, to oblige the town to surrender, or begin the attack. Between 6 and 7 o'clock they entered the harbour, under a very thick fog, and, perceiving a boat crossing from one side to the other, brought her to, in which they found the Commissary, who acted as Governor. The confusion that the place was thrown into from the sudden attack, prevented the inhabitants from assembling together; and at half past seven the Commissary surrendered the island, by delivering the colours to Lieut. Davies. From what has been since learned, there is no doubt, that, if the inhabitants could have had time to have collected themselves from their different situations, they would have made a strong resistance, having since discovered upwards of 100 stand of arms among them. Knowing the small force in the boats, I used my utmost efforts to get his Majesty's ship into the harbour, but was as frequently prevented by thick fogs. About 11, it being somewhat clear, I entered under a very heavy press of sail between the rocks, which were not a cable's length across, and at two P. M. brought to with the best bower in 15 fathom water. Found here a French merchant brig (La Reine des Anges) and a schooner (Le Provoyer), with 11 small schooners, and upwards of 100 battoes. The island contained fish, stores, salt, and merchandize of various descriptions, and, upon a rough survey, about 220 men were upon the island and in the boats; but they being so detached, several got away in the small craft, one of which, I have since been informed, was taken off Liverpool in Nova Scotia, and another at St. Lawrence in Newfoundland. On every thing being secured, I ordered one of the fishing schooners to be fitted as a tender; and, having her manned and armed with a 12 pound cannonade, gave the command to Lieut. Davies, with directions to scour the coast, and take possession of the islands of Great and Little Miquelon; which he did, but no inhabitants or stores were found at either of those places.

J. MALBON."

Dispatch

Dispatch from Lieut. Col. Nicholson, to Gen. Grinfield, Commander in Chief in the Windward and Leeward Charibbee Islands.

New Amsterdam, Berbice, Sept. 25.

"SIR,

"Agreeable to your orders of the 19th inst. I proceeded with the troops under my command, and arrived off the river Berbice on the 23d inst. in the morning, where the ships of war and transports came to anchor: as it was from thence Capt. Bland and myself agreed to send Brigade-major Armstrong and Lieut. Pardoe in a flag of truce, with a summons to the Provisional Government, the naval and military commanders, to surrender the colony of Berbice to his Majesty's forces under our command. The flag of truce returned early the next morning, having on board a committee of the Provisional Government, a captain of artillery, and a lieutenant of the Batavian navy, to treat for the surrender of the colony, which was done, and the articles of capitulation signed; but as the commander of the Batavian troops would not sanction the surrender, without consulting the officers under his command, it was agreed that the Netly schooner, with the smallest of the transports, should pass over the bar, there anchor, and wait till the flag of truce returned from the fort with the commandant's answer; which not arriving as soon as was expected, the Netly and the transports got under weigh, and were proceeding to pass the forts, when the flag of truce returned, with a captain of artillery, to signify the commandant's approval of the terms, but requesting the British troops might not land until this day, which was complied with, and they remained on board the vessels, at anchor off the town, until noon this day, when the troops landed and took possession of the forts, &c. of the Batavian garrison, consisting of upwards of 600 men, who were made prisoners. The steady and active co-operation of Capt. Bland and the officers, seamen, and marines, employed on this service, demand my warmest acknowledgments; and it is my duty to report to you how much I am satisfied with the zeal and active exertions of Lieut.-col. M'Creagh, of the 7th West-India regiment, and all the officers and every individual of all the corps employed on this service. I am engaged in preparing the returns of ordnance and stores of every description found in the enemy's forts and magazines, which I shall have the honour of presenting to you on my return to Demarara, which I expect will be in three days from this date. Herewith I inclose a copy of the Summons and Articles of Capitulation, and have the honour to remain, &c.

(Signed) R. NICHOLSON.
Lieut.-col. 1st Battalion of Royals."

Return of prisoners of war who surrendered at Demarara and Essequibo on the 20th September.—1 lieut.-colonel, 1 major, 10 captains, 26 lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 1 quarter-master, 1 serjeant-major, 3 surgeons, 5 assistant-surgeons, 174 serjeants and corporals, 1 armourer, 27 trumpeters and drummers, 685 privates.

Surrendered in the colony of Berbice on the 25th September:—1 lieut.-colonel, 4 captains, 10 lieutenants,

lieutenants, 6 second lieutenants, 1 quarter-master, 1 surgeon, 1 assistant-surgeon, 1 cadet, 26 serjeants and corporals, 10 trumpeters and drummers, 563 privates.

Total.—2 lieut.-colonels, 1 major, 14 captains, 36 lieutenants, 6 second lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 2 quarter-masters, 1 serjeant-major, 4 surgeons, 6 assistant-surgeons, 1 cadet, 200 serjeants and corporals, 1 armourer, 37 trumpeters and drummers, 1248 privates.

Dispatches from Commodore Hood, of similar import, are next given. They contain a spirited eulogium on the bravery of, and good understanding between, the land and sea forces: they also contain a letter from Capt. L. O. Bland, of the Heureux, who landed the marines to second the efforts of the military. He observes, "the garrison did not join in the Capitulation till we arrived with the British land and sea forces nearly within gun-shot of their works. Seeing we were determined, a boat was hurried off to inform us they would surrender if we would wait till next day; which was agreed, on our being allowed to go into the harbour that night, and take possession of the shipping."

Return of shipping found in the river Demarara.—Hippomenes Batavian corvette, pierced for 18 guns; Sophia, a ship claimed as English property; Rotterdam, ditto; Diana, ditto; Elbe, detained by the Dutch before our arrival, under British colours; Nile, ditto; Admiral Kingsbergen; Aurora; Leesfield; Maria; Wilhelmina, ditto; Boodes Welfeeren, and Wilhelmina, Dutch merchant ships.

At Berbice—Serpent National schooner, and five merchant vessels. Total 19.

Extract of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B.

Shark, Port Royal, Jamaica, Sept. 29.

Understanding from Gen. Dessalines, that it was his intention to summon the town of St. Marc immediately, which was reduced to the last extremity, I was strongly induced to urge him not to put the garrison to death; which he consented to: and I stipulated with him, that, if they surrendered, he should march them round to the Mole in safety, and that I should appear off the Bay, and take possession of the shipping, one of which I knew to be a ship of war.

Vanguard, off Cape Nicola Mole, Sept. 9.

"Sir,

"I received Gen. Dessalines's dispatches about 8 o'clock at night of the 31st of October, and got under weigh at one A. M. At day-light we chased a man of war brig off St. Marc, but the wind being light and partial she got into that place. In the afternoon we perceived a flag of truce coming out, but a heavy squall of wind and rain obliged them to return. The following morning they came on board, and brought a letter from Gen. D'Henin, which I answered by making several distinct propositions, and sent them in the ship's boat as a flag of truce, with an officer, and Mr. Cathcart had the goodness to take charge of them: about 5 o'clock the same day

day the General himself came on board in the boat, and we agreed to a convention: the next day and part of the night we were busily employed in effecting the embarkation of the garrison, &c.; and the whole being completed, Gen. D'Henin and his staff came on board the Vanguard at 3 o'clock in the morning of the 4th, and we made sail out of the bay. The situation of this garrison was the most deplorable it is possible to imagine; they were literally reduced to nothing, and long subsisted on horse-flesh. I forgot to mention, that on the 1st we captured the same schooner, we had taken on the 26th past, with 25 barrels of flour going to St. Marc, which I took out; and transferring her people, with 15 soldiers she had on board, to a small sloop we took at the same time, sent her away, and kept the schooner, as she might be eventually useful to us: and she is the vessel I have made over to Gen. D'Henin. The vessels delivered to us, consist of the Papillon corvette, pierced for 12 guns, but only mounting 6, having 52 men on board, commanded by Monsieur Dubourg, lieutenant du vaisseau; the brig Les Trois Amis, transport, nothing in; and the schooner Mary Sally, who has between 40 and 50 barrels of powder. Gen. D'Henin has given me regular receipts for the garrison, which amounts in all to 850 men. —I have farther to inform you, Sir, that on the 5th we captured the National schooner Le Courier de Nantes of 2 guns and 4 swivels and 15 men, commanded by an ensign de vaisseau, from Port-au-Prince, with a supply of 30 barrels of flour and sundry other articles, for St. Marc. I inclose a weekly account; and have great satisfaction in stating that we are almost well again; not one of the men who came from the hospital has died.

I am, &c.

JAMES WALKER."

Rear Admiral Duckworth, &c.

Letter from Captain Bligh, to Admiral Duckworth.

Theseus, Port Dauphin, St. Domingo, September 8.

"SIR,

"Having found extreme difficulty, in preventing small vessels from passing into Cape François with provisions from the little ports on the Northern part of the island, in consequence of their finding a safe retreat from our pursuit under the batteries of Port Dauphin, and conceiving that port to be of the utmost importance to the enemy, I deemed it necessary to make some efforts for the reduction of the place, and the capture of a ship at anchor there. As soon as the sea breeze this morning rendered it impossible for the enemy's frigates to leave their anchorage, I proceeded to Manchermel Bay, leaving the Hercule and Cumberland on their station. The water being sufficiently deep to allow me to place the ship within musket shot of Fort Labouque, situated at the entrance of the harbour, our fire was so well directed, that it was impossible for the guns of the battery to be pointed with any precision, the colours of which were struck in less than half an hour. Another fort in the harbour and the ship being the next objects of our attention, the Theseus entered the port with the assistance of the boats, and, having fired a few shot at the ship of war, she hauled her colours down, and proved to

to be La Sageſſe, mounting 20 eight pounders on the main deck, and 8 four-pounders on the quarter-deck and forecaſtle, commanded by Lieut. J. B. Barueſche, and having only 75 men on board. The Commandant conceiving the place no longer tenable after the loſs of the ſhip, and being under ſome apprehenſions of being expoſed to the rage of the Blacks, whom he conſidered as a mercileſs enemy, claimed Britiſh protection, and ſurrendered the fort and garriſon at diſcretion. Having ſpiked the guns and deſtroyed the ammunition, the garriſon and inhabitants, many of whom were ſickly, were embarked, and landed under a flag of truce at Cape François. Being informed by the priſoners that their Gen. Dumont and his ſuite had lately fallen into the hands of the Blacks, and that they were in the moſt imminent danger, I was induced from motives of humanity to ſolicit their freedom from the Chief of thoſe people; and I had the ſatisfaction of having my requeſt immediately complied with: they accompanied the reſt of the priſoners into Cape François.

I am, &c.

JOHN BLIGH.

Letter from Admiral Duckworth, detailing the particulars of a Negotiation with General Rochambeau, for the ſurrender of the French Force in St. Domingo, dated Sloop Shark, Port Royal, November the 30th.

"SIR,

"I tranſmit you incloſures, for the information of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, ſtating an attempt of capitulation, made by Gen. Rochambeau, on the 19th inſtant, from which I hope the period is not far diſtant, when it will be brought to a proper iſſue for the whole of St. Domingo.

J. T. DUCKWORTH."

[TRANSLATION.]

ARMY OF ST. DOMINGO.

Head Quarters at the Cape, 27th Brumaire, 12th year of the French Republic.

The General in Chief, to Commodore Loring, commanding the Naval Forces of His Britannic Majeſty, before the Cape, &c.

"SIR,

"In order to prevent the effuſion of blood, and to preſerve the ſcattered remnant of the army of St. Domingo, I have the honour to ſend to you two officers, charged with inſtructions from me to enter into an accommodation with you. The General of Brigade, Boyer, Chief of the Staff, and Captain Barré, are charged to tranſmit my letter to you; and they are alſo the officers whom I have choſen to treat with you.

I have the honour to be, &c.

D. ROCHAMBEAU."

Copy of the propoſitions made by the General Rochambeau, to evacuate Cape François, St. Domingo.

"I. The General Rochambeau propoſes to evacuate the Cape; himſelf and his guards, conſiſting of about 4 or 500 men, to be conveyed to France without being conſidered priſoners of war.—Not granted.

II. The Surveillante and Cerf to be allowed to carry him and ſuite to France.—Not granted.

(Signed) JOHN LORING."

Bellerophon, off Cape François. November the 19th.

"SIR,

"I have to acquaint you, on the subject communicated to me by General Boyer and Commodore Barré, of your desire to negotiate for the surrender of Cape François to his Britannic Majesty, that I send for the purpose, and to know your final determination, Captain Moss of His Majesty's ship Le Desirée, in order to agree with your wishes, insomuch as is consistent with the just rights of his Britannic majesty on that point, I have also to inform you my instructions confine me to the French officers and troops in health, being sent to Jamaica, and the sick to go to France or America, the transports to convey them being first valued, and security given by the Commander in Chief, for the due payment of the valuation by the French Republic. The white inhabitants of the Cape, will not be permitted to go to Jamaica. Such are the parts of my instructions, with which I am bound to comply in any agreement for the surrender of Cape François.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. LORING."

Gen. Rochambeau, Commander in Chief.

[TRANSLATION.]

COLONY OF ST. DOMINGO.

Head Quarters at the Cape, 28th Brumaire, An. 12.

The General in Chief of the Army of St. Domingo, Captain General of the said Colony, Commander of the French West India Islands, &c. &c. to Commodore Loring, commander of the Naval Forces of His Britannic Majesty, before the Cape, &c.

"SIR,

"I have received the letter which you have done me the honour to address to me. As your propositions are inadmissible, I request you will consider my preceding letter as amounting to nothing.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
With great consideration,
D. ROCHAMBEAU."

Port-Royal, December the 18th.

"SIR,

"Having, in my letter No. 3, by this conveyance, stated to you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that Gen. Rochambeau had made proposals for capitulating, which, though inadmissible, I thought soon must lead to others more reasonable; the event has justified my opinion; but I am sorry to say, that officer, whose actions are too extraordinary to account for, had, on the 19th ultimo, (previous to his proposals to Captain Loring, through the general of brigade, Boyer and Commodore Barré) actually entered into a capitulation with the black general Dessalines, to deliver up the Cape to him, with all the ordnance, ammunition, and stores, on the 30th; I conclude, flattering himself, that the tremendous weather, which our squadron was then and had been experiencing for three weeks, would offer an opening for an escape, but the perseverance and watchfulness thereof precluded him from even attempting it. On the 30th, the colours of the Blacks were displayed at the forts, which induced Capt. Loring to dispatch Capt.

Capt. Bligh, to know Gen. Deſſaline's ſentiments reſpecting Gen. Rochambeau and his troops; when, on his entering the harbour, he met Commodore Barré, who preſſed him, in ſtrong terms, to go on board the Surveillante, and enter into ſome capitulation, which would put them under our protection, and prevent the Blacks from ſinking them with read hot ſhot, as they had threatened, and were preparing to do, which Capt. Bligh complied with, when they haſtily brought him a few articles they had drawn up, which he (after objecting to ſome particular parts, that they agreed ſhould be altered, to carry his interpretation on their arrival at Jamaica) ſigned, and haſtened to acquaint Gen. Deſſalines, that all the ſhips and veſſels in port had ſurrendered to his Majeſty's arms; and with great difficulty he obtained the promiſe to deſiſt from firing, till a wind offered for carrying them out (it then blowing hard directly into the harbour); this promiſe he at length obtained, and the firſt inſtant, the land-breeze enabled them to ſail out under French colours, which upon a ſhot being fired athwart them, the veſſels of war fired their broadſides, and hauled down their colours, except the Clorinde, a large frigate of 38 guns, who unluckily took the ground abaft, and was forced to throw moſt of her guns overboard, and knocked her rudder off, when there was great apprehenſion for her ſafety; and I am informed, by the captains of the ſquadron, that we muſt attribute the ſaving her, (apparently without farther damage) to the uncommon exertions and profeſſional abilities of acting Lieut. Willoughby, with the boats of the Hercule, who, I truſt, will be honoured with their Lordſhips' protection. Capt. Loring, after ſeeing the generality of the prizes taken poſſeſſion of, left the Theſeus and Hercule, to fix a temporary rudder to the frigate, and bring the remainder with them, bearing away for the Mole, and on the 2d, ſummoned the general of Brigade, Noailles, who commanded there, to capitulate: this he declined doing, aſſerting he had proviſions for five months, and herewith I tranſmit a copy of his letter. The numerous and crowded ſtate of the priſoners on board all the prizes, and their being without proviſions, making it neceſſary for Capt. Loring to proceed to Jamaica, he arrived here the 5th, with the Elephant and Blanche, alſo the Surveillante and Vertu 38 gun frigates, and various other prizes, leaving the Pique to blockade the Mole, who anchored in this port the 8th, and acquainted me, that Gen. Noailles had evacuated the night he refuſed to capitulate, bringing in with her 5 out of the 6 veſſels, in which the garriſon had embarked, a brig with the General on board only eſcaping. I ſend a veſſel of war to England, with Gen. Rochambeau, and thoſe officers who are ſaid to have participated in his cruelties at the Cape.

I am, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH."

Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. &c.

[TRANSLATION.]

RIGHT DIVISION OF THE NORTH.

General Noailles to Commodore Loring.

Mole, 10th, Frimaire, An. 12.

"Sir,

"I have received the letter which you have done me the honour

nour to addreſs to me, under the date of the 10th Frimaire. I requeſt you will inform me of the terms upon which you propoſe to treat with me.

I have the honour to be, with the higheſt conſideration, Sir,

Your moſt obedient,
Humble ſervant,
(Signed) NOAILLES."

Shark, Port-Royal, Jamaica, December the 20th.

"Sir,

"Accompanying this, you will receive, for the information of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, copies of various letters, &c. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, relative to the proceedings of Captain Loring, of His Majeſty's ſhip Bellerophon, while ſenior officer of the ſquadron blockading Cape François.

J. T. DUCKWORTH."

Sir Evan Nepean, Bart, &c.

Bellerophon, off Cape François, November the 23d.

"Sir,

"Having received information, that Gen. Rochambeau's intentions are to endeavour to make his eſcape in a ſchooner, and obſerving, yeſterday afternoon, ſeveral boats paſs and repaſs between the Surveillante and an armed ſchooner, laying in the Carocal Paſſage, I made the the ſignal for the launches armed, to aſſemble on board the Blanche, and ordered Captain Mudge to proceed with them off the entrance of the paſſage, to intercept her, ſhould ſhe attempt to come out. I directed the launches to act under the command of Lieut. Pilch, of the Bellerophon, and at 2 A. M. ſhe was very judiciouſly boarded and taken by the launches of the Bellerophon and the Elephant, without the loſs of a man killed or wounded, though, for a ſhort time, under a very ſmart fire from the enemy's great guns and ſmall arms: ſhe proves to be the French national ſchooner La Decouvert, commanded by Monſieur Froyan, enſeign de vaiſſeau; ſhe had mounted 6 ſix-pounders, and 6 braſs ſwivels, and 52 men: the enemy had two men wounded. The officer commanding the Deſirée's launch, being anxious to ſecure the paſſage, got ſo far to the eaſtward of the entrance, as not to obſerve the motions of the other boats, that he unfortunately could not join them, or get near the ſchooner till day-light, or, I am ſenſible, from the character he bears, would be as vigilant as the other boats.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. LORING."

Sir J. T. Duckworth.

Bellerophon, off Fortuda, November the 30th.

"Sir,

"I have to inform you of the ſurrender of Cape François to the Gen. Deſſalines, on the 18th inſtant, when he attacked it at the head of the army, and agreed with the General in Chief, Rochambeau, for ten days to complete the evacuation. Not having received a ſecond propoſition from Rochambeau, during the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities between the two parties, I endeavoured, if poſſible, to learn the diſpoſition of Deſſaline's ſeeing his flag diſplayed on the forts, as to the ſhips of war and other veſſels in the harbour; and you will ſee, by his letter to me of the 27th, which I herewith tranſmit, as well as a copy of mine to him, the indefinite mode of ex-

preſſion he makes uſe of. I therefore ſent Capt. Bligh to explain with him. On his arrival at the Cape, he met, on the part of Rochambeau, a ſtrong deſire to agree for the ſurrender of the ſhips and veſſels, which, from his declaration to deſtroy them, I had no reaſon to expect. The articles of agreement which were entered into, I herewith incloſe, and hope they will meet your approbation. Capt. Bligh immediately made known to Deſſalines, the ſurrender of the frigates and merchant veſſels to his Britannic majeſty, and requeſted he would give orders to prevent firing on them, which till then, was his intention; and, after ſome heſitation, Gen. Deſſalines reluctantly complied. This morning, the Surveillante, Cerf brig, an hoſpital ſhip, and three or four neutral ſchooners, came out; the whole were under weigh in the harbour, but owing to the ſudden change of wind, they were prevented from proceeding. I am ſorry to ſay, the Clorinde is on ſhore under fort St. Joſeph, and I fear will be totally loſt. I have taken poſſeſſion of the veſſels that are out, and left Capt. Bligh with the Herculé, Deſirée, and Pique, to complete the evacuation of the Cape and Monte Chriſtie. When the Elephant joins with the Vertu and merchant veſſels I left in the Cape, I ſhall proceed with her and prizes to Port Royal, leaving the Tatar to blockade the Mole.

I am, &c.

JOHN LORING."

His Majeſty's Ship Bellerophon.

" Sir,

" Not having had the honour to receive your anſwer to my letter of yeſterday, I beg to repreſent, that, from the tenor of yours of the 22d, I did hope to ſee your flag flying this morning at Fort Picolet. As I have full confidence you will not reſcind the agreement with Gen. Rochambeau, who intends, if poſſible, to have more time granted him to eſcape, and that you will have poſſeſſion of the town, and its forts, this afternoon; I ſhall then be much obliged if you will ſend me ſome experienced pilots, to conduct a part of my ſquadron into the harbour, to take poſſeſſion of the ſhipping.

JOHN LORING."

General Deſſalines.

[TRANSLATION.]

LIBERTY OR DEATH.

Head-quaters, 6th Frimaire, An. 12.

The General in Chief of the indigenous Army, to Capt. Loring, commanding the Naval Forces of his Britannic Majeſty before the Cape.

" Sir,

" I am accuſed by you of the receipt of a letter which I never had the honour to receive. You may be aſſured that my favourable diſpoſition towards you, and hoſtility towards Gen. Rochambeau, are unalterable. I ſhall enter the Cape to-morrow morning at the head of my army. It is a matter of great regret to me I cannot ſend you the pilots which you require. I preſume you will have no occaſion for them. I ſhall force the French ſhips to quit the road, and you will do will do with them as you judge proper.

DESSALINES."

[Here

[Here follows the capitulation agreed upon by Captain Bligh and General Boyer, by which the French naval and military forces were surrendered to his Majesty's squadron.]

Bellerophon, off Cape Nicola Mole, December the 2nd.

"Sir,

"From General Rochambeau's extraordinary conduct on the public service, neither Captain Bligh nor myself have had any thing to say to him farther than complying with his wishes, in allowing him to remain on board the Surveillante until her arrival at Jamaica, which I very readily agreed to, as also the commodore. I have Gen. Boyer, with about 22 officers, and 190 soldiers and sailors, on board the Bellerophon, and 60 more on board the Hercule, that were taken out of the Surveillante; the Blanche has on board all the crew of the Cerf. I had began this letter yesterday, to have dispatched the Blanche early this morning, but, seeing the Desirée coming down with six sail, waited until she joined, and am happy to inform you, that, through the exertions of Lieut. Willoughby, the Clorinde is afloat again with the loss of her rudder, and Captain Bligh is preparing a temporary one to bring her down; the Vertu, and other ships are out, and I am in hourly expectation of seeing them with the Elephant. I have sent Capt. Ross into the Mole, to summon that garrison to surrender; and shall dispatch the Blanche immediately I have Gen. Noailles's answer.

Half-past four. Captain Ross has this instant returned with the inclosed answer; and I dispatch the Blanche in consequence, and shall follow soon after. The Elephant, Vertu, and ten sail of various descriptions of vessels, are now joining.

I am, &c.

Rear Admiral JOHN LORING."

Sir T. Duckworth, K. B. Commander in Chief, &c.

Shark, Port Royal, December the 20th.

"Sir,

"Feeling that the Lord's Commissioners of the Admiralty, would wish to be acquainted with the articles of Capitulation between the Gen. Rochambeau and Dessalines, for the surrender of the Cape, and having just obtained a copy thereof, I herewith transmit the same for their Lordship's information.

I am, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH."

Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. &c.

[TRANSLATION.]

FRENCH AND INDIGENOUS ARMIES.

27th Brumaire, Anno 12. November the 19th.

"Adjutant Commander Duveyrier, charged with due powers by General Rochambeau, commander of the French army, to treat for the surrender of the Cape, and J. Jacques Dessalines, general in chief of the indigenous army, have agreed to the following articles:

I. The town of the Cape, and the forts which belong to it, shall be surrendered in ten days from the 28th of the present month, to the General in Chief Dessalines.

II. The ammunition and warlike ſtores of the Arſenal, the arms and the artillery which are in the town and in the forts, ſhall be left in their preſent ſtate.

III. All the ſhips of war, or others, which ſhall be judged neceſſary by General Rochambeau, for tranſporting the troops, and the inhabitants who may wiſh to depart from the iſland, ſhall be at full liberty to ſail on a day to be appointed.

IV. The officers, civil and military, the troops compoſing the garriſon of the Cape, ſhall depart with the honours of war, carrying with them their arms, and the effects belonging to their demi brigade.

V. The ſick and wounded are eſpecially recommended to the humanity of General Deſſalines, who engages to embark them for France, on board neutral veſſels.

VI. General Deſſalines, in giving the aſſurance of his protection to the inhabitants who may continue in the country, relies on the juſtice of General Rochambeau, to ſet at liberty all men belonging to the country, of whatever colour they may be; and that none of them ſhall, under any pretence, be compelled to embark with the French army.

VII. The troops belonging to the two armies ſhall remain in their reſpective poſitions until the tenth day, fixed for the evacuation of the Cape.

VIII. General Rochambeau ſhall ſend, as a ſecurity for the fulfilment of the preſent convention, the adjutant-commandant Urbain de Vaux; in return for whom, General Deſſalines ſhall ſend an officer of an equal rank.

Done in good faith, at the head-quarters of Haut du Cap, the ſame day, month, and year, above ſtated.

(Signed) DESSALINES.
DUVEYZIER."

Shark, Port Royal, Dec. 23.

"Sir,

"Accompanying this you will receive, for the information of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, an account of veſſels captured and deſtroyed by his Majeſty's ſquadron under my command, ſince the return made in November laſt.

I am, &c.

J. T. DUCKWORTH."

Sir Evan Nepean, Bart, &c. &c.

[Here follows a liſt of 37 ſhips and veſſels captured, detained, and deſtroyed at Jamaica, the Bahama Iſlands, under the orders of Sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B.]

N. B. There has been deſtroyed ſince laſt return, 30 ſail of ſmall craft of various deſcriptions at Cape François, Monte Chriſte, and the Mole, &c. &c.

Proceedings of the Meeting of the Subſcribers to Lloyd's Coffe Houſe, held the 20th of July, 1803, when the Patriotic Fund was eſtabliſhed.

The Merchants, Underwriters, and other ſubſcribers to Lloyd's Coffee-houſe, having this day met for the purpoſe of ſetting on foot a general ſubſcription, on an extended ſcale, for the encouragement and relief of thoſe who may be engaged in the defence of the country, and who may ſuffer in the

common cause; and of those who may signalize themselves during the present most important contest: and feeling confident, that when our very existence as a great and independent nation is at stake, it only becomes necessary to point out any means by which the exertion of our native spirits and the application of our powerful resources, may receive an additional stimulus; they beg leave to submit to the liberal consideration of their fellow subjects, the following resolutions, which have been unanimously passed at this meeting, and presume to hope, that the object of this subscription will be so promoted and sanctioned by public bodies in general—by the higher ranks, and opulent classes of society—and by individuals of every description, that the mite of the labourer, combining with the munificent donation of the noble and wealthy, shall be the best pledge of our unanimity—shall insure our seamen, our soldiers, our countrymen at large, with a well-grounded confidence in the liberality and gratitude of the community; and shall impress on the minds of our enemies the appalling conviction, that the energies of this great empire are irresistible, as its resources are incalculable.

Brook Watson, Esq. in the Chair.

On a motion being made, the following Resolutions being produced, were read, and passed unanimously.

I. That in a conjuncture when the vital interests of our Country, when the peculiar blessings which, under our beloved Sovereign and happy Constitution, endear our social state, are involved in the issue of the present contest, when we are menaced by an enemy, whose haughty presumption is grounded only on the present unfortunate position of the Continental Powers, and when we seem to be placed, for the moment, as the last barrier against the total subjugation of Europe by the overbearing influence of France—it behoves us to meet our situation as men—as freemen—but, above all, as Britons. On this alone, with the Divine Aid, depends our exemption from the yoke of Gallic despotism—on this alone depends, under the same protecting power, whether this Empire shall remain, what it has for ages been, the strenuous supporter of Religion and morals, the asserter of its own, and the guardian of the liberties of mankind, the nurse of industry, the protector of the arts and sciences, the example and admiration of the world—or whether it shall become an obsequious tributary, an enslaved, a plundered, and degraded department of a foreign nation.

II. That, to give more effect and energy to the measures adopted by Government for the defence of our liberties, our lives and property—to add weight to those personal exertions we are all readily disposed to contribute, it behoves us to hold out every encouragement to our fellow-subjects, who may be in any way instrumental in repelling or annoying our implacable foe, and to prove to them that we are ready to drain both our purses and our veins, in the great cause which imperiously calls on us to unite the duties of loyalty and patriotism, with the strongest efforts of zealous exertion.

III. That, to animate the efforts

of our defenders, by sea and land, it is expedient to raise, by the patriotism of the community at large, a suitable fund for their comfort and relief—for the purpose of assuaging their wounds, or palliating in some degree the more weighty misfortune of the loss of limbs—of alleviating the distresses of the widow and orphan—of smoothing the brow of sorrow for the fall of their dearest relatives, the props of unhappy indigence or helpless age—and of granting pecuniary rewards, or honourable badges of distinction, for successful exertions of valour or merit.

IV. That a subscription, embracing all the objects in the foregoing resolution, be now opened; and, to set an example to the public bodies throughout the United Kingdom and its dependencies, and to our fellow subjects of every class and denomination, that, independently of our individual contributions, the sum of 20,000*l.* three per cent Consolidated Annuities, part of the funded property of this Society, shall be appropriated to this purpose.

V. That on Friday the 29th instant, at 12 o'clock precisely, a general meeting of the Subscribers to this fund be held at this House, for the purpose of appointing their Committee; and that the Committee of the House be requested to become, and they are hereby constituted a Committee, *ad interim*, for the receipt and management of the subscriptions, and other purposes expressed in these resolutions.

VI. That the Committee of this House, and the Bankers in the Metropolis, and in the Cities and Towns of the United Kingdom, be requested to receive subscriptions; and that such part of the fund as shall not be used for the purpose now intended, be returned in proportion to the sums subscribed.

VII. That all sums, however small, which shall be offered by the patriotism of the poorer classes of our fellow-subjects, shall be accepted—the cause affecting equally the liberties and lives of persons of every description.

VIII. That the Thanks of this meeting be given to the Chairman, for his able and impartial conduct in the chair.

Lloyd's, 29th of July, 1803.

At a General Meeting of Subscribers. Brook Watson, Esq. in the Chair,

Resolved,

That a Committe be now formed from the first Fifty Subscribers of 100*l.* and upwards; and that the Committee have power to add to their number such other Subscribers as they shall think proper.

Resolved,

That the following gentlemen elected as above, constitute the Committe for managing the Patriotic Fund, nine of whom shall be a quorum for transacting business.

Sir J. W. Anderson, Bart. M. P. and Alderman
John Julius Angerstein, Esq.
James

James Abel, Esq.
John Jacob Appach, Esq.
Sir Francis Baring, Bart. M. P.
Thomson Bonar, Esq.
Thomson Bonar, Jun. Esq.
George Brown, Esq.
George Baillie, Esq.
Peter Begbie, Esq.
Cornelius Buller, Esq.
Horatio Clagett, Esq.
Robert Christie, Esq.
Thomas Everett, Esq. M. P.
John Fraser, Esq.
Peter Free, Esq.
George Godwin, Esq.
Benjamin Goldsmid, Esq.
Alexander Glennie, Esq.
David Hunter, Esq.
George Henckell, Esq.
Germain Lavie, Esq.
Richard Lee, Esq.
Joseph Marryat, Esq.
George Munro, Esq.
John Mangles, Esq.
John Mavor, Esq.
R. H. Marten, Esq.
William Macnish, Esq.
Charles Offley, Esq.
Thomas Reid, Esq.
Thomas Rowcroft, Esq. Alderman
Andrew Reid, Esq.
Thomas Raikes, Jun. Esq.
J. Smith, Esq. M. P.
Robert Shedden, Esq.
George Shedden, Esq.
James Shaw, Esq. Alderman
Benjamin Shaw, Esq.
F. S. Secretan, Esq.
Robert Thornton, Esq. M. P.
Henry Thompson, Esq.
John Turner, Esq.
Sir Brook Watson, Bart. and Ald.
Robert Wigram, Esq. M. P.
Thomas Warre, Esq.
James Warre, Esq.
David Pike Watts, Esq.
George Wood, Esq.
William Whitmore, Esq.

Added by the Committee,

Joseph Nutt, Esq. Gov. of the Bank of England
Jacob Bosanquet, Esq. Chairman, } of the Hon. East India Company.
John Roberts, Esq. Deputy Chairman, } of the Hon. East India Company.
Edward Forster, Esq. Govenor of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company
John Woolmore, Esq.
Thomas King, Esq.
William Bell, Esq.
Henry Bonham, Esq.
James Innes, Esq.
Sir Charles Price, Bart. M. P. and Alderman
John Remington, Esq. Prime Warden of the Fishmongers' company
William Hoare, Esq.
William Parker, Esq. Prime Warden of the Goldsmiths' Company
Henry Pigeon, Esq. Prime Warden of the Merchant Taylors' Company
Jacob Warner, Esq. Prime Warden of the Grocers' Company
Rev. Colston Carr, of Ealing
John Pooley, Kensington, Esq.
Thomas Birch, Esq.
The Right Hon. Earl Spencer
The Right Hon. Lord Carrington
Robert Hunter, Esq.
John Jackson, Esq.

Lloyd's 2nd of August, 1803.

At a Meeting of the Committee for managing the Patriotic Fund.

Resolved,

That Sir Francis Baring, Bart. be Chairman of this Committee.

 Resolved,

Resolved,

That the following gentlemen form a Committee of Treasury.

Sir Francis Baring, Bart. M. P.
John Julius Angerstein, Esq.
Thomson Bonar, Esq.
Robbert Shedden, Esq.
Thomas Reid, Esq.
Richard Lee, Esq.
John Mavor, Esq.

Resolved,

That the following gentlemen be appointed Trustees for the purchase and sale of stock, or other Government securities, for the purposes of this Institution; and that the same be invested in their names.

Sir Francis Baring, Bart. M. P.
John Julius Angerstein, Esq.
Thomson Bonar, Esq.

Resolved,

That Mr. John Parr, Welsford, be appointed Secretary to the Committee.

ROYAL CORRESPONDENCE.

No. I.

Carlton House, July 18th, 1803.

Sir,

The subject on which I address you, presses so heavily on my mind, and daily acquires such additional importance, that notwithstanding my wish to avoid any interference with the dispositions made by his Majesty's Ministers, I find it impossible to withhold, or delay an explicit statement of my feelings, to which I would direct your most serious consideration.

When it was officially communicated to Parliament, that the avowed object of the enemy was a descent on our Kingdoms, the question became so obvious, that the circumstances of the times required the voluntary tender of personal service; when Parliament, in consequence of this representation, agreed to extraordinary measures for the defence of these Realms alone, it was evident that the danger was not believed dubious, or remote.

Animated by the same spirit which pervaded the Nation at large, —conscious of the duties which I owed to his Majesty, and the Country, I seized the earliest opportunity to express my desire of undertaking the responsibility of a military command.

I neither did nor do presume on supposed talents, as entitling me to such an appointment; I am aware I do not possess the experience of actual warfare; at the same time I cannot regard myself as totally unqualified or deficient in military science, since I have long made the service my particular study; my chief pretensions were founded on a sense of those advantages which my example might produce to the State, by exciting the loyal energies of the Nation, and a knowledge of those expectations which the public had a right to form, as to the personal exertions of their Princes, at a moment like the present.

The more elevated my situation, in so much the efforts of zeal became

came neceſſarily greater; and I confeſs, that if duty had not been ſo paramount, a reflection on the ſplendid atchievements of my predeceſſors would have excited in me the ſpirit of emulation; when, however, in addition to ſuch recollections, the nature of the conteſt in which we are about to engage was impreſſed on my conſideration, I ſhould, indeed, have been devoid of every virtuous ſentiment, if I felt no reluctance in remaining a paſſive ſpectator of armaments, which have for their object the exiſtence of the Britiſh Empire.

Thus was I influenced to make my offer of ſervice; and I did imagine, that his Majeſty's Miniſters would have attached to it more value; but when I find that from ſome unknown cauſe, my appointment ſeems to remain ſo long undetermined; when I feel myſelf expoſed to the obloquy of being regarded by the Country as paſſing my time indifferent to the events which menace, and inſenſible to the call of patriotiſm, much more of glory, it then behoves me to examine my rights, and to remind his Majeſty's Miniſters, that the claim which I have advanced is ſtrictly conſtitutional, and juſtified by precedent; and that, in the preſent ſituation of Europe, to deny my exerciſing it, is fatal to my own immediate honour, and the future intereſt of the Crown.

I can never forget that I have ſolemn obligations impoſed on me by my birth, and that I ſhould ever ſhow myſelf as foremoſt in contributing to the preſervation of the country. The time is arrived when I may prove myſelf ſenſible of the duties of my ſituation, and of evincing my devotion to that Sovereign, who, by natnre, as well as public worth commands my moſt affectionate attachment.

I repeat, that I ſhould be ſorry to embarraſs the Government at any time, moſt particularly at ſuch a criſis: but ſince no event in my future life could compenſate for the misfortune of not partaking in the honours and dangers which await the brave men deſtined to oppoſe an invading enemy, I cannot forego the earneſt renewal of my application.

All I ſolicit is, a more oſtenſible ſituation than that in which I am at preſent placed; for ſituated as I am, as a mere Colonel of a Regiment, the Major General commanding the Brigade, of which ſuch a Regiment muſt form a part, would juſtly expect, and receive the full credit of pre-arrangement and ſucceſsful enterprize.

I remain, Sir,

Very ſincerely your's

(Signed) G. P.

Right Hon. Henry Addington, &c. &c.

No. II.

July 26th, 1803.

A week has now elapſed, ſince the Prince of Wales tranſmitted to Mr. Addington a letter on a ſubject of the higheſt importance. Though he cannot anticipate a refuſal to ſo reaſonable a demand, he muſt ſtill expreſs ſome ſurprize, that a communication of ſuch a nature ſhould have remained ſo long unanſwered.

When the Prince of Wales deſired to be placed in a ſituation, which might enable him to ſhow to the People of England, the example of zeal, fidelity, and devo-

tion to his ſovereign, he naturally thought, that he was only fulfilling his appropriate duty as the firſt Subject of the Realm, in which, as it has pleaſed Providence to cauſe him to have been born, ſo he is determined to maintain himſelf, by all thoſe honourable exertions which the exigencies of theſe critical times peculiarly demand. The motives of his conduct cannot be miſconceived, or miſrepreſented; he has, at a moment when every thing is at ſtake that is dear and ſacred to him, and to the nation, aſked to be advanced in military rank, becauſe he may have his birthright to fight for, the throne of his Father to defend, the glory of the People of England to uphold, which is dearer to him than life, which has yet remained unſullied under the Princes of the Houſe of Brunſwick, and which, he truſts will be tranſmitted pure and uncontaminated to the lateſt generations. Animated by ſuch ſentiments, he has naturally deſired to be placed in a ſituation where he can act according to the feelings of his heart, and the dictates of conſcience.

In making the offer, in again repeating it, the Prince of Wales conſiders, that he has only performed his duty to himſelf, to the State, to the King, to Europe, whoſe fate may be involved in the iſſue of this conteſt; if this tender of his ſervices is rejected, he ſhall ever lament that all his efforts have been fruitleſs, and that he has been deprived of making thoſe exertions which the circumſtances of the Empire, his own inclinations, and his early and long attention to military affairs, would have rendered ſo peculiarly grateful to himſelf, and he truſts, not entirely uſeleſs to the Public.

No. III.

Downing-ſtreet, July 27th, 1803.

Upon receiving the letter with which Mr. Addington was laſt week honoured, by the Prince of Wales, he aſſured his Royal Highneſs that it ſhould be immediately laid before the King. This was accordingly done, and the letter is ſtill in his Majeſty's poſſeſſion. A communication was afterwards made to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, in a mode, and through a channel which Mr. Addington humbly hoped his Royal Highneſs would approve. Mr. Addington, however, now finds it to be incumbent upon him, in conſequence of the expectation which has been expreſſed by his Royal Highneſs, to ſtate, that his Majeſty, on being informed of the ſentiments and wiſhes of the Prince of Wales, applauded in the ſtrongeſt manner, the feelings by which his Royal Highneſs is actuated; but referred, nevertheleſs, to the anſwers which his Majeſty had judged it neceſſary to return to ſimilar repreſentations, and which, in obedience to the commands of his Royal Highneſs, had been laid before his Majeſty upon former occaſions.

No. IV.

Carlton Houſe, July 28, 1803.

The Prince of Wales has received Mr. Addington's written communication of the laſt night. The Prince of Wales has only to obſerve, that he requires Mr. Addington

dington to submit to his Majesty his last note, dated the 26th of this month.

No. V.

Downing-street, July 28th, 1803.
Half-past 11, *P. M.*

Mr. Addington is just honoured with the commands of the Prince of Wales, and will not fail to lay his Royal Highness's letter, dated the 26th of this month, before the King.

No. VI.

Downing-street, August 1st, 1803.

Sir,

In obedience to the commands of your Royal Highness, I laid before his Majesty the letter, dated the 26th of July, with which your Royal Highness has honoured me; and I have it in command from his Majesty to acquaint your Royal Highness, that, "the King had referred Mr. Addington to the orders he had before given him, with the addition, that, the King's opinion being fixed, he desired that no further mention should be made to him upon the subject."

I have the honour to be,
With every sentiment of respect and deference, Sir, your Royal Highness's most humble, &c.
(Signed) H. ADDINGTON.

No. VII.

(Copy)—Letter to the King.

Sir,

A correspondence has taken place between Mr. Addington and myself, on a subject which deeply involves my honour and character; the answers which I have received from that gentleman, the communication which he has made to the House of Commons, leave me no hope, but in an appeal to the justice of your Majesty. I make that appeal with confidence, because I feel that you are my natural advocate, and with the sanguine hope, that the ears of an affectionate Father may still be opened to the supplications of a dutiful Son.

I ask to be allowed to display the best energies of my character; to shed the last drop of my blood in support of your Majesty's Person, Crown and Dignity; for this is not a war for empire, glory, or dominion, but for existence. In this contest, the lowest and humblest of your Majesty's subjects have been called on: It would therefore little become me, who am the first, and who stand at the very footstool of the Throne, to remain a tame, an idle, a lifeless spectator of the mischiefs which threaten us, unconscious of the dangers which surround, and indifferent to the consequences which may follow. Hanover is lost; England is menaced with invasion; Ireland is in rebellion; Europe is at the foot of France: At such a moment, the Prince of Wales, yielding to none of your servants in zeal and affection, to none of your subjects in duty, to none of your children in tenderness and affection, presumes to approach you, and again to repeat those offers which he already made through your majesty's Ministers. A feeling of honest ambition, a sense of what I owe to myself and to my family, and above all, the fear of sinking in the estimation of that gallant army, which may be the support of your Crown, and my best

beſt hope hereafter, command me to perſevere, and to aſſure your Majeſty with all humility and reſpect, that, conſcious of the juſtice of my claim, no human power can ever induce me to relinquiſh it.

Allow me to ſay, Sir, that I am bound to adopt this line of conduct by every motive dear to me as a Man, and ſacred to me as a Prince. Ought I not to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger? Ought I not to ſhare in the glory and victory, when I have every thing to loſe by defeat? The higheſt places in your Majeſty's ſervice are filled by the younger branches of the Royal Family; to me alone no place is aſſigned; I am not thought worthy to be even the Junior Major General of your army. If I could ſubmit in ſilent ſubmiſſion to ſuch indignities, I ſhould indeed deſerve ſuch treatment, and prove to the ſatisfaction of your enemies and my own, that I am entirely incapable of thoſe exertions which my birth, and the circumſtances of the times, peculiarly call for. Standing ſo near the Throne, when I am debaſed, the cauſe of Royalty is wounded. I cannot ſink in the public opinion, without the participation of your Majeſty in my degradation; therefore every motive of private feeling and of public duty induce me to implore your Majeſty to review your deciſion, and to place me in that ſituation, which my birth, the duties of my ſtation, the example of my predeceſſors, and the expectations of the People of England entitle me to claim.

Should I be diſappointed in the hope which I have formed; ſhould this laſt appeal to the juſtice of my Sovereign; and the affection of my Father, fail of ſucceſs, I ſhall lament in ſilent ſubmiſſion, his determination; but Europe, the world and poſterity, muſt judge between us.

I have done my duty; my conſcience acquits me; my reaſon tells me that I was perfectly juſtified in the requeſt which I have made, becauſe no reaſonable arguments have ever been adduced in anſwer to my pretenſions; the precedents in our hiſtory are in my favour; but if they are not, the times in which we live, and eſpecially the exigencies of the preſent moment, require us to become an example to our poſterity.

No other cauſe of refuſal has, or can be aſſigned, except that it was the will of your Majeſty; to that will and pleaſure I bow with every degree of humility and reſignation; but I can never ceaſe to complain of the ſeverity which has been exerciſed againſt me, and the injuſtice which I have ſuffered, till I ceaſe to exiſt.

I have the honour to ſubſcribe myſelf, with all poſſible devotion, Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and affectionate Son, and Subject,

(Signed) G. P.

Brighthelmſtone, Auguſt 6th, 1803.

No. VIII.

(Copy.)—Letter from the King.

My dear Son,

Though I applaud your zeal and ſpirit, of which, I truſt, no one can ſuppoſe any of my family wanting, yet conſidering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the ſame purpoſe, I had

I had flattered myſelf to have heard no further on the ſubject.

Should the implacable Enemy ſo far ſucceed as to land, you will have an opportunity of ſhowing your zeal at the head of your regiment; it will be the duty of every man to ſtand forward on ſuch an occaſion, and I ſhall certainly think it mine to ſet an example, in defence of every thing that is dear to me, and to my People.

I ever remain, my dear Son,

Your moſt affectionate Father,

(Signed) GEORGE R.

Windſor, Auguſt, 7th, 1803.

No. IX.

(Copy.)—Letter to the King.

Brighthelmſtone, Auguſt 23d, 1803.

Sir,

I have delayed thus long an anſwer to the letter which your Majeſty did me the honour to write, from a wiſh to refer to a former correſpondence which took place between us in the year 1798. Thoſe letters were miſlaid, and ſome days elapſed before I could diſcover them. They have ſince been found. Allow me then, Sir, to recal to your recollection the expreſſions you were graciouſly pleaſed to uſe, and which I once before took the liberty of reminding you of, when I ſolicited foreign ſervice, upon my firſt coming into the army. They were, Sir, that your Majeſty did not then ſee the opportunity for it, but if any thing was to ariſe at home, I ought to be "firſt and foremoſt." There cannot be a ſtronger expreſſion in the Engliſh language, or one more conſonant to the feelings which animate my heart. In this I agree moſt perfectly with your Majeſty, I ought to be the *firſt and foremoſt*. It is the place which my birth aſſigns me, which Europe, which the Engliſh nation expect me to fill; and which the former aſſurances of your Majeſty might naturally have led me to hope I ſhould occupy. After ſuch a declaration. I could hardly expect to be told that my place was at the head of a Regiment of Dragoons.

I underſtand from your Majeſty, that it is your intention, Sir, in purſuance of that noble example which you have ſhown during the courſe of your reign, to place yourſelf at the head of the People of England. My next brother, the Duke of York, commands the Army; the younger branches of my Family are either Generals, or Lieutenant Generals, and I, who am Prince of Wales, am to remain Colonel of Dragoons. There is ſomething ſo humiliating in the contraſt, that thoſe who are at a diſtance, would either doubt the reality, or ſuppoſe that to be my fault, which is only my misfortune.

Who could imagine, that I, who am the oldeſt Colonel in the ſervice, had aſked for the rank of a General Officer in the Army of the King my Father, and that it had been refuſed me?

I am ſorry, much more than ſorry to be obliged to break in upon your leiſure, and to treſpaſs thus, a ſecond time, on the attention of your Majeſty; but I have, Sir, an intereſt in my character, more valuable to me than the Throne, and dearer, far dearer to me than Life. I am called upon

by

by that intereſt, to perſevere, and I pledge myſelf never to deſiſt, till I receive that ſatisfaction which the juſtice of my claim leads me to expect.

In theſe unhappy times, the world, Sir, examines the conduct of Princes with a jealous, a ſcrutinizing, a malignant eye. No man is more aware than I am of the exiſtence of ſuch a diſpoſition, and no man is, therefore, more determined to place himſelf above all ſuſpicion.

In deſiring to be placed in a forward ſituation, I have performed one duty to the People of England; I muſt now perform another, and humbly ſupplicate your Majeſty to aſſign thoſe reaſons which have induced your Majeſty to refuſe a requeſt, which appears to me, and to the world, ſo reaſonable, and ſo rational.

I muſt again repeat my concern, that I am obliged to continue a correſpondence, which I fear, is not ſo grateful to your Majeſty as I could wiſh. I have examined my own heart; I am convinced of the juſtice of my caſe, of the purity of my motives: Reaſon and Honour forbid me to yield; where no reaſon is alleged, I am juſtified in the concluſion that none can be given.

In this candid expoſition of the feelings which have agitated, and depreſſed my wounded mind. I hope no expreſſion has eſcaped me, which can be conſtrued to mean the ſlighteſt diſreſpect to your Majeſty. I moſt ſolemnly diſavow any ſuch intention; but the circumſtance of the times, the danger of invaſion, the appeal which has been made to all your ſubjects, oblige me to recollect what I owe to my own honour, and to my own character, and to ſtate to your Majeſty, with plainneſs, truth, and candour, but with the ſubmiſſion of a Subject, and the duty of an affectionate Son, the injuries under which I labour, which it is in the power of your Majeſty alone at one moment to redreſs.

It is with the ſentiments of the profoundeſt veneration, and reſpect, that I have the honour to ſubſcribe myſelf,

Your Majeſty's moſt dutiful, and moſt affectionate Son and Subject,

(Signed) G. P.

Subſequent Correſpondence, between his Royal Highneſs the PRINCE OF WALES, *and his Royal Highneſs the* DUKE OF YORK.

No. I.

Brighton, October 2d, 1803.

My dear Brother,

By the laſt night's Gazette, which I have this moment received, I perceive that an extenſive promotion has taken place in the Army, wherein my pretenſions are not noticed; a circumſtance which, whatever may have happened on other occaſions, it is impoſſible for me to paſs by, at this momentous criſis, without obſervation.

My ſtanding in the Army, according to the moſt ordinary routine of promotion, had it been followed up, would have placed me either at the bottom of the liſt of Generals, or the head of the liſt of Lieutenant Generals. When the younger branches of my Family are promoted to the higheſt military ſituations, my birth, according

ing to the distinctions usually conferred on it, should have placed me first on that list.

I hope you know me too well to imagine, that idle, inactive rank is in my view; much less in the direction, and patronage of the military departments, an object which suits my place in the State or my inclinations; but in a moment when the danger of the Country is thought by Government so urging as to call forth the energy of every arm in its defence, I cannot but feel myself degraded, both as a Prince and a Soldier, if I am not allowed to take a forward and distinguished part in the defence of that Empire and Crown, of the glory, prosperity, and even existence of that People, in all which mine is the greatest stake.

To be told, I may display this zeal, solely and simply at the head of my regiment, is a degrading mockery.

If that be the only situation allotted me, I shall certainly do my duty as others will. But the considerations, to which I have already alluded, entitle me to expect, and bind me in every way, to require a situation more correspondent to the dignity of my own character, and to the public expectations.

It is for the sake of tendering my services in a way more formal and official than I have before pursued, that I address this to you, my dear Brother, as the Commander in Chief, by whose councils the Constitution presumes that the military department is administered.

If those who have the honour to advise his Majesty on this occasion, shall deem my pretension, among those of all the Royal Family, to be the only one fit to be rejected and disdained, I may at least hope, as a debt of justice and honour, to have it explained, that I am laid by, in virtue of that judgment, and not in consequence of any omission or want of energy on my part.

I have, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed.) G. P. W.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York, &c.

No. II.

Horse Guards, October 6th, 1803.

Dearest Brother,

Nothing but an extraordinary press of business would have prevented me from acknowledging sooner your letter of the 2d instant, which I received, while at Oatlands, on Monday evening.

I trust that you are too well acquainted with my affection for you, which has existed since our most tender years, not to be assured of the satisfaction I ever have felt, and ever must feel, in forwarding, when in my power, every desire or object of your's, and therefore will believe how much I must regret the impossibility there is, upon the present occasion, of my executing your wishes of laying the representation contained in your letter before his Majesty. Suffer me, my dear Brother, as the only answer that I can properly give you, to recal to your memory what passed upon the same subject soon after his Majesty was graciously pleased to place me at the head of the army, and I have no doubt that, with your usual candour, you will yourself see the absolute necessity of my declining it.

In

In the year 1795, upon a general promotion taking place, at your inſtance, I delivered a letter from you to his Majeſty, urging your pretentions to promotion in the army, to which his Majeſty was pleaſed to anſwer, that before he had appointed you to the command of the 10th Light Dragoons, he had cauſed it to be fully explained to you, what his ſentiments were with reſpect to a Prince of Wales entering into the army, and the public grounds upon which he never could admit of your conſidering it as a profeſſion, or of your being promoted in the ſervice; and his Majeſty, at the ſame time, added his poſitive command and injunctions to me never to mention this ſubject again to him, and to decline being the bearer of any application of the ſame nature, ſhould it be propoſed to me; which meſſage I was of courſe under the neceſſity of delivering to you, and have conſtantly made it the rule of my conduct ever ſince; and, indeed, I have ever conſidered it as one of the greateſt proofs of affection and conſideration towards me, on the part of his Majeſty, that he never allowed me to become a party in this buſineſs.

Having thus ſtated to you fairly and candidly what has paſſed, I muſt truſt you will ſee that there can be no grounds for the apprehenſion expreſſed in the latter part of your letter, that any ſtur can attach to your character as an Officer, particularly as I recollect your mentioning to me yourſelf, on the day in which you received the notification of your appointment to the 10th Light Dragoons, the explanation and condition attached to it by his Majeſty; and therefore, ſurely, you muſt be ſatisfied that your not being advanced in military rank proceeds entirely from his Majeſty's ſentiments reſpecting the high rank you hold in the ſtate, and not from any impreſſion unfavourable to you.

Believe me ever, with the greateſt truth,

Dear Brother,

Your moſt affectionate Brother,

(Signed.) FREDERICK,
Prince of Wales.

No. III.

Brighton, October 9th, 1803.

My Dear Brother,

I have taken two days to conſider the contents of your letter of the 6th inſt. in order to be as accurate as poſſible in my anſwer, which muſt account to you for its being longer, perhaps, than I intended, or I could have wiſhed.

I confide entirely in the perſonal kindneſs and affection expreſſed in your letter, and am, for that reaſon, the more unwilling to trouble you again on a painful ſubject, in which you are not free to act as your inclination, I am ſure, would lead you; but as it is not at all improbable that every part of this tranſaction may be publicly canvaſſed hereafter, it is of the utmoſt importance to my honour, without which I can have no happineſs, that my conduct in it ſhall be fairly repreſented and correctly underſtood. When I made a tender of my ſervices to his Majeſty's Miniſters, it was with a juſt and natural expectation that my offer would have been accepted in the way in which alone it could have been

been moſt beneficial to my country, or creditable to myſelf; or, if that failed, that at leaſt (in juſtice to me) the reaſons for a refuſal would have been diſtinctly ſtated, ſo that the Nation might be ſatisfied that nothing had been omitted on my part, and enabled me to judge of the validity of the reaſons aſſigned for ſuch refuſal. In the firſt inſtance, I was referred to his Majeſty's will and pleaſure, and now I am informed by your letter, that before "he had appointed me to the command of the 10th Light Dragoons, he had cauſed it to be fully explained to me what his ſentiments were with reſpect to a Prince of Wales entering into the army."

It is impoſſible, my dear Brother, that I ſhould know all that paſſed between the King and you; but I perfectly recollect the ſtatement you made of the converſation you had had with his Majeſty, and which ſtrictly correſponds with that in your letter now before me; but I muſt, at the ſame time, recal to your memory my poſitive denial, at that time, of any condition or ſtipulation having been made upon my firſt coming into the army, and I am in poſſeſſion of full and complete documents, which prove that no terms whatever were then propoſed, at leaſt to me, whatever might have been the intention; and the communications which I have found it neceſſary ſubſequently to make, have ever diſclaimed the exiſtence of ſuch a compromiſe at any period, as nothing could be more averſe to my nature, or more remote from my mind.

As to the converſation you quote in 1796, when the King was pleaſed to appoint me to ſucceed Sir William Pitt, I have not the moſt ſlight recollection of its having taken place between us. If your date is right, my dear Brother, you muſt be miſtaken in your exact terms, or at leaſt in the concluſion you draw from it; for in the intimacy and familiarity of private converſation, it is not at all unlikely that I ſhould have remembered the communication you made me the year before; but that I ſhould have acquieſced in, or referred to a compromiſe which I never made, is utterly impoſſible.

Neither in his Majeſty's letter to me, nor in the correſpondence with Mr. Addington, (of which you may not be fully informed) is there one word, or the moſt diſtant alluſion to the condition ſtated in your letter; and even if I had accepted the command of a regiment on ſuch terms, my acquieſcence could only have relation to the ordinary ſituation of the Country, and not to a caſe ſo completely out of all contemplation at that time as the probable or projected invaſion of this Kingdom, by a foreign force, ſufficient to bring its ſafety into queſtion. When the King is pleaſed to tell me, "that ſhould the enemy land, he ſhall think it his duty to ſet an example in defence of the Country," that is, to expoſe the only life which, for the Public welfare, ought not to be hazarded. I reſpect and admire the principles which dictate that reſolution, and, as my heart glows with the ſame ſentiments, I wiſh to partake in the ſame danger, that is, with dignity and effect. Wherever his Majeſty appears as King,

he

he acts and commands; you are Commander in Chief; others of my Family are high in military ſtation; and even by the laſt brevet, a conſiderable number of junior officers are put over me. In all theſe arrangements the Prince of Wales alone, whoſe intereſt in the event yields to none but that of the King, is diſregarded, omitted, his ſervices rejected; ſo that, in fact, he has no poſt or ſtation whatſoever in a conteſt on which the fate of the Crown and the Kingdom may depend.

I do not, my dear Brother, wonder that in the hurry of your preſent occupations, theſe conſiderations ſhould have been overlooked; they are now in your view, and I think, cannot fail to make a due impreſſion.

As to the reſt, with every degree of eſteem poſſible for your judgment of what is due to a Soldier's honour, I muſt be the guardian of mine to the utmoſt of my power.

I have, &c.

(Signed.) G. P.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of York.

No. IV.

Horſe Guards, October 11, 1803.

My Dear Brother,

I have this moment, upon my arrival in town, found your letter, and loſe no time in anſwering that part of it which it appears to me highly neceſſary, ſhould be clearly underſtood.

Indeed, my dear Brother, you muſt give me leave to repeat to you, that, upon the fulleſt conſideration, I perfectly recollect your having yourſelf told me, at Carlton-houſe, in the year 1793, on the day on which you was informed of his Majeſty's having acquieſced in your requeſt of being appointed to the command of the 10th regiment of Light Dragoons, of which Sir William Pitt was then Colonel, the meſſage and condition which was delivered to you from his Majeſty, and which his Majeſty repeated to me in the year 1795, as mentioned in my letter of Thurſday laſt, and I have the fulleſt reaſon to know that there are others to whom, at that time, you mentioned the ſame circumſtance; nor have I the leaſt recollection of your having denied it to me, when I delivered to you the King's anſwer, as I ſhould certainly have felt it incumbent upon me to recal to your memory what you had told me yourſelf in the year 1793.

No converſation whatever paſſed between us, as you juſtly remark, in the year 1796, when Sir William Pitt was promoted to the King's Dragoon Guards, which was done in conſequence of what was arranged in 1793, upon your firſt appointment to the 10th Light Dragoons; and I conceive that your mentioning in your letter my having ſtated a converſation to have paſſed between us in 1798, muſt have ariſen from ſome miſapprehenſion, as I do not find that year ever adverted to in my letter.

I have thought it due to us both, my dear Brother, thus fully to reply to thoſe parts of your letter in which you appear to have miſtaken mine; but, as I am totally unacquainted with the correſpondence which has taken place upon this

this ſubject, I muſt decline entering any further into it.

I remain ever, my dear Brother,
With the greateſt truth,
Your moſt affectionate Brother,
(Signed) FREDERICK.

No. V.

Brighton, October 12th, 1803.

My Dear Brother,

By my replying to your letter of the 6th inſt. which contained no ſort of anſwer to mine of the 2d, we have fallen into a very frivolous altercation upon a topic which is quite foreign to the preſent purpoſe. Indeed, the whole importance of it lies in a ſeeming contradiction in the ſtatement of a fact, which is unpleaſant even upon the idleſt occaſion.

I meant to aſſert, that no previous condition to forego all pretenſions to ulterior rank, under any circumſtance, had been impoſed upon me, or even ſubmitted to me, in any ſhape whatſoever, on my firſt coming into the ſervice; and, with as much confidence as can be uſed in maintaining a negative, I repeat that aſſertion.

When I firſt became acquainted with his Majeſty's purpoſe to withold from me further advancement, it is impoſſible to recollect; but that it was ſo early as the year 1793, I do not remember, and if your expreſſions were leſs poſitive, I ſhould add, or believe; but I certainly knew it, as you well know, in 1795, and poſſibly before. We were then engaged in war; therefore I could not think of reſigning my Regiment, if under other circumſtances, I had been diſpoſed to do it; but in truth, my rank in the nation made military rank in ordinary times a matter of little conſequence, except to my own private feelings This ſentiment I conveyed to you in my letter of the 2d, ſaying expreſsly, that mere idle, inactive rank, was in no ſort my object.

But upon the proſpect of an emergency, where the King was to take the field, and the ſpirit of every Briton was roufed to exertion, the place which I occupy in the Nation, made it indiſpenſable to demand a poſt correſpondent to to that place, and to the public expectation. This ſentiment, I have the happineſs to be aſſured, in a letter on this occaſion, made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the mind, and commanded the reſpect and admiration of one very high in Government.

The only purpoſe of this letter, my dear Brother, is to explain, ſince that is neceſſary, that my former ones meant not to give you the trouble of interceding as my advocate, for mere rank in the army. Urging further my other more important claims upon Government would be vainly addreſſed to any perſon, who can really think that a former refuſal of mere rank, under circumſtances ſo widely different, or the moſt expreſs waving of ſuch pretenſions, if that had been the caſe, furniſhes the lighteſt colour for the anſwer which I have received to the tenders I have now made of my ſervices.

Your department, my dear Brother, was meant, if I muſt repeat it, ſimply as a channel to convey that tender to Government, and to obtain either their attention to it, or an open avowal of their refuſal.

I am, &c. &c.
(Signed) G. P.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of York.

No. VI.

Horse Guards, October 13, 1803.

Dear Brother,

I have received your letter this morning, and am sorry to find that you think that I have misconcieved the meaning of your first letter, the whole tenor of which the military promotion which gave rise to it, led me naturally to suppose your desire was, that I should apply to his Majesty, in my official capacity, to give you military rank to which might be attached the idea of subsequent command.

That I found myself under the necessity of declining, in obedience to his Majesty's pointed orders, as I explained to you in my letter of the 6th instant. But, from your letter of to-day, I am to understand that your object is not military rank, but that a post should be allotted to you, upon the present emergency, suitable to your situation in the State.

This I conceive to be purely a political consideration, and as such, totally out of my department; and as I have most carefully avoided, at all times, and under all circumstances, ever interfering in any political points, I must hope that you will not call upon me to deviate from the principles by which I have been invariably governed.

Believe me, my dear Brother,
Your most affectionate Brother,
(Signed) FREDERICK.
Prince of Wales.

No. VII.

Carlton House, October 14th, 1803.

My Dear brother,

It cannot but be painful to me, reduced to the necessity of further explanation, on a subject which it was my earnest wish to have closed, and which was of so clear and distinct a nature, as, in my humble judgment, to have precluded the possibility of either doubt or misunderstanding.

Surely there must be some strange fatality to obscure my language in statement, or leave me somewhat deficient in the powers of explanations, when it can lead your mind, my dear Brother, to such a palpable misconstruction (for far be it from me to fancy it wilful) of my meaning, as to suppose, for a moment, that I had unconnected my object *with efficient military rank* and transferred it entirely to the view of a *political station*, when you venture to tell me, "my object is *not* military rank, but that a post should be allotted to me, upon the *present* emergency, suitable to my situation in the State." Upon what ground you *can* hazard such an assertion, or upon what principles you can draw such an inference, I am utterly at a loss to determine; for I defy the most skilful Logician, in torturing the English language, to apply *with fairness*, such a construction to any word or phrase of mine contained in any one of the letters I have ever written on this, *to me*, most interesting subject.

I call upon you to re-peruse the correspondence. In my letter of the 2d instant, I told you *unequivocally* that "I hope you knew me too well to imagine that *idle, inactive*, rank was in my view;" and *that* sentiment I beg you carefully to observe, I have in no instance whatever, for one single moment

moment relinquished or departed from.

Giving, as I did, all the considerations of *my* heart to the delicacy and difficulties of *your* situation, nothing could have been more repugnant to my thoughts, or to my *disposition*, than to have imposed upon you, my dear Brother, either in your capacity as Commander in Chief, or in the near relationship which subsists between us, the task, much less the expectation of causing you to risque any displeasure from his MAJESTY, by disobeying in *any* degree *his* commands, although they were even to militate against myself.

But, with the impulse of my feelings towards you, and quickly conceiving what friendship, and affection *may* be capable of, I did not, I own, think it entirely imimpossible that you might, considering the magnitude and importance which the object carries with it, have officially advanced my wishes, as a matter of propriety, to *military rank and subsequent command*, through his Majesty's Ministers, for that direct purpose; especially when the honour of my Character, and my future Fame in life, were so deeply involved in the consideration; for I must here *emphatically* again repeat, "that *idle inactive* rank, was NEVER in my view, and that *military rank*, with its *consequent* command, *was never out of* it."

Feeling how useless, as well as ungracious, controversy is upon every occasion, and knowing how fatally it operates on human friendship, I must entreat that our correspondence, on this subject, shall cease here; for nothing could be more distressing to me, than to prolong a topic, on which it is now clear to me, my dear Brother, that *you* and I can never agree. &c. &c.

(Signed) G. P.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

No. VIII.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable

HENRY ADDINGTON.

Richmond Park, October 23d, 1803.

Sir,

In consequence of some intelligence, which has reached me, I am impelled, by a sense of duty to your Royal Highness, and to the Public, to express an earnest and anxious hope, that you may be induced to postpone your return to Brighton, until I shall have had an opportunity of making farther inquiries, and of stating the result of them to your Royal Highness.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost deference and respect,

Sir,

Your Royal Highness's

Faithful and most humble Servant,

(Signed) HENRY ADDINGTON.

The Prince of Wales.

IX.

Answer.

Sir,

By your grounding your letter to me upon intelligence which has just reached you, I apprehend that you allude to information which leads you to expect some immediate attempt from the enemy. My wish to accomodate myself to any thing, which you represent as material to the public service, would of course make me desirous to comply with your request; but

if there be reaſon to imagine that invaſion will take place directly, I am bound by the King's preciſe order, and, by that honeſt zeal which is not allowed any fitter ſphere for its action, to haſten inſtantly to my Regiment, if I learn that my conſtruction of the word "intelligence" be right, I muſt deem it neceſſary to repair to Brighton immediately.

&c. &c.

(Signed) G. P.

Carlton Houſe, October 24th, 1803.

Right Hon. Henry Addington.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN BONAPARTE AND THE KING OF FRANCE.

Publication iſſued by Monſieur, Brother of the King of France.

Monſieur, brother of the King of France, has deemed it his duty no longer to remain ſilent reſpecting an important fact, of which too vague an idea has hitherto gone abroad. The variety of lights in which it has been repreſented, and the falſe reports induſtriouſly circulated by an uſurped Government, imperiouſly require that the opinion of the publick, but more particularly that of Frenchmen, ſhould be ſet right reſpecting the real ſtate of the matter.

Such are the reaſons, which at the preſent conjuncture, induce Monſieur to make public certain details, which particular circumſtances do not allow, however intereſting they may be, to be enumerated more at length than as follows:

On the 26th February of the current year, a perſonage of prominent diſtinction, empowered by high authority, waited on the KING OF FRANCE at Warſaw; and verbally made to his Majeſty, in terms the moſt reſpectful, but at the ſame time the moſt urgent, and, in the opinion of him who urged them, the moſt perſuaſive the aſtoniſhing propoſal to renounce the Throne of France, and to require the ſame renunciation on the part of all the Members of the Houſe of Bourbon:—The Envoy moreover obſerved, that, as the price of this ſacrifice, BONAPARTE would ſecure indemnities to his Majeſty, and even a ſplendid eſtabliſhment. His Majeſty, ſtrongly animated by that ſentiment which the hand of adverſity is never able to obliterate from elevated ſouls, and which makes him cling as tenaciouſly to his rights, as he does to the happineſs of France, immediately wrote the following anſwer, which he delivered on the 28th February to the perſon who was deputed to him:

Anſwer of the King.

"I am far from being inclined to confound M. BONAPARTE with thoſe who have preceded him. I think highly of his valour, and of his military talents. Neither do I feel ungrateful for many acts of his adminiſtration; for whatever is done for the benefit of my people, ſhall always be dear to my heart. He is deceived, however, if he imagines that he can induce me to forego my claims; for in fact he himſelf would confirm and eſtabliſh them, could they be called in queſtion by the very ſtep he has now taken.

"I cannot pretend to know what

what may be the intentions of the Almighty respecting my race and myself; but I am well aware of the obligations imposed on me by the rank to which he was pleased I should be born. As a Christian, I shall continue to fulfil these obligations to my last breath. As a descendant of ST. LOUIS I shall endeavour to imitate his example by respecting myself—even in captivity and chains. As successor of FRANCIS I. I shall at least aspire to say with him—We have lost every thing but our honour."

At the bottom of this answer were written the following words:

"With the permission of the King, my uncle, I adhere with heart and soul to the contents of this note.

(Signed) "LOUIS ANTOINE."

On the 2d March the King wrote to Monsieur, acquainting him with what had passed, and instructed him to make known the same to the Princes of the Blood who were in England, taking charge himself to inform such of them respecting it, who do not reside in that country. On the 22d April Monsieur called a meeting of the Princes, who, with equal alacrity and unanimity, have signed the following adhesion to the answer of the King on the 28th February:

ADHESION OF THE PRINCES.

"We the undersigned Princes, the Brothers, Nephews, and Cousins of his Majesty LOUIS XVIII. King of France and of Navarre.

"Thoroughly impressed with the same sentiments with which our Sovereign Lord and King has shewn himself to be so honourably animated in his answer to the proposals made to him, of renouncing the throne of France, and of requiring all the Princes of his house in like manner, to renounce all the imprescriptable claims to the succession to the same throne, declare,

"That, as our attachment to our rights, to our duty, and to our honour, can never permit us to forego our claims, we adhere with heart and soul to the answer made by our King.

"That, in imitation of his example, we shall not lend ourselves in any manner whatever to any step or proceeding that can imply on our part, a failing in what we owe to ourselves, to our ancestors, to our descendants.

"We finally declare, that being fully convinced that a large majority of the French people inwardly participate in all the sentiments by which we are animated, it is in the name of our loyal countrymen, as well as in our own, that we renew upon our sword, and to our King, the solemn and sacred oath, to live and die faithful to our honour, and to our legitimate Sovereign.

(Signed)

"Charles Philippe of France.
"Charles Ferdinand of Artois, Duke of Berri.
"Louis Philippe of Orleans, Duke of Orleans.
"Antoine Philippe of Orleans, Duke of Montpellier.
"Louis Charles of Orleans, Count of Beaujolis.
"Louis Joseph De Bourbon, Prince of Conde.
"Louis Henry Joseph De Bourbon, Conde, Duke of Bourbon.

Wansted House, April 23, 1803.

ADHESION OF THE DUKE OF ENGHEIN.

"Sire,

"The letter of the 2d March, with which your Majesty has vouchsafed to honour me, reached me in due time. Your Majesty is too well acquainted with the blood which flows in my veins, to have entertained a moment's doubt respecting the tenor and spirit of the answer which your Majesty calls for. I am a Frenchman, Sire, and a Frenchman faithful to his GOD, to his king, and to the oaths that are binding on his honour: many others may, perhaps one day envy me this triple advantage. Will your Majesty therefore vouchsafe to permit me to annex my signature to that of the Duke d'Angouleme, adhering as I do, with him in heart and soul to the contents of the note to my sovereign? It is in these invariable sentiments that I remain, Sire, Your Majesty's most humble, most obedient, and very faithful subject and servant,

(Signed)

LOUIS ANTOINE HENRY DE BOURBON."

Ettenheim in the Dominions of the Margrave of Baden, March 22, 1803.

The adhesion of the Prince de Conti has not yet been received; but no doubt can be entertained about it.

Monsieur has since learned that on the 19th of March, the same Envoy pursuant to the orders which he had received, waited again upon the King! There was no longer any question about the substance of his Majesty's answer, but some alterations were intimated respecting the terms in which the form of the answer should be couched; apprehensions seemed to be felt, lest it should so far irritate the Usurper, as to prompt him to exert his influence in order to aggravate the misfortunes of the King. His Majesty, however observed, that *he should make no alteration in his answer, which was as modest as could be expected; and that Bonaparte could not be justified in complaining of it, since, indeed, if it had treated him as a Rebel and an Usurper, it would have told him no more than the truth.* Upon this certain dangers were hinted to the King. —*What Dangers?* observed the King. *Ill-minded persons may require that I withdraw from the asylum that is granted to me. I will pity the Sovereign who may deem himself compelled to take such a part: and I will withdraw.* No! that is not it. But may it not be apprehended that M. Bonaparte will make it a point with certain powers to deprive the Comte de Lille of the assistance they now afford him? *I do not dread poverty. Were it necessary, I would eat black bread with my family and my faithful servants— but do not be alarmed, I shall never be reduced to that extremity. I have another resource to rely upon, which I do not think proper to resort to as long as I have powerful friends; and that is, to make my situation known in France, and to stretch out my hand not---no never to a Government of usurpation, but to my faithful subjects; and, rely upon it, I shall soon be richer than I am now.*

The consequence was, that the messenger was obliged to take back the King's answer, which

had been returned to his Majesty under an expectation that he would have made some alterations in it.

The Trial of Edward Marcus Despard, Esq. and others for High Treason.

On the 3d of January, 1803, a Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer, issued under the great seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to inquire of certain High Treasons, and Misprisons of Treason, committed within the County of Surry, and a Special Commission of Gaol delivery, as to all persons who were, or should be in custody for such offences, on or before the 25th of March following.

On the 21st of January, the Special Commission opened at the Session-House, at Newington,

PRESENT,

The Right Hon. Lord Ellenborough, Lord Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench;

The Hon. Sir Alexander Thomson, Knt. one of the Barons of His Majesty's Court of Exchequer;

The Hon. Sir Simon Le Blanc, Knt. one of the justices of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench;

And the Hon. Sir Alan Chambre, Knt. one of the justices of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas.

The Sheriff delivered in the Pannel of the Grand Jury, which was called over, when the following gentlemen were sworn.

THE GRAND JURY.

The Right Hon. George William Evelyn Leslie, commonly called Lord Leslie.

The Right Hon. Thomas Onslow, commonly called Viscount Cranley.

The Right Hon. William Russel, commonly called Lord William Russel.

The Hon. Chappel Norton

Sir Mark Parsons, Bart.

Sir Geo. Glynn, Bart.

Sir Thomas Turton, Bart.

Sir Robert Burnett, Knt.

Robert Hankey, Esq.

James Trotter, Esq.

Joseph Alcock, Esq.

John Pooley, Kensington, Esq.

Joseph Bradney, Esq.

Henry Thornton, Esq.

Henry Peters, Esq.

Thomas Page, Esq.

John Whitmore, Esq.

Thomas Langley, Esq.

William Borradale, Esq.

Thomas Gaitskell, Esq.

Richard Wyatt, Esq.

John Webb Weston, Esq.

Lord Ellenborough, as President of the Commission, immediately addressed the Jury in a Charge of the most eloquent composition.

On the same day, the Grand Jury returned a true bill against Edward Marcus Despard, John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Phillips, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, John Doyle, James Sedgwick Wratten, William Lander, Arthur Graham, Samuel Smith, and John Macnamara, for High Treason.

At the request of the prisoner Despard, Mr. Serjeant Best and Mr. Gurney were assigned his counsel.

The prisoner Graham, stated to the court, that himself and others of the prisoners, having been in close confinement, had not been able to retain counsel or solicitor.

Lord Ellenborough informed them, that when they had fixed upon their counsel and solicitor, they might be assigned, on application being made to either of the judges in the commission, at their chambers.

5th February. The prisoners being arraigned, severally pleaded not guilty. At the request of John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Phillips, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, John Doyle, James Sedgwick Wratten, William Lander, Arthur Graham, Samuel Smith, and John Macnamara, Mr. Jekyll and Mr. Hovel, were assigned their counsel.

On Monday, February 7th, 1803, the Court met pursuant to adjournment, at nine o'clock in the morning.

PRESENT,

The Right Hon. Lord Ellenborough,
The Hon. Mr. Baron Thomson,
The Hon. Mr. Justice Le Blanc,
The Hon. Mr. Justice Chambre.

Counsel for the Crown.

Mr. Attorney General,
Mr. Solicitor General,
Mr. Serjeant Shepherd,
Mr. Plumer,
Mr. Garrow,
Mr. Common Serjeant,
Mr. Wood,
Mr. Fielding,
Mr. Abbot.

Solicitor, Joseph White, Esq. Solicitor for the Affairs of his Majesty's Treasury.

Counsel for Edward Marcus Despard.

Mr. Serjeant Best,
Mr. Gurney.

Solicitor, Mr. Palmer, of Barnard's Inn.

THE JURY.

Grant Allen,
William Dent,
William Davidson,
Gabriel Copland,
William Coxon,
John Farmer,
John Collinson,
James Webber,
Gilbert Handyside,
John Hamer,
Peter Dubree,
John Field.

The indictment charged—[*First Count*]—That the prisoners as false Traitors, &c. on the sixteenth day of November, in the Forty-third year of His Majesty's reign, and on divers other days, as well before as after, at the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, in the county of Surry, maliciously and traitorously with force and arms, *did conspire, compass, imagine, and intend to bring and put our said Lord the King to death.*

First overt Act— hat the prisoners did traitorously conspire, combine, consult, consent and agree, and attempt and endeavour to seduce divers soldiers and persons serving in the forces of the King by sea and land, from their duty and allegiance to the King, and to move, procure, and persuade the same and other soldiers, persons and subjects, to unite themselves to and join and associate with, and be aiding and assisting to them, the prisoners and divers other false

traitors in a wicked and traitorous attempt to be by them made with force and arms to subvert the government and constitution of this realm, and to depose the King, and to attack, set upon, seize, imprison, kill, and destroy the King.

Second overt Act.—That the prisoners did conspire, combine, consult, consent and agree, and attempt and endeavour to administer, and cause to be administered to, and to be taken by one William Francis, one John Pike, one John Bird, and other of the subjects of the King, divers oaths and engagements intended by them the prisoners, to bind the same subjects, taking the same to be and become members of and to be aiding in divers traitorous associations, combinations, and confederacies.

Third overt Act.—That the prisoners did obtain and procure, and in their custody and possession, did have and keep divers printed and written cards and papers, containing the form and words of divers oaths and engagements, purporting, to bind the persons, taking the same to be of a certain association, society, and confederacy, and not to give evidence against any associate confederate, or other person belonging to the same, or any other similar society, with intent, and in order to administer the same oaths and engagements, and cause the same to be administered to, and to be taken by divers subjects of the King.

Fourth overt Act.—That the prisoners did administer to Thomas Blades, Thomas Windsor, and divers other subjects, such oath and engagement.

Fifth overt Act.—That the prisoners did meet, propose, treat, consult, conspire, consent and agree by lying in wait, and by attacking the person of the King to assassinate, kill, and murder the King.

Sixth overt Act.—That the prisoners did meet, propose, treat, consult, conspire, consent, and agree by themselves, and with other false traitors with force and arms, to attack and seize upon the Bank of England, and the King's Tower of London, and to seize and take possession of the weapons, arms, and ammunition therein, and in divers other magazines and places, in and about the neighbourhood of London, found and being in order by and with the said weapons, arms, and ammunition to arm themselves, and other false traitors, and to fight with, kill and destroy the soldiers, troops and forces of the King, and other his liege and faithful subjects, and to raise, levy, and make insurrection, rebellion, and war against the King within this kingdom.

Seventh overt Act.—That the prisoners did meet, propose, treat, consult, conspire, consent and agree, to obtain procure and provide weapons, arms, and ammunition, and therewith to arm themselves and divers other false traitors, the better and more effectually to set upon, attack, assassinate, kill, and murder the King, and all their traitorous compassing conspiracies, consultations, and agreements, devices, and intentions aforesaid, to accomplish and fulfil.

Eight overt act.—That the prisoners did propose, conspire, consent, and agree, that divers of them should on the day, when the King should next go to meet the parliament,

liament, lye in wait for, and set upon, attack, shoot, and fire at the person of our said Lord the King, and that others of the prisoners and other false traitors, should surround, beset, and make themselves masters of the house and places wherein the lords and commons were then expected to meet in parliament, and should also attack and seize upon the Bank and the tower, and seize the weapons, arms, and ammunition therein, and should stop and detain the mail coaches and other carriages, usually travelling from London, to divers parts of this kingdom, and prevent the same from setting out or departing from London, as a signal and notice of the same attacks and proceedings to divers other false traitors, dwelling and being in divers parts of this kingdom, and as an incitement and encouragement to them, to raise, levy, and make insurrection, rebellion, and war, and a cruel and bloody slaughter of the King's liege and faithful subjects.

Second Count. That the prisoners did maliciously and traitorously conspire, compass, imagine, invent, devise, and intend, imprisonment and restraint of the person of our said lord the King, and the same traiterous compassing imagination, invention, device, and intention last mentioned, did then and there express, utter and declare, by divers overt acts and deeds, therein after-mentioned, that is to say,

The inditement then states the several overt acts, similar to those in the first count, and stated, that each of the overt acts was *for the purpose of seizing, taking, restraining and imprisoning the person of the King.*

Third Count. That the prisoners maliciously and traitorously did conspire, compass, imagine, invent, devise, and intend to deprive and depose the King from the style, honour, and kingly name of the Imperial Crown of this Realm.

The indictment then stated eight several overt acts, similar to those mentioned in the first and second counts of the indictment, concluding that such overt acts were *for the purpose of deposing the King from the style, honour, and kingly name, of the Imperial Crown of this Realm.*

The indictment having been opened by Mr. Abbot, *the Attorney General* addressed the Jury.

He began, by enforcing the necessity of a patient attention to his statement, and a due consideration of the evidence. No one would deny, that if there had been a plot to overturn the constitution, and destroy our Sovereign, the base conspirator should suffer his merited punishment; but the nature of the charge should not operate to his disadvantage; that grand principle of our law ought rather to be confirmed, "that every man should be considered innocent, till he is found guilty." He adverted to the nature of the crime of treason, and expressed his expectation, that if the charge were substantiated, the Jury would pronounce the prisoner *guilty*, without the least hesitation; and after many remarks to shew that there was not the least ground for suspecting the prosecution to have been brought forward from any party motive, or prejudice on the side

of

of Government, he concluded with observing, that from the clearness of the evidence the trial could not be long.—He then proceeded to state the counts in the indictment. After fully explaining the law respecting treason and conspiracy, the Attorney General read over the names of the persons included in the indictment, and observed, that ten of them, besides the prisoner, were apprehended at the Oakley Arms on the 16th November. It appeared, that in the last spring a detachment of guards returned from Chatham, and shortly after a conspiracy was formed for overturning the Government; a society was established for the extention of liberty; of which two men, named Francis and Wood, were very active members; they frequently attempted to seduce soldiers into the association, and sometimes with success. Francis administered unlawful oaths to to those that yielded, and among others to two named Blaize and Windsor, giving them two or three copies of the oath, that they might be enabled to make profelytes in their turn. Windsor soon after, becoming dissatisfied, gave information of the conspiracy to a Mr. Bownas, and shewed him a copy of the oath. This gentleman advised him to continue a member of the association, that he might learn whether there were any persons of consequence engaged in it: the prisoner at the bar tendered this oath; it was found in the possession of Broughton, Smith, and others.

The Attorney-General then commented on different passages contained in this oath, and endeavoured to shew that it would only bear a treasonable interpretation. Proceeding in this statement, he observed, that about the middle of summer they began to think it might be dangerous for them always to meet at the same place. To avoid suspicion, they therefore went to various public-houses:—in Windmill-street, Oxford-street, St. Giles's, Hatton-garden, Whitechapel, in the Borough, about the Tower, and to the Oakley Arms, in Lambeth. To these meetings they invited soldiers, and treated them; toasts were given to answer the objects of the association, such as "The Cause of Liberty—Extention of Rights—The Model of France," &c. They now increased greatly in audacity, and were betrayed by their confidence into the greatest extravagancies; some of them proposed a day for attacking the Tower; and the great blow was to have been struck on the 16th November, the day on which the King first intended to go to Parliament. On the Friday preceding, a meeting took place, when Broughton prevailed upon two of the members to go to the Flying-horse, Newington, where they would meet a *nice man*, who proved to be Colonel Despard: the mode in which the Tower was watched and guarded was inquired into, and the difficulties of intercepting the King were considered: when Broughton suggested the idea of shooting the horses, as the coach would thus be stopped: "but," said another, "would not the life-guards cut us down?" Then the prisoner exclaimed, "If no one else will do it, I myself will;" adding, with much solemnity, "I have well weighed the matter, and my heart is callous."—The Attorney General

neral then obſerved, that Government was well aware of the proceedings of theſe people, but would not interfere while danger was at a diſtance; however, when the ſchemes were nearly compleated, about thirty priſoners were arreſted at the Oakley Arms, and a ſufficient body of evidence collected to prove them guilty. The conſpirators conſiſted of the loweſt order of the people, as journeymen, day-labourers, and common ſoldiers; with the exception only of the perſon at the bar. Several were diſcharged; and Windſor the evidence came after the arreſt, and offered to deliver himſelf up, and communicate all the information in his power: on his teſtimony, ſeveral others were taken into cuſtody. Theſe were the principal points in the ſpeech of the Attorney-General; but he continued for ſome time to expatiate on the probable ſyſtem of defence for the priſoners, which he concieved would be principally an attack on the credibility of the witneſſes; he contended, that an accomplice is *competent*; obſerved, that there could not be a doubt of the guilt of ſome of the priſoners; and that the papers were ſufficient to prove the conſpiracy, independent of oral teſtimony. He then concluded with obſerving to the Jury, that if they permitted their inclination to mercy, to exceed the limits of reaſon, they would do what the priſoner had no right to expect, and what he, as Attorney-General, would ſolemnly proteſt againſt on the part of the Public. He then proceeded to call the witneſſes for the proſecution.

The firſt witneſs was *John Stafford*, chief clerk of the Police-office, at Union-hall; he ſaid he was in that character, on Tueſday, the 16th of November, directed to go to the Oakley Arms, in Oakley-ſtreet, in the Pariſh of St. Mary, Lambeth; that he went about nine in the evening, with John May and Richard Bethel Lloyd, two of the officers, to whom a warrant was directed; that they met the Bow-ſtreet officers, whom Sir Richard Ford had directed to attend upon that occaſion, by the wall of the Aſſylum. He proceeded, "we went together to the Oakley-arms. Lloyd, with a party, attended in a room below ſtairs; Rivett, May, and I, went together into the Club-room up one pair of ſtairs; when we went in we found about thirty perſons there; Thomas Phillips told me his name was Jackſon; he afterwards ſaid it was Phillips. There were William Lander, John Lambert Abraham Bailey, John Doyle, and John Wood. I aſked Wood where he lived, what buſineſs he was of, and whether he was a ſoldier; he ſaid he was not now a ſoldier, he had belonged to the 10th regiment; he ſaid he was a carpenter, and not a ſoldier. John Francis, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, Edward Marcus Deſpard, Samuel Smith, Thomas Broughton, John Emblin, and John Connell, were alſo there; Graham and Macnamara, who were named in the indictment, were not there. They appeared moſtly to be working men, ſome of them ſoldiers. John Francis, Newman, and Wood, were ſoldiers;

diers; none of them had their regimentals on; one had a sort of regimental jacket; I went to the fire-place, and looked about; I desired them to keep their seats; they were a little alarmed; we went in quick; I desired the officer to search them; I saw May find a paper upon Thomas Phillips. One of the patrole came up, and said, 'here is a man who will not be searched;' I was shewn to Despard as that person. Rivett pointed out the prisoner, and said, 'that is Colonel Despard.' No other person there had the appearance of a gentleman but him. Colonel Despard asked 'what was our authority?' I told him 'we had a warrant.' He asked 'to see it.' I desired May to produce it. The warrant was held out to him, where the signatures of the magistrates were: it was signed by Mr. Carpenter Smith, and Mr. Broadley. Colonel Despard seemed rather angry; rather indignant. I searched him minutely; I found nothing upon him: he had a silk umbrella in his hand. It is a silk umbrella, with an hooked yellow stick; an umbrella that is also used as a walking-stick. I saw another paper in the hands of Samuel Taunton, one of the patrole; I did not see where it came from. I did not see any more found. I did not see Broughton searched. They were all taken into custody. I continued at the public-house till they were all sent away. I sent for coaches, and sent officers along with them to places of security for the night. After they were gone, Thomas Windsor, as I since find him to be, came there. I saw him come in, dressed like a bricklayer or plasterer; there appeared to be some lime about him. He went into the tap-room, sat down, and called for a pint of beer, and a pipe of tobacco. I had a long conversation with him. I desired him to attend at Union Hall the next day; and, in consequence of that conversation, I took down his name and place of abode, which, he said, 'was in Weymouth Street, Newington: he said he was a bricklayer by business, and a soldier in the guards.' He attended the next morning before the magistrates by my desire; he was not taken up; he was examined, and produced another paper, similar to those found at the Oakley Arms; it is now marked No. 2. He said, 'he knew the colonel; he knew James Sedgwick Wratten, John Francis, and John Wood. Then it was that Wood admitted he was a soldier: John Francis, at the same time, admitted himself to be a soldier in the guards, in Colonel Lambert's regiment, having at the Oakley Arms, called himself a shoe-maker. He also knew Emblin, he said, and Samuel Smith. The prisoners were severally committed. He thought the Parliament met that very day, the 16th of November, and the king went to the House the week following, on Tuesday, the 23d of November."

The oath was then read, and numbered 1.: it was in these words.

"Constitution and independence of Great Britain and Ireland; an equalization of civil, political, and religious rights; an ample provision for the families of the heroes who shall fall in the contest; a liberal reward for distinguished merit: these are the objects for which we contend, and to obtain these

these objects, we swear to be united. In the awful presence of Almighty God, I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that I will endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obtain the objects of this union, namely, to recover those rights which the Supreme Being has given to all men; that neither hopes, fears, rewards, nor punishment, shall ever induce us to give any information, directly or indirectly, concerning the business, or of any member of this society, or of any similar society, so help me God."

Charles Bacon, one of the patrole belonging to the Public Office in Bow Street, said, "He was present, with Stafford and others, at the Oakley Arms; he went up into the room; there were as many as thirty persons, or more; the prisoner was there. His evidence agreed with that of Stafford, with this addition, that Colonel Despard was walking up and down the room; he addressed himself to the company in the room, and said, '*he wished to know why he was detained there?* and said, *one and all follow me.*' He went towards the door, and they followed him. One of the officers went down out of the room, and desired some of the patrole to comp up; they came up into the room."

The other copies of the oath numbered 2, 3, 4, and 5, were read and compared with number 1, and they all agreed.

John May, *Samuel Taunton*, *Joseph Hannah*, and *John Rivett*, confirmed the narrative of the apprehension of the prisoners, and seizure of their papers, with some slight additions.

Thomas Windsor said "I am a private soldier in the grenadier company of the third battalion in the first regiment of the guards; I know Colonel Despard; I know John Francis, who is one of the persons indicted. In March last I was with my regiment at Chatham; soon after their return I received some printed papers from John Francis; I delivered some of those papers to Mr. Bownas, of the Transport Office, or the Agent Office. I communicated to him how I had received these papers; I left one in his possession; I received advice from him what conduct I should hold as to the persons I received them from. John Francis said 'the object was to unite ourselves to overturn the present tyrannical system of government, to unite ourselves in different companies, and get possession of arms.' John Francis applied to Thomas Blades, of the same company, and Blades was after that at a meeting held at a public-house at St. Giles's. When Francis offered me the printed card, which was an affidavit, he bid me read it and kiss it; the first act respecting the cards and giving me some, was swearing me in; this is the usual mode of swearing in soldiers to be of this conspiracy. If the soldier to be sworn cannot read, the person bringing him reads the oath to him, if he can, if not some other person reads it to the soldier to be sworn, and then he kisses it. About a week after I was sworn in, Francis delivered me some other cards, (one of which I delivered to Mr. Bownas,) to distribute to whom I thought proper; he delivered them to me as to a person capable of the command of a company; one of the cards was, I believe, that on which I was sworn.

Meetings

Meetings were held afterwards at the Brown Bear, in St. Giles's, and at the Running Horſe, in St. Giles's; from ſixteen to twenty, or twenty-five perſons uſed to meet at thoſe houſes, principally Iriſhmen of a low claſs—labouring men. Theſe meetings were held every week. There was a reſolution come to upon the motion of a man of the name of Mack, as we called him, but his proper name is Macnamara; he propoſed at the meeting at the Running Horſe, that we ſhould change the public-houſes of meeting as often as poſſible, in order to avoid detection; his advice was adopted, and they afterwards met at the Bleeding Heart, in Charles Street, Hatton Garden; I attended at that meeting; John Francis was there; Thomas Broughton accompanied me to one of theſe meetings at the Bleeding Heart; there were about twenty-five perſons attended there; the buſineſs there was to unite ourſelves, and to raiſe ſubſcriptions to pay delegates to go into the country, and to pay the expenſe of printing theſe affidavits, to overturn the ſyſtem of government, and to deſtroy the Royal family; theſe were mentioned in general as the objects of our meetings: there were ten men in each company, and when they amounted to eleven, one of the eleven took the command as captain of the other ten, if he raiſed the number himſelf; the ſociety divided itſelf into different diviſions, the diviſions were not fixed as to any particular number. There was a diviſion in the Borough, one in Mary-le-Bone, another diviſion in Spital Fields, and a diviſion from Blackwall, and upwards towards the city. The oldeſt captain of fifty was to have the command of fifty; he was called colonel of that ſub-diviſion. John Francis and Macnamara told me they ſhould appoint me as colonel of the Borough diviſion; they called themſelves colonels under the head colonel, or commander in chief. The Spread Eagle, in Mill Lane, is a houſe for a meeting of one of the ſub-diviſions. I know James Sedgwick Wratten, who is indicted: the perſons who compoſed the ſociety in Mill Lane, were chiefly perſons diſcharged from the navy, or people uſed to the great gun exerciſe; Wratten called himſelf colonel; the Hoop and Ram, in the Mint, in the Borough, is the houſe where Wratten held his diviſion, and aſſembled his people. I know the Oakley Arms; I attended there on Broughton's ſummons; it was on a Sunday, about ſeven or eight weeks before I gave my evidence; there were Arthur Graham, and William Lander there, and to the amount of about half a dozen more; nothing particular was done there; Broughton and I went to a man of the name of Hutchinſon, on Lord Mayor's Day; we were together at the Oakley Arms, and the ſon of the man went up ſtairs, and Broughton was called out to the door to me. The room was almoſt full; I did not go in; there were about thirty there; I had been at a meeting at the Windmill, in Windmill Street, and looked in at this place on my return. Broughton ſaid, on the 9th that they had gathered fifteen ſhillings and ſixpence, and it was to pay for delegates going into the country, and to pay for ſome more of the affidavits being printed;

Broughton

Broughton produced ſome of theſe affidavits; I took one; I gave him a ſhilling for it; there were about ſixteen at the Windmill, in Windmill Street, and thirty at the Oakley Arms; the buſineſs tranſacted was the ſame as at the other meetings—encouraging people to get as many recruits as they could, aſking whether any members would take a card and bring men, and cards were produced for the purpoſe of furniſhing thoſe who were diſpoſed to take them. John Macnamara was at the meeting in Windmill Street; when the cards were printed, they were to be diſtributed in the country by the delegates, who were appointed for that purpoſe. Broughton ſaid every perſon muſt pay a ſhilling for his affidavit, and what was more than was expended in printing was to be paid to the delegates. I was at a meeting at the Hoop and Ram, in the Mint, a fortnight or more before the meeting on Lord Mayor's day. The ſame plan and the ſame object was purſued at all theſe meetings, there was no difference; Broughton was preſent there; Wratten was in the chair; John Wood, a ſoldier of the firſt regiment, was there; Magrah, Newman, and John Blades were preſent, and ſeveral other perſons. A meeting was held at the Bleeding Heart, about ſix weeks before the meeting at the Hoop and Ram, in the Mint, that was on a Sunday evening. There was a meeting appointed at the Bell, in Tower Street: I was ordered to attend; but it being in the time of the evening ſervice the landlord of the Bell would not let us in; we went to the Canteen, the ſuttling-houſe in the Tower, they call it the Stone Kitchen; this was on a Sunday, about three weeks or a month before Lord Mayor's day; there might be about twenty or twenty-five met in Tower Street; when they found they could not get into the Bell, in Tower Street, about thirteen or fourteen went to the Tower, the reſt diſperſed; they were planning that ſome of them ſhould go down to Woolwich, to the Warren, to try to get ſome people belonging to the Warren to unite with them. On the 12th of November I was at work at No. 16, in Weſt Street, Weſt Square, ſetting up a copper; Broughton called upon me there, he ſaid, 'Windſor, come with me to the Flying Horſe, in Newington, I will introduce you to good company.' The Flying Horſe was a houſe I uſed, where I had my regular beer from; I told him I could not neglect my buſineſs, that I had a wife and family to maintain; he ſaid, 'Damn you, you muſt neglect your buſineſs, I neglect mine.' I went with him there; I went into the tap-room; Broughton ſaid, 'Don't ſtop there, come along.' Then I followed him into the parlour; I found a gentleman there who called himſelf Colonel Deſpard; the priſoner is the perſon. He was then a ſtranger to me; Broughton ſaid, 'That is Colonel Deſpard.' I made my obeiſance to the colonel, and took my ſeat. Emblin was there at the ſame time, a perſon of the name of Samuel Smith, and Arthur Graham. Broughton told Graham that was Colonel Deſpard. Graham and Colonel Deſpard fell into converſation for ſome minutes, and then Emblin entered into converſation with Colonel Deſpard.

I did

I did not hear the converſation; I ſaw Graham offer a piece of money to Colonel Deſpard, which he refuſed: then Graham ſaid, 'You ſhall have ſomething to drink then,' and he ordered a ſhillings-worth of brandy and water. I heard Emblin recommend to Deſpard, that there ought to be a regular organization in London: Deſpard ſaid 'No'; a regular organization in London was dangerous, as it was under the eye of government. He ſaid, a regular organization in the country was neceſſary, and he believed was already general. He ſaid the people were every where ripe, and anxious for the moment of attack; and I believe this to be the moment. They are ripe, particularly in Leeds, in Sheffield, in Birmingham, and every capital town in England; I have walked twenty miles to-day, and the people are every where ripe where I have been. He ſaid, the attack was to be made on the day his Majeſty ſhould go to the Houſe, and his Majeſty muſt be put to death; that the mail coaches were to be ſtopped as a ſignal to the people in the country, that they had revolted in town.' In the the courſe of the evening he afterwards ſaid, 'Windſor, Wood has mentioned you to me. Broughton frequently called me by the name of Windſor; he told me he had formerly heard of me from Wood. He alſo ſaid, I ſhould be glad if you would meet me on Tower Hill on Monday morning, at half paſt eleven o'clock, and bring with you four or five intelligent men, to conſult on the beſt method of taking the Tower, and ſecuring the arms.' I promiſed to meet him there. He ſaid afterwards, at the time he was ſaying the people were ripe, *I have weighed the matter well, and my heart is callous*; this was after he ſaid his Majeſty muſt be put to death. Graham paid for the brandy and water; Emblin gave the girl that came into the room twopence or threepence. On Monday the 15th of November, the witneſs proceeded, I met Colonel Deſpard at the Tiger, on Tower Hill; I took Winterbottom there according to an appointment made the Friday before. I was there at the time appointed, which was half paſt eleven; the colonel came about five minutes before twelve. The colonel came alone; I and Winterbottom were in the tap-room when he came. The colonel beckoned me with his head to go out; in conſequence of this I did go out; there were four or five ſoldiers in the tap-room. He ſaid, 'Windſor, do theſe people belong to us; he ſaid, bid them come along with me.' I ſaid, only Winterbottom belongs to me; I ſaid yes firſt of all, that they did belong to us, but in fact only Winterbottom belonged to us. He ſaid, 'bid them come along with me.' I ſaid, there is but one I can depend upon, that is Winterbottom. Says he, 'do you take one direction, and I another, as you are well known and in your regimentals, and meet me oppoſite Whitechapel Church.' Winterbottom, I, and the other ſoldiers, had our regimentals on. I returned, and went with Winterbottom oppoſite Whitechapel Church; the colonel walked gently before us till we came to Whitechapel Church; he bid me go to the oppoſite houſe, pointing to a public-houſe, the Two Bells, and ſaid he

would go and find a man who could give him some information respecting Lynch, who was a soldier, who had been in the third battalion of the first regiment, but was then discharged. I went into the public-house; he asked me if I had money enough to buy a draught of porter. I remained half an hour before the colonel came; he brought one Herron, a discharged soldier of the first regiment of guards. The colonel said, 'he brought this man with him, he could not find any thing of Lynch; he believed Herron had seen Lynch the week before, and he believed him to be still in the regiment.' I was desired by the colonel to enquire after him at the Flying Horse on the Friday evening, and the colonel said I might trust him with any secret I had. He said this to me, having beckoned me out of this house the same as he did at the former house. We walked up and down Brick Lane; Winterbottom, Herron, the colonel, and me. While we were walking there, the colonel said, 'Windsor, we are deceived as to the number of arms in the Bank, there are but six hundred, and they have taken the hammers off to render them useless, as they must have been apprized of our intention. We then went to the Coach and Horses in Whitechapel; Colonel Despard, Winterbottom, Herron, and myself. We had two pots of porter and some bread and cheese; a two-penny loaf and a quarter of a pound of Gloucestershire cheese; the colonel gave the boy money to buy the bread and cheese. The colonel said to me, 'Windsor, do you know the two soldiers.' There were two soldiers in the same box at the top of the table. I said I did by sight, but not by name. He said, 'I believe they belong to us.' He said afterwards, 'I believe, Windsor, his Majesty must be put to death, and the people will be at liberty.' He did not say this loud enough for the soldiers to hear; he spoke to me privately. He said, 'he would make the attack himself on the day his Majesty went to the House. If he could get no assistance from this side the water, he said he would do it with what forces he could collect from that side of the water, thereby distinguishing it from the Borough division, which was on this side of the water.' The 24th of November was then understood as the day. He made an appointment for Tuesday night, the next night, for me to come with seven or eight intelligent men, to consult on the best method of attacking the Tower and securing the arms; we were to meet at the Oakley Arms, Lambeth; I told him if he shewed himself at different meetings, people would be satisfied when they saw there was such a person as him at the head of them. Colonel Despard paid for some refreshment we had, and then we parted. I parted with the colonel about a quarter before two; I saw Wratten and Wood in the course of that same day. Wood said, 'he would post himself sentry over the great gun in the Park, and load and fire it at his Majesty's carriage as he was passing to the House.' I went to the Oakley Arms to meet the colonel, according to his appointment; I arrived about half past nine, or a quarter before ten; I found they were in custody when I came there. I saw Broughton go away whilst I

was

was there; I went into the tap-room and called for some porter; I saw Mr. Stafford, and entered into conversation with him. I began the conversation with him, and communicated to him that I was acquainted with the transaction that related to that night's business. Stafford mentioned an hour for me to be at Union Hall, a quarter before eleven; I kept my appointment. I never saw Emblin till the time I saw him at the Flying Horse; I am not certain whether he was in the room when I first went in, or came in afterwards." The card being shewn him, he said, "a card similar to that is what I delivered to Mr. Bownas."

William Bownas confirmed Windsor in this particular.

William Campbell, *Charles Dean*, and *Joseph Walker*, confirmed the testimony of Windsor, with respect to what passed at the Coach and Horses in Whitechapel.

Thomas Blades, a soldier in the foot guards, said, "I know John Francis; I had a conversation with him in the presence of Windsor about the beginning of June. He told me several gentlemen had united themselves; that the gentlemen who had united themselves were determined to risk their lives and fortunes to form a free and independent constitution; for, he said, the present constitution was much broken; he desired me to join them, and to take an oath to join the society. The Sunday following I conversed with John Francis on the subject; Windsor was with me at some part of the second conversation. A card was shewn me by John Francis; I read it; I cannot tell the whole of it, there was 'the constitution of the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland.' I cannot go through what was written on the card; there was something at the bottom of it about swearing in the presence of Almighty God, to get those rights we took the oath to maintain. I was told by John Francis to kiss the oath, and I did: this was the manner of swearing. This was after the parade was over; I was sworn upon the parade. After that I went to the Ham and Windmill, in Windmill Street, at the top of the Haymarket; John Francis and Thomas Windsor went with me. I was there again the latter end of June, that evening the balloon went up from Lord's Cricket Ground; I was fetched by William Francis. John Francis was there; a man called colonel, as William Francis told me, and Macnamara came soon after, and there were some more there, but their names I do not know, who formed part of the same company. Macnamara said, 'he came from the executive power, and exhorted the society to stick together, and arm themselves, so that they might be able to make head against the government. Macnamara said, he had full power from the executive government to appoint a colonel to command the first regiment of the national guards.' He appointed John Francis to that command, and authorized him to appoint three more, and an officer of artillery. John Francis appointed me as one of the three, and Connel another; and a little man another; and he appointed a person there to be captain of artillery, because he was used to gunnery: that was the person he swore in on the Sunday,

when Windsor and I were present. The little man and John Francis went out of the room; when they returned, John Francis had a paper in his hand, and there was written on the top of it 'The first regiment of national guards, and an appointment of colonels to command the regiment.' One of the men, who was a breeches maker, talked about commissions being issued, but Macnamara said, 'the issuing out of commissions would be the signing of their death warrants; that the officers should receive their commissions the night before the attack should be made.' The next time I saw John Francis was the 6th of September, in the Tower; I was then on the main guard at the Tower. On the Monday following I was at the Bleeding Heart, in Charles Street, Hatton Garden; I saw him there, and John Wood, Tyndall, Wratten, Penderell, Macnamara, and Winterbottom, I believe were there. I do not recollect any others, yet several other persons were there, I suppose about a dozen or fourteen. Wratten spoke up, and said to Penderell, 'that he had come with Tyndall from the Borough, to know the determination of the executive, as to when the attack should take place.' Penderell said, 'the attack would have taken place before, if it had not been for two or three cowards, Roach in particular, not bringing up their men; but he said it should lose nothing on his part, he could bring a thousand men into the field at any time; he said, if he saw any man shew symptoms of cowardice, he would blow his brains out.' John Francis, in answer to that said, 'he thought it would be better to make the attack as soon as possible, at least before the den of thieves; by which, he said, he meant the parliament. He said, if they discovered our proceedings, or were any ways up to them, that they would enact such laws that we should never be able to meet together, or to correspond with each other.' In answer to that, Penderell said, 'there was no danger of discovery, for that he had belonged to it a considerable time, and many persons had been taken up at different times, but had never divulged the secret. He said, if any man should divulge the secret, he should have a dagger in his breast directly.' Wood said, 'in case he should not be there at the grand attack, he would be with a select party of his own, and which would be of as much importance as where the grand attack should take place; ammunition was ordered to be provided for the people by the executive.' Both Macnamara and Penderell used the term executive; but it appeared to me as if Penderell was one of the executive' I met John Francis one Sunday as I was coming along High Street, in the Borough; he asked me to go to the Black Raven, in Tooley Street; Tyndall, Wood, Macnamara, and six or seven Irishmen were there, in a state of intoxication: there were about twelve or thirteen in all. We had a conversation about a form of government. I was at the Oakley Arms on Tuesday, the 9th of November. I was going from East Smithfield, where I work, up to Knightsbridge Barracks, to receive my pay; going along through Cannon Row, I met Broughton; he told me there was

to

to be a meeting at the Oakley Arms that night, prior to the attack being made on the 16th. Broughton ſaid, 'that the heads of the people would be there to ſettle it;' and he deſired me to call upon him at the Oakley Arms. I went there; I went firſt into the tap-room, and called for a pint of beer; I went to the bar and aſked for Broughton; the landlord called his boy directly, and told him to go up ſtairs and tell Tom there was one wanted him. Broughton came down to me and took my pint of beer. I went up with Broughton; he ſaid, 'the colonel is here,' as I went up ſtairs; I went into the room; as ſoon as I got into the room, a gentleman preſented me with a ſhillings-worth of rum and water to drink round: this gentleman was Colonel Deſpard. Wood came and whiſpered into the gentleman's ear that gave me the liquor, and ſaid, 'the gentlemen who are come upon buſineſs this night ought to retire into one end of the room, and thoſe that are only come to ſhew their goodwill, to the other end of the room. Afterwards it was agreed, that thoſe who came to ſettle buſineſs, and who were called the repreſentatives of the different diviſions, ſhould have the fire; and the others, who came to ſhew their goodwill, ſhould retire to the other end of the room, where there was no fire. Colonel Deſpard ſat by the fire by the repreſentatives, at a table, with his right ſide againſt the fire; I did not hear what paſt among thoſe next the fire. Broughton, in the firſt place, ſaid, 'there is the colonel,' pointing over to him; 'did you ever ſee him before?' I ſaid, 'no, I had not.' Says he, 'he is a very fine man.' I aſked Broughton whether he was fluent of tongue? He ſaid, 'yes, he was.' Wood ſaid, 'the propereſt place to attack his Majeſty would be that place in the Mall by his private gate, between that private gate and Buckingham Houſe, becauſe there would be no horſe guards there when his Majeſty comes out of his private gate, after the levee-day, to go to Buckingham Houſe.' Broughton ſaid, 'at the ſame time the Parliament Houſe muſt be attacked; and when that buſineſs was done, they ſhould hie away to the Tower directly.' I did not ſtay till they broke up; I quitted the houſe about ten o'clock, and left all the perſons I mentioned there." Upon his croſs examination, he ſaid, "I have been a ſoldier nine years and four months. I have been puniſhed twice. I have been tried by three or four courts-martial for abſenting myſelf from the regiment. I never have been charged with any theft. I have been charged with beating a watchman. I was never brought to any bar. I was never charged with any theft in my life, nor brought before any bar. I know a perſon of the name of Tibbetts. I had ſome leather by me, and ſome of it was loſt; he did not charge me with ſtealing it; he ſaid, I had made away with it. That was the winter before we went to Holland. I never, on any other occaſion, had any charge againſt me; and, with regard to that leather, I paid Mr. Tibbetts for it, and he never brought me before any Juſtice for it." Being re-examined, he ſaid, "When I abſented myſelf from the regiment, I got off about two hundred miles.

I was tried for it; I was forgiven by my commanding officer. I have ſerved ever ſince. I have been on the Continent twice; and have been at Chatham. I ſerved in the expedition to Holland. I went to the Continent the 5th of July, to the beſt of my recollection, in the year 1794, and joined his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York at Antwerp."

William Francis, John Bird, John Pike, Robert Tomlinſon, Job Roberts, and *Peter Pollard,* all ſoldiers, ſtated the circumſtances of their being ſworn into this confederacy, and other facts and converſations. One witneſs was called by the name of *John Connel,* but it appearing that his real name was *Patrick,* Mr. Serjeant Beſt jected to him as not duly deſcribed in the liſt of witneſſes delivered to the priſoner; and although it appeared that he had changed his name at Colonel Deſpard's own requeſt, the Attorney General declined examining him as a witneſs.

John Emblin ſaid, "I am a watch-maker by buſineſs, reſiding at Vauxhall. I was at the Oakley Arms on the 16th of November. The firſt perſon that told me of the meetings there was Lander; he told me of them about four weeks before I was apprehended. He aſked me, 'if I heard any news?' I ſaid, 'no.' He ſaid, 'that ſomething very particular was on the carpet.' He aſked me, 'whether I had heard of any ſociety forming?' I ſaid, 'no; I thought they were all done with.' He ſaid, 'no; that a party was forming ſtronger than had ever been yet, and that they looked up to Colonel Deſpard as their head.' I ſaw Broughton and Lander frequently. The firſt meeting I had with Broughton was after this intimation from Lauder; to the beſt of my recollection it was on a Sunday; I and Lander were talking together, Broughton came up; I objected to the plan for overturning the government, which Broughton called the ſyſtem of man-eaters; calling the government a ſet of man-eaters. Broughton frequently invited me to attend the meetings of the ſociety; I told him at firſt I could not attend the meetings of the ſociety, my family called for all my attention: I told him ſo on repeated applications. He produced to me ſome papers; they were on about a ſixth part of a ſheet of paper; he ſaid, 'they gave them out for them to know their friends by, and that when the attack was made, all that were not of their principles would be put to death:' this is the language of the paper I had. I remember on Friday, the 12th of November, being at the Queen's Arms, Vauxhall, with John Hayes and Graham; whilſt he and I were together Broughton came in; he tapped Graham on the ſhoulder, and aſked him 'how he did?' He then ſaw me, and came and drank with me; he aſked me 'to go to the Flying Horſe, there would be ſuch a nice man there, he was ſure I ſhould like his company.' I aſked him 'who the nice man he talked of was?' He ſaid, 'Colonel Deſpard. He ſaid the king was to be ſtopped when he went to the Parliament Houſe, and the buſineſs was to be ſettled.' I believe Broughton ſaid, 'the Tower was to be taken that day,' but I cannot charge my memory. Broughton ſaid, 'he muſt go, becauſe the colonel was punctual to his time, as he

he had already exceeded his time; and he went out, and took Graham out with him. I made an excuse to go out, and overheard Broughton persuading Graham to go; they seemed to turn towards the house again. I met them returning towards the house; I said, 'Mr. Graham, if you will go, I will.' Graham agreed to go, and said he would be there in an hour. Graham said, 'I did not know you were of those sentiments.' I said, 'no more I am, but I have a mind to go and see the humour of it.' I went with Graham to the Flying Horse; I found Colonel Despard there, and Broughton, Windsor, and Smith; they were all sitting in a back parlour below stairs. Windsor was there before we came. When we went in they were engaged in conversation. When we went in Broughton desired us to come and sit down; Graham took a chair and sat by Colonel Despard; I took another and sat by Graham. This was the first time I ever saw Colonel Despard. Windsor was speaking about the form at the Tower of the keys being passed to the centinel; and he said, 'that the ceremony of saying God bless the king, and Amen, was an ancient ceremony, which had been laid aside for some weeks, except in one instance, and the man had then been scouted for using it. I asked Broughton 'who Colonel Despard was?' He told me who he was. I thought the colonel heard me, and I apologized to him, saying, 'that I did not know him before, but that I had read of him in the Cambridge paper.' The conversation turned on the wet docks, and on the circumstance of soldiers being employed to guard them. I asked Colonel Despard, 'whether there was any particular business in hand, and what he thought of it.' He said, 'nothing in particular, only it seems to be the wish of a great many people, that an effort should be made to recover some of those liberties which we have lost, and the day is fixed for Tuesday week next.' I asked him 'if he had any ground or sufficient force to go upon.' He said, 'yes; a considerable force indeed, if the people come forward in the way I have been given to understand they will; we have a great number of the army, and there are a great number in all parts of the kingdom, in Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Yorkshire.' I do not say that I enumerate the places exactly as they were enumerated to me, but he mentioned all these places. 'And here, in and about London, the people are every where ripe,' I think he said. Chatham was mentioned as another place. He said, 'he had been engaged in this business two years, or more than two years. I have travelled, he said, twenty miles to-day, and the people, wherever I have been, are every where ripe, and anxious for the moment of the attack. I asked him, 'if he had any regular organization;' he said, 'regular organization would be a moral impossibility:' he did not exactly state the reason why, but that it would be so near, and so much under the eye of government; but in the country it would be more general. I asked him, 'whether the attack was to be made in London and the country on one and the same day; the form of my question I am not quite sure of.

He ſaid, 'no, by no means, that would be highly improper, but that the ſtopping the mail and ſtage-coaches would be a ſignal to the country.' During the evening, Graham, the priſoner, clenched his right hand, and ſwore, with an oath, 'you will do no good except you ſecure the whole of the family.' Broughton ſhook his head, and ſaid, 'that is eaſy enough done; that is already ſettled.' I aſked him 'how?' He ſaid, 'take and ſhoot two of the horſes, and then the carriage muſt ſtop:—the king's carriage I underſtood him—and then ſeize him immediately.' This was to be done as the king ſhould return from the Parliament Houſe. I replied, 'do you conſider that there are horſemen that ride cloſe to the carriage, with their horſes' heads almoſt in the window, and any perſon attempting ſuch a thing would be cut to pieces: then, ſays I, who would do it?' Says the colonel, 'I would do it with my own hand.' I cannot recollect any more expreſſions of Colonel Deſpard's at that meeting; but I recollect the colonel ſaying, '*I have weighed the matter well, and my heart is callous.* I rather think this was after ſaying 'he would do it with his own hand.' There was a converſation reſpecting ſeizing the Bank, but the exact words I cannot tell. It was agreed the Bank ſhould be ſeized, and the Tower ſhould be taken. The Bank I particularly recollect, they ſaid the arms there, about ſix hundred in number, had been rendered uſeleſs, by ſome part being taken off, but I cannot ſay what part: whatever was ſaid was all diſtinctly heard by the colonel. I principally engroſſed the converſation; my curioſity is the main occaſion of my ſtanding here today. I remember the ſeizing the Tower was treated as a matter of confident expectation, and certain ſucceſs. I recollect one perſon, Windſor, ſaid, 'give me a hundred men, and I will take it myſelf.' The colonel went away and left us there; we continued there ſometime afterwards, and then went away. I gave the maid ſomething; they would not let me pay at the bar. I gave the girl threepence; the girl ſeemed awkward at taking it; I ſaid, 'I will take a kiſs the next time.' I did not ſee Colonel Deſpard again till I ſaw him at the Oakley Arms on the evening we were apprehended at about eight o'clock. I did not expect to meet any body there ſcarce. Lander, in the day-time, had been talking of the attack on the Tower, and wiſhed to know whether it would be prudent to have a diviſion to march from the Tower to New Street, Biſhopſgate, and there take the arms of the India Company; from thence to the Artillery-ground, where they could get more arms and artillery; and from thence proceed forward, and aſſiſt the attack at St. James's: and if they had a ſufficient force at the taking of the Tower, he alſo propoſed another detachment ſhould go another way, through the Borough, and through the New Cut to the Parliament Houſe, to aſſiſt thoſe who would be there; and, he ſaid, that he thought it might be proper to have couriers to ride backwards and forwards, and give accounts of the ſucceſs of the army.' And, if I underſtood him right, he had been on the Sunday previous to that to engage a houſe, where,

where, I understood him, he was to sit and receive the reports of those couriers, or aid-de-camp, or whatever they might be termed, which house, to the best of my recollection, was the sign of the Angel, in Cecil Court, St. Martin's Lane; and then he asked me 'to write down the plan;' which I refused. He seemed to look at me with astonishment. I was never sworn into the society, and was therefore looked upon with a jealous eye. I then said, 'if you please, I will go with you to the colonel, if you can introduce me to him, and see what he will say to it.' I had had a conversation on Monday with Graham. I understood Lander that he would introduce me to the colonel that evening. That evening, as I was carrying home a clock, I met Broughton near the turnpike; he said, 'I understand you are coming down this night: do, he said, but don't be long first.' I said, 'I cannot come till I have put my clock up.' He and I parted. Going on, I saw Lander shutting up his shop. I went past his house, where I was going with the clock. He asked me 'if I was ready?' I told him 'no, I was obliged to go home with that clock.' He said, 'how long should I be?' I said, 'about a quarter of an hour.' He said, 'if I would not be longer he would wait for me; but he was in a hurry, as he had to go to town.' When I returned he was gone; and I went to the Oakley Arms by myself. Broughton and Lander had both told me the meeting was to be there. I believe I had been in there about twenty minutes when the officers came in; I went into the parlour on the left hand, at the Oakley Arms; I saw some persons who appeared to be strangers; they asked, 'who do you want?' I said, 'Broughton, or Russel.' They said, 'you will find them up stairs.' I went up; Broughton desired me to sit by them. I judged there must have been about twenty persons there then; there were two came in after me, Smith, and his journeyman. Colonel Despard was there. On Broughton seeing me, he asked me to sit by him. The company were engaged in conversation in different parties. Colonel Despard was standing and speaking to John Francis. Broughton said, 'my boy, my cock, we have got the completest plan in the world, to do the business without any trouble: we load the great gun in the Park with four balls, or chain-shot, and fire it at his Majesty as he returns from the House; then, with a sort of sneer, he said, he would be damned if that did not send him to hell.' The expressions shocked me very much, and I exclaimed, 'good God! do you consider how many people will be in the Park that day, and how many lives you will take away!' He then said, 'damn them, let them get out of the way: he said, it would play hell with the Treasury, and round about there.' Some person in company said, 'that the cannon might be too low;' another person said, 'it might be easily raised an inch.' Some person said, 'but if it misses his Majesty.' Broughton replied, 'then damn him we must man-handle him.' I cannot exactly say, whether I had conversed with the colonel before this, I rather think I had; the colonel was as near as you and I are

are now. The converſation I had with the colonel was: I aſked Broughton whether I might ſpeak to the colonel. I ſaid, 'Sir, you was ſpeaking of taking the Tower, alluding to the converſation at the Flying Horſe, and that Lander had ſaid, would it not be proper to have a diviſion to go from there.' I repeated the plan which Lander wiſhed me to write down. The colonel ſaid, 'he did not approve of it, for he believed that one half of the Eaſt India Company's men in their warehouſes were our friends already. But, the colonel ſaid, we are not ſure that we can have the Tower; but, if we have the Tower, we have every thing; there are arms ſufficient to arm a great number of men; he named the number, but I do not recollect it, but more than was wanted for the purpoſe: and to go to the Artillery Ground would be uſeleſs, for what purpoſe would it anſwer?' I replied, 'it was to form a ſort of garriſon to annoy the aſſociations.' The colonel ſaid, 'no; St. Paul's would be a great deal better place.' I cannot tell you exactly the terms; but it was in that converſation the colonel ſaid, 'if we have the Tower and the Bank, we have every thing.' I ſaid, 'Sir, do you think it would be proper to meddle with the Bank?' He ſaid, 'ſurely the Bank ought to be almoſt the firſt conſideration; for, if we have the Bank and the Tower, we have every thing neceſſary, and that from the Tower he could burn the town, and batter it to pieces. Somebody talked about deſtroying the telegraph. I ſaid, 'Sir, do you think that would be neceſſary?' He replied, 'ſurely, for it is a thing that would be of no ſervice to us, but of vaſt importance to our enemies. He ſaid that Windſor was a total ſtranger to him, that he ſaw him for the firſt time on the 12th of November, at the Flying Horſe."

Mary Plowman, the landlady of the Flying Horſe, at Newington, ſaid, "I remember hearing of the people being apprehended at the Oakley Arms. Some gentlemen came to my houſe a few days before; there were, I think, about ſix of them: the firſt perſons that came, came in a little before eight o'clock, at the ſtreet door, and went through the paſſage into the parlour. I was working in the back room. When they came in they called for a pot of porter; they ſaid, 'they hoped they did not diſturb me.' There were two of them then: one was dreſſed in a dark brown great coat, and had a ſilk umbrella in his hand; they went into the back room, which is called the kitchen, which we call a parlour; the door was ſhut and the curtain drawn; they drew it themſelves; they appeared much in private. I heard one man ſay, '*he had weighed every thing well within him, and his heart was callous.*' The perſon who ſaid this was ſpeaking ſlow, but not very loud. I know Windſor; he was at my houſe that evening. I remember there were two men there before Windſor's arrival. He aſked 'if any body had inquired for him?' Seeing ſomebody backward, he joined them. My huſband was out with his beer that evening. I cannot ſay how the reckoning was paid, as to what was had in the parlour; the ſervant-maid went in and took the money. They went

away

away a little after eleven o'clock. When five men went away they came to the bar; they had four glaſſes of gin, and a glaſs of rum, which came to nine-pence. I gave three-pence change to a little man, who turned and gave the three-pence to the bar-maid."

Sir Richard Ford took down the examination of Windſor at the Secretary of State's Office, in conſequence of which, Blades and Francis, and ſome other ſoldiers, were ſent for and examined.

This was all the evidence given on the part of the proſecution.

Mr. Serjeant Beſt then addreſſed the Jury, in a ſpeech replete with ingenious argument, clothed in elegant diction, and delivered with perſuaſive energy.—After a juſt encomium on the beauty of Britiſh juriſprudence, and the probity and independence of Britiſh Judges and Juries, he contended that the overt acts were not ſufficiently proved to convict the priſoner; and that the characters of the witneſſes were too infamous to entitle them to credit. —He aſked, how it was poſſible that fourteen or fifteen men, at a common tap-room, with no fire-arms but their tobacco-pipes, men of the loweſt order of ſociety, without mind or intelligence, were to ſeize the King, the Bank, the Tower, and the Members of both Houſes of Parliament? It was indeed talked of, but it was not true; not a ſingle *iota* of proof was there of any ſuch thing in the caſe.—The learned Serjeant next went into an inveſtigation of the contradictory parts of the evidence of the accomplices, which he pointed with great force, and concluded with calling evidence to eſtabliſh Colonel Deſpard's character for honour and loyalty.

Lord Nelſon ſaid, "he became acquainted with the priſoner in the year 1779. He was then a Lieutenant in the Liverpool Blues, and his Lordſhip then commanded a man of war—they were on the Spaniſh main together—they ſerved together—they were both together in the enemy's trenches—they ſlept in the ſame tent, and he had an opportunity of knowing all his ſentiments. He was a loyal man, and a brave officer. If he had been aſked his opinion of Colonel Deſpard, he would have ſaid, 'If he is ſtill alive, he is an ornament to the Engliſh army.'" On croſs-examination, his Lordſhip ſaid, "he had not ſeen him ſince the year 1780."

Sir Alured Clarke ſaid, "he had known Colonel Deſpard for thirty years; he knew that he was much beloved by his brother officers, and the whole corps to which he belonged. While he was in the government of Jamaica, Colonel Deſpard was employed on the Spaniſh main. He always conſidered him as a loyal ſubject, and a zealous officer." On his croſs-examination he ſaid, "it was thirteen years ſince he had ſeen him. He never heard that he kept company with the common ſoldiers."

Sir Evan Nepean alſo ſpoke in favour of the priſoner's character.

Mr. Gurney then addreſſed the Jury on behalf of the priſoner. After ſome introductory obſervations, he contended, "that the witneſſes on whoſe teſtimony a man could be convicted of high treaſon, ſhould be not only *competent*, but *credible*. Give me leave, he ſaid,

to

to call your attention for a single moment, to the matter of *probability*. The study of probabilities has been called 'the science of Judges.' Whatever witnesses may swear, *probability* is the test by which we try their evidence. If a man comes into a court of justice, and tells you that another has committed an assault upon him, you will require but a slight degree of evidence to convince you of that, because every day's experience teaches you that nothing is more probable than that such a thing should happen. If a man comes and accuses a poor miserable ragged wretch of committing a felony, you do not require uncommonly strong evidence, (though even of that you would not convict the most miserable creature that exists merely upon the evidence of an accomplice,) because every day's experience teaches you it is not at all improbable. If the charge be forgery, or murder, you require stronger evidence. How much more evidence then still would you require to convince you that any man, who is not a fit inhabitant for Bethlem, could be a party to such a plot as you have heard commented upon with so much ability and eloquence by my learned leader, in which a few low and obscure individuals are supposed to have met at an ale-house, to concert measures for destroying a government, mighty in its physical, mightier in its moral energies; strong in its civil and military establishments, infinitely stronger in the affections of the people; a plot so ridiculous and absurd, that, as my friend has observed, fifteen men are stated to have contrived the overthrow of a government supported by the unshaken loyalty of fifteen millions. Then, after analysing the evidence for the crown and the prisoner, Mr. Gurney concluded by cautioning the Jury not to renew the error which was so fatally committed in the reign of Charles II., when, in consequence of a general belief in the popish plot, so many innocent men suffered unjustly. In a short time, he said, the veil was torn off; the perjury which had triumphed was discovered to be perjury; but it was too late; the dead could not be recalled from the grave; and the jurors who had sent them there, were left to the bitter reflections of their consciences—to the unavailing lamentation of their credulity. But though those persons died unjustly, I trust they did not die in vain. Their innocent blood speaks aloud to you not to follow the fatal example of your predecessors, and to lend, as they did, too easy faith to the testimony of wicked men. May you attend to the warning voice, and pronounce a verdict of acquittal, of which, I trust, you never will have reason to repent."

The *Solicitor General* replied on behalf of the crown; and, in a most able manner, shewed that the case of the prisoner was satisfactorily proved, no fact having been stated by any witness of suspicious credit, which was not supported by others of unexceptionable character, or by strong concomitant circumstances. He also entered very copiously into the law of treason, shewing that the evidence was fully sufficient to enable the Jury to form a decision.

On the testimony given to the prisoner's character, and with respect

ſpect to an argument uſed by Serjeant Beſt, on Colonel Deſpard's long confinement in the priſon in Cold Bath Fields, the Solicitor General expreſſed himſelf in theſe terms. There is one circumſtance more I would not paſs over in ſilence, and that is the evidence produced by Colonel Deſpard to his character; he has brought two of the moſt gallant men in the world in ſupport of that character-Good God, what a falling off is here! That he who had the ſociety and friendſhip of Lord Nelſon, Sir Alured Clarke, and the good opinion of Sir Evan Nepean, three as valuable and as reſpectable men as live; that he ſhould quit them, and aſſociate himſelf with ſome of the worſt traitors (if the evidence be true) that exiſt; that he ſhould quit the ſociety and purſuits of men of honour, to ſeek thoſe of low perſons at obſcure alehouſes, living with private ſoldiers, and the moſt depraved and the worſt of mankind, is a part of the caſe that excites one's regret and pity. There is another part of the caſe that I would not have ventured to have ſpoken to, if the learned Serjeant had not made it neceſſary. He has told you, that Colonel Deſpard has been confined three years in a priſon under a ſuſpicion of treaſon or ſedition; whether that has made him more or leſs apt to be engaged in this conſpiracy, and in the execution of it, you will beſt judge. I cannot help thinking, that the learned Serjeant has deſcribed his client as

——————" A man
Whom the vile blows and buffets of the world
Have ſo incenſ'd, that he is reckleſs what
He does to ſpite the world."

I ſubmit to you, Gentlemen, that all the evidence that has been given in ſupport of the character of Colonel Deſpard, only proves him, at one part of his life, to have been a reſpectable man; always, to have been a bold and enterpriſing man; and the reſt may be accounted for perhaps by the habits he had contracted during an impriſonment of three years; whether that might not produce feelings of reſentment and diſappointment, which might work him up to this dreadful reſolution, you will beſt judge; but I do not rely upon it; I only ſtate what I have ſaid, in reply to the obſervations of the learned Serjeant: I rely upon the facts which have been proved, and which ſtand uncontradicted.

Lord Ellenborough having ſtated the law, and ſummed up the evidence with great accuracy, the Jury withdrew at about twenty minutes after two o'clock on the Tueſday morning, to conſider of their verdict. They returned into court in about twenty-five minutes, with a verdict finding the priſoner—GUILTY.

The Foreman added, "*My Lord, we do moſt earneſtly recommend the Priſoner to mercy, on account of the high teſtimonials to his former good character, and eminent ſervices.*"

On Wedneſday the 9th, the Court met purſuant to adjournment, when the trial of John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Phillips, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, John Doyle, James Sedgwick Wratten,

Wratten, William Lander, Arthur Graham, Samuel Smith, and John Macnamara, commenced, which lasted till near eight o'clock the next morning; when the Jury found *John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, James Sedgwick Wratten, William Lander, Arthur Graham,* and *John Macnamara, Guilty.*

Account of the Execution of Colonel Despard, and his Associates, convicted of High Treason.

At six o'clock on Saturday evening, February 19, his Majesty's warrant for the execution of Colonel Despard, and six of his associates, and also an order from Lord Pelham, for the respite of the three others under sentence of death, reached the New Gaol in the Borough. It contained also a respite of that part of the sentence of the law, which directs the bowels of the victims to be taken out, and their bodies cut to pieces; confining the execution to drawing, hanging, and beheading.

At eight o'clock on Sunday morning, Colonel Despard and his fellow-prisoners were sent for, by Mr. Ives, to attend the Chapel. They all cheerfully obeyed the summons, except Colonel Despard and Macnamara; the former assigned no reason for his refusal; but the latter said he was a Roman Catholic, and it would not be consistent with his faith. The Rev. Mr. Winkworth read prayers, after which he delivered a very impressive sermon. The unhappy men joined in prayer with great devotion.

At this time none of the prisoners were apprised of the warrant for their execution being received. Colonel Despard seemed more surprised than affected. The wives and relatives of the prisoners were permitted to stay with them about two hours; and nothing could be more distressing than their farewell on quitting the prison.

Soon after the warrant was received, all papers, and every thing that he possessed, were immediately taken from Colonel Despard. He was strictly searched, to discover whether he had any knife, or means of self destruction, about him; and every thing that it was thought might enable him to put an end to his existence, was conveyed out of his reach.

Mrs. Despard, after having taken leave of her husband at three o'clock on Sunday afternoon, came again about five o'clock; but it was thought advisable to spare the colonel the pangs of a second parting, and she was therefore not admitted into the prison. She evinced some indignation at the refusal; and expressed a *strong* opinion with respect to the cause for which her husband was to suffer. After Mrs. Despard had left the colonel on Sunday afternoon, he walked up and down his cell for some time, seemingly more agitated than he had been at the period of taking leave of his wife. Between six and seven in the evening, he threw himself on the bed, and fell into a short sleep. At eight o'clock he awoke, and addressed one of the officers of the prison, who was with him, in these words:—"Me—they shall receive no information from me—no—not for all the gifts, the gold, and jewels, in the possession of the crown." He then composed

compoſed himſelf, and remained ſilent.

The clergyman of the priſon, Mr. Winkworth, had ſeveral times made overtures to the colonel to commune with him. But the colonel always declined the clergyman's offer; politely, however, thanking him. Mr. Winkworth on Sunday repeated his requeſt, but received the ſame anſwer. Mr. Winkworth wiſhed him to accept a book from him, which he alſo declined. He ſaid, 'he had been in all parts of the world; that he was not particularly attached to any form of religion; and that his mind was entirely made up upon religious matters.' Moſt of the other priſoners, however, paſſed much of their time in prayer, and with the clergyman. Macnamara being a Roman Catholic, was attended by a Roman Catholic prieſt. Colonel Deſpard ſlept from three to half-paſt four; the remainder of the night he paſſed in walking up and down his cell. The reſt of the priſoners ſlept about two hours.

All the arrangements for the execution were ſettled on Sunday by Sir Richard Ford, and the Sheriff of Surrey, with the Government and the magiſtrates. Sir Richard Ford ſlept on Sunday night at Mr. Carpenter Smith's, in order to be near the priſon.

Monday morning at four o'clock, the drum beat at the Horſe Guards, as a ſignal for the cavalry to aſſemble, and no leſs than four regiments of different deſcriptions, are ſtated to have ſhortly after aſſembled. As ſoon as day-light appeared, the military took their different ſtations. Two troops of horſe were ſtationed at the Obeliſk. Others patroled the roads from the Obeliſk to the Elephant and Caſtle, and down the Borough road. About five o'clock the populace began to pour in numbers along the Weſtminſter and City road; and by ſix the lane was completely crowded. There are few houſes in front of the priſon; all of them, however, were filled with ſpectators. The Dyer's Grounds, to the left of the priſon, were gradually filled; till, at laſt, all the parts that had a view of the ſcaffold were completely crammed. It is ſuppoſed that 20,000 perſons might be aſſembled. At five o'clock St. George's bell began to toll, and continued for about an hour. At half-paſt ſix the priſon bell rang—a ſignal for the unlocking of the cells. Mr. Winkworth, the clergyman of the priſon, and Mr. Griffith, the Roman Catholic prieſt, the ſame gentleman who attended Quigley when he was executed, came to the priſon, and were immediately admitted to the priſoners. At ſeven o'clock five of the priſoners, Broughton, Francis, Graham, Wood, and Wratten, went into the chapel; Colonel Deſpard refuſed to attend, remaining in his cell; and Macnamara, being a Roman Catholic, prayed in his cell with the prieſt. The five former conducted themſelves with much decorum in the chapel. They attended to the prayers with great earneſtneſs; but, at the ſame time, without ſeeming to loſe that firmneſs which they had diſplayed ſince their trial. Before they received the ſacrament, four of them confeſſed that they had done wrong, but not to the extent charged againſt them by the evidence. The fifth, Graham, ſaid, 'he was innocent of the charges brought againſt him;

him; but that he had attended two meetings, the ſecond at the inſtigation of Francis. It was Emblin, he added, who called on him to take him to the meeting, by Francis's deſire. The ſacrament was adminiſtered to them. The ſervice in the chapel laſted three quarter's of an hour. Before it was over, Colonel Deſpard and Macnamara were brought down from their cells. Their irons were knocked off, and their arms and hands bound with ropes. After the others had received the ſacrament, they were brought out of the chapel, and their irons were knocked off. The executioner then tied their arms and hands in the ſame manner as he had before bound Colonel Deſpard and Macnamara.

Notice was then given to the Sheriff that they were ready. Colonel Deſpard, who ſtood the firſt, retired behind, and made a motion to Francis, who was making way for him, to go before him. The hurdle had been previouſly prepared in the outer court-yard. It is the body of a ſmall cart, on which two truſſes of clean ſtraw are laid. It was drawn by two horſes. The proceſſion moved in the following order:

The Sheriff of Surrey.
The Clergyman in his robes.
Mr. Ives, the Keeper, with a white wand.
High Conſtable.
Other Conſtables.
The Executioner, with a drawn ſword.

Macnamara and Graham were firſt put into the hurdle, and drawn to the Lodge, where the inner gates were opened, and they were conveyed to the ſtair-caſe that leads up to the ſcaffold. The hurdle then returned, and brought

Broughton and Wratten;
then
Wood and Francis;
Laſt of all Colonel Deſpard was put into it alone.

Macnamara ſeemed intent upon the book in his hand. Graham remained ſilent. Broughton *jumped* into the hurdle, ſmiled, and looked up to the ſcaffold. Wood and Francis both ſmiled; and all of them ſurveyed the awful ſcene with much compoſure. Deſpard ſhook hands with a gentleman as he got into the hurdle, and looked up to the ſcaffold with a ſmile. As ſoon as they had all been conveyed in the hurdle to the ſtair-caſe that leads to the ſcaffold, they were eſcorted up, one by one, in the order before mentioned: the Sheriff, Sir Richard Ford, the clergyman, Mr. Winkworth, the Roman Catholic clergyman, Mr. Griffith, preceding them. Seven coffins, or ſhells, which had been previouſly placed in a room under the ſcaffold, were brought up, and placed on the platform on which the drop is erected. A bag of ſaw-duſt, to catch the blood when the heads were ſevered from their bodies, was placed beſide them. The block was near the ſcaffold. There were nearly one hundred perſons on the platform, including the magiſtrates and officers. The greateſt order and ſilence were obſerved.

As ſoon as the priſoners were placed on the hurdle, St. George's bell tolled for ſome time. It was nearly three quarters paſt eight when

when the firſt priſoner was brought up to the ſcaffold. The reſt followed ſingly. When the cord was faſtened round the firſt, the ſecond was brought up, and ſo on till the cords were faſtened round the necks of all the ſeven.

The ceremony of faſtening the cords round the necks of the priſoners being finiſhed, the colonel advanced as near as he could to the edge of the ſcaffold, and addreſſed the multitude in preciſely the following words:

"Fellow Citizens—I am come here, as you ſee, after having ſerved my country faithfully, honourably, and, I truſt, uſefully, for thirty years and upwards, to ſuffer death upon a ſcaffold, for a crime which I am no more guilty of than any who is now looking at me—I do ſolemnly declare, that I am no more guilty of it than any of you who may now be liſtening to me. But though his Majeſty's miniſters know I am not guilty, they avail themſelves of the opportunity, which they have, of deſtroying a man, becauſe they think he is a friend to truth, to liberty, and to juſtice; and becauſe he has been a friend to the poor and to the oppreſſed. But, Fellow Citizens, I hope and truſt, notwithſtanding my fate, and perhaps the fate of many others who may follow me, that ſtill the principles of liberty, juſtice, aud humanity, will triumph over falſehood, deſpotiſm, and deluſion, and every thing elſe hoſtile to the intereſts of the human race. And now, having ſaid this, I have nothing more to add, but to wiſh you all that health, that happineſs, and that freedom, which I have ever made it my endeavour, as far as it lay in my power, to procure for every one of you, and for mankind in general."

The laſt and moſt dreadful part of the ceremony was now to be performed. The moſt awful ſilence prevailed, and many of the thouſands preſent ſtood uncovered. At ſeven minutes before nine o'clock the ſignal was given, the platform dropped, and they were all launched into eternity.

Colonel Deſpard had not one ſtruggle: twice he opened and clenched his hands together convulſively; he ſtirred no more. Maenamara, Graham, Francis, and Wratten, were motionleſs after a few ſtruggles. Broughton and Wood ſtruggled violently for ſome moments after all the reſt were without motion. The executioner pulled their legs, to put an end to their pain more ſpeedily.

After hanging about half an hour, they were cut down; Colonel Deſpard firſt: his body placed on ſaw-duſt, and his head on a block. After his coat had been taken off, his head was ſevered from his body, by perſons engaged on purpoſe to perform that ceremony. The executioner then took the head by the hair, and carrying it to the edge of the parapet, on the right hand, held it up to the view of the populace, and exclaimed, "*This is the head of a traitor*—Edward Marcus Deſpard!" The ſame ceremony was performed at the parapet on the left hand. There was ſome hooting and hiſſing when the colonel's head was exhibited. His body was now put into the ſhell that had been prepared for it.

The other priſoners were then cut down, their heads ſevered from

their bodies, and exhibited to the populace, with the same exclamation of—"*This is the head of another traitor!*" The bodies were then put into their different shells, to be delivered to their friends for interment.

The execution was over shortly after ten o'clock, and the populace soon afterwards dispersed quietly. There was not the least tendency to riot or disturbance.

Macnamara was 50 years of age, born in Ireland; by trade a carpenter.

Wood, 26 years of age, born in Derbyshire; a soldier.

Francis, 23 years of age, born in Shropshire; a soldier and shoemaker.

Broughton, 26 years of age, born in London; a carpenter.

Graham, 53 years of age, born in London; a slater.

Wratten, 35 years of age, place of birth not known; a shoemaker.

They were all married men.

Macnamara hung at the left extremity, and Colonel Despard at the right, the soldiers next to him. This was the order:

Despard.	Francis.	Wood.	Broughton.	Wratten.	Graham.	Macnamara.
7.	9.	5.	4.	3.	2.	1.

TRIAL OF JEAN PELTIER FOR A LIBEL AGAINST BONAPARTE.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, *Feb.* 21.

Sittings before Lord ELLENBOROUGH, *and a Special Jury, at Westminster Hall.*

This trial excited an uncommon degree of interest and curiosity. A considerable number of persons, and some of the first distinction, were down at Westminster-hall long before the doors were opened; and some of them had great difficulty in procuring admission, on account of the great crowd that early filled the court.

Mr. Abbot opened the pleadings on the part of the prosecution in the following manner:

"Gentlemen of the Jury, this is an information against the prisoner, Jean Peltier, for publishing in a paper, called *l'Ambigu*, several libels against Napoleon Bonaparte, who was at the time of the said publication, and is now, First Consul and Chief Magistrate of the French Republic. The information states, that there subsisted at the time of such publication, and does now subsist, peace and harmony between this United Kingdom and the Republic of France; and that the said libels tend not only to disturb this peace and harmony so happily subsisting between the said countries, by exciting animosities, jealousies, and resentments, but directly tend to degrade and villify the said Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul and Chief Magistrate of the French Republic, in the eyes of the French nation, and to stir up and excite persons in France, to assassinate and murder the said First Consul. The Learned Counsel then read the translations of the different libels which were the subject of this prosecution. The first was in the form of an Ode on the 18th Brumaire; the second was also in verse, and entitled, "The Prayer of a Good Patriot on the 14th of July, 1802;" the third was a long speech

ſpeech, ſuppoſed to have been delivered by Lepidus to the Romans on the dictatorſhip of Sylla: theſe pieces were extremely long. The firſt ode contained, among many other ſtrong paſſages, the following—"O eternal diſgrace of France! When Cæſar was on the rubicon, he was oppoſed by the ſenate, by Pompey, and by Cato; and, though victor on the plains of Pharſalia, a *dagger* yet remained in the hands of the laſt of the Romans; but Frenchmen receive their chains without a murmur." It alſo contained many other ſtrong paſſages, calling to the French nation to arm, to march; for the times admitted no delay. The ſecond libel, entitled, "The Prayer of a good Patriot on the 14th of July, 1802," was alſo in verſe; and, after affecting to admire the fortune of Bonaparte, whom it deſcribes under the name of the *Son of Letitia*, concludes, "I do not envy his fortunes; let him be named Firſt Conſul for life. There is nothing now wanting to him but the ſceptre and the crown; let him have them, let him be elected Emperor. The ſtory of Romulus reminds us of this; and I wiſh his *apotheoſis* may follow on the morrow." The third libel was ſtated to be a ſpeech delivered by Lepidus to the Romans, and now addreſſed to the French, on the ſubject of the dictatorſhip. In this long oration, all the miſchief which happened in the cruel dictatorſhip of Sylla, are applied to the preſent times of France. It begins in this manner:—"I hardly conceive that the mildneſs of your nature and character will permit you to give credit to the various atrocities committed by the preſent dictator; it is not only you who ſuffer, but your children yet unborn are proſcribed, perhaps before they have ſeen the light. And was it for this that France has combated Pruſſia, Ruſſia, Auſtria, and all Europe, to ſurrender her ſovereignty and her liberty to a Corſican rebel?"

The libels were of prodigious length, and were read throughout by Mr. Abbot. Perhaps the few paſſages that we have now ſelected may give a ſufficient idea of the complexion of the whole, to underſtand the nature and object of the proſecution. To tranſlate more of the offenſive paſſages cannot be neceſſary, and might not be prudent.

Mr. Attorney-General opened the proſecution nearly as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Jury, You are now, by the indictment that has been read, put diſtinctly, openly, and fully, in poſſeſſion of every information on the ſubject on which you have been brought here to decide. The caſe is ſimple, and the queſtion, in my mind, by no means difficult to be tried. It will be for you to examine, whether or not the defendant be the author of theſe publications, and whether or not the proſecution be rightly brought forward before a Britiſh Jury, and in a Britiſh Court of Juſtice. It is impoſſible not to know, that conſiderable intereſt and curioſity are attached to this trial; and when I caſt my eye about the court, and obſerve an attendance ſo different from what uſually graces trials in courts of juſtice, I feel that ſuch motives muſt have operated in a more than ordinary degree. Many, no doubt, have been curious to hear the ob-

ſervations that may fall from me, in conducting the preſent proſecution. Yet, ſorry as I ſhould be to diſappoint ſuch an aſſembly, the courſe which duty and inclination point out to me will not be likely to gratify ſuch expectation. This duty and inclination confine me to the dry and dull trial of the intention; for the law will determine by what takes place in Court, by reaſon, by Juſtice, whether a publication of this kind can be defended as innocent, or tolerated as inoffenſive. In diſcuſſing theſe queſtions, ſo notorious and ſo recent, there can neither be much inſtruction nor amuſement; and if any one could ſuppoſe that on this, or any other occaſion, I ſhould derogate from the dignity of my public duty, or ſhrink from the faithful diſcharge of it, he will be diſappointed. Though no perſon can entertain a higher opinion than I do of the abilities and acquirements of the learned Gentleman who is to lead the defence; though no perſon be more unaffectedly convinced of his ſplendid talents, his brilliant imagination, his cultivated mind, and his enlightened reaſon; yet I doubt if even he can ſatisfy much curioſity on this occaſion. The points to be conſidered are, Whether the defendant be the author of the publication or not? What was the intention of publiſhing? What is the legal character of guilt or innocence belonging to it? Theſe queſtions are the only points at iſſue between us; and theſe will afford no opportunity of diſplaying the powers of imagination and reaſoning, to excite intereſt or gratify curioſity; for I cannot bring myſelf to ſuppoſe that the learned Gentleman would ſo far adopt the ſpirit of the libel as to make his defence a republication of the ſlanderous matter that it contains; neither can I be perſuaded, that he could have been inſtructed by his client to come into Court for the purpoſe of making the proceedings here a vehicle for the wider diſſemination of the libel. If ſuch were his intentions, he would have a wide and abundant field to expatiate on. Of all the extraordinary and eventful facts that aroſe out of the late extraordinary revolution, that which originated the preſent Government is moſt ſurpriſing. Yet if no other conſiderations than thoſe of an ordinary diſcretion were to influence his management of the defence, he will abſtain from that courſe which may exaſperate juſtice, without ſerving the cauſe of his client. Diſcretion alone muſt guard againſt that. What is it brings me here in the diſcharge of a public duty? I proſecute this libel becauſe it endangers the tranquillity of this country. When the queſtion ſhall ariſe for conſideration of the puniſhment, I appeal to my learned Friends, if I ſhould not ill diſcharge my duty to the public, to the honour and character of the law, if I ſhould not earneſtly preſs the conſideration, that proceedings, which had been made the vehicle of defamation and ſlander, ſhould not eſcape in a Britiſh Court with impunity. The diſappointment of curioſity is no part of the buſineſs. The preſent proſecution is to ſatisfy juſtice, and to ſee that the law be not diſappointed. Without previouſly troubling you with ſtating what the proſecution is, I ſhall ſtate

ſtate to you what it is not. It is not a work containing an impartial account of the tranſactions of any given period;—it is not an hiſtorical narration of events in a neighbouring country, accompanied with philoſophical reflections on their cauſes and conſequences;—it is not a publication whoſe author, even approaching to licentiouſneſs, had dealt in ſimple defamation in any particular inſtance. But the caſe which the preſent proſecution brings to notice was conceived originally in libel and in defamation. Defamation is its beſt object. Its further object is, to excite the ſubjects of the firſt Magiſtrate of the French Republic, at peace with this country, to deprive him of his authority, and to aſſaſſinate him. It was publiſhed with the intention of traducing and defaming Napoleon Bonaparte, Firſt Conſul of France, and of exciting the hatred of the ſubjects of this country and of his own againſt him. It tended to excite aſſaſſins againſt his life, and to diſturb the peace exiſting between the Republic and this country. Such is the tendency by which it is characteriſed and was publiſhed. Gentlemen, I ſhall now ſay a few words on the ſubject of law: I do not feel myſelf called upon to define to what extent the ſubjects of one country may carry their obſervations or ſtrictures on the adminiſtration of affairs in another. But I have no difficulty in aſſerting, that a publication like the preſent, tending to embroil the tranquillity of nations, and encouraging the aſſaſſination of one who is, *de facto*, Firſt Magiſtrate of France, is not more oppoſite to the feelings and ſentiments of Engliſhmen, than it is libellous and illegal. The fair detail of hiſtory, the impartial recital of events, the unprejudiced account of tranſactions, not rendered the vehicle of defamation, is not the ſubject of information. Defamation conſtitutes the whole of this publication; and I am confident no Lawyer will maintain that it is not an offence of the deepeſt die, and meriting the ſevereſt reprehenſion. It is not poſſible that there can be any difficulty in ſupporting the propoſition, that ſuch an offence againſt the laws of the country ought to be ſeverely puniſhed. The proſecution is not unprecedented. Inſtances of the ſame kind occur in the hiſtory of the country. I ſhall cite you two: Lord George Gordon was proſecuted for a libel againſt the Queen of France. J. Vint was accuſed and convicted of a libel againſt the Emperor of Ruſſia, though defended by my Honourable Friend not now preſent; yet the libel with which he was charged was not marked by any ſuch foul and hideous features as the ſubject of the preſent proſecution. It ſtated only, "that the Emperor was rendering himſelf obnoxious to his ſubjects, and ridiculous in the eyes of Europe; that he had lately paſſed an edict, prohibiting the exportation of timber, &c. in conſequence of which one hundred veſſels returned to this country without a freight." This had no tendency to excite rebellion, to provoke aſſaſſination, or to interrupt the relations of amity ſubſiſting between the two countries: yet, being charged as

traducing his Imperial Majesty, and creating danger, the publication was found libellous, and the author convicted. If you find, then, that upon that principle and this authority that crime was punished by a British Court of Justice, it will only be necessary for me to call your attention to the libel that is the subject of the present prosecution. It is not immaterial to observe, that two of those charged are in the first number of the "*Ambigu.*" And here it may not be amiss to recommend to your notice the frontispiece of this work. It bears a Sphynx, as you may perceive, with a variety of enigmatical Egyptian Figures, of which it would neither be easy nor of consequence to discover the meaning. There is one circumstance, however, which is decisive of the object of the publication. The face of the animal resembles that of the prints which are publicly known in this country to be intended as likenesses of Bonaparte. Having never seen the First Consul, I cannot positively affirm that it is a *fac simile* of his countenance; but, as it bears a striking resemblance to the prints that are said to be like him, this circumstance, coupled with the matter of publication can leave little room to doubt, that its object was to defame, and render him vile in the eyes of the world in general. Two numbers, the first and third of the "*Ambigu,*" are subjects of prosecution. I shall direct your attention first to the matter of the third. The title of it is, an Harangue of Lepidus against Sylla, originally Latin, but translated and altered so as to render it applicable, in all the circumstances, to Bonaparte. It begins with stating, that from the mild character of his countrymen, the writer would find much difficulty; that he was fearful they would be more inclined to obey the sentiment that reconciled them to tranquillity, than that which would lead them to revenge. Here the learned Attorney stated, that as he had, to save himself the pain of going through the whole libel, procured a learned Friend to read it through, he would not follow him, but observe upon the material parts as he proceeded. This libel asserts, that they had in vain maintained a glorious contest against Austria, Russia, and the Powers of Europe, if their liberties were to be sacrificed to the Corsican. It goes on—"and now the tyger dares to call himself the founder and regenerator of France, possessing himself of the fruit of their labours, as of a spoil taken in war. There have been lists of proscription, banishment without trial, by which, even children unborn are oppressed. It excites them to rise, to march, to regain their liberty, and seek revenge. Bonaparte has no longer any object of ambition, but security. His Mamelukes, having no contact with the army, nor speaking the language of France, are ready to act as mutes, cut-throats, and hangmen. Every thing—justice, the law, the finances, is in the possession of the Despot. It then calls upon them to avenge their wrongs or perish with glory." After having read

these

these passages, the learned Attorney called the attention of the Jury to the two libels contained in the first number of the "*Ambigu.*" The libellous matter was there contained in an Ode, or Poetical Composition. It sets out with representing all nature agitated by a dreadful tempest, and the elements themselves confounded. It then avows an expectation, that the Heavens were at at length determined to avenge the ambitious attempt of a soldier. Having made the exclamation, "O too vain hope of vengeance!" it represents the Heavens as blind or cruel, declaring, that "whatever ravages the thunder may commit, it always spares tyrants; which remark it illustrates, by the destruction of the merchants' vessels, while the Corsican's bark bearing the fortune and designs of Cæsar, escapes." This appeared an evident allusion to the Roman Republic, in which Cæsar had found Pompey, Cato, and the Senate, against him. The libel then proceeds: "But oh! eternal disgrace, after the victory of Pharsalia there still remained a poniard among the last of the Romans!" In this bombastic rhapsody the learned Gentleman contended, that no other view could be discovered than that of holding out an example of assassination. The second part contains the wish or prayer of a good Patriot. This wish describes the fortune of Bonaparte, from his leaving Corsica, follows him flying from victory to victory in Italy, in Egypt, then back to France, where he overthrows the five Tyrants, is chosen Consul, makes and unmakes Kings, dictates peace, and has crowned heads at his feet. Far from envying his lot, it wishes him a successor, and that he may have his Apotheosis to-morrow. This is an allusion to the fate of Romulus, who was assassinated, and afterwards deified, to extinguish the infamy of his murderers. Upon what principle, I will ask, said the Attorney General, are those examples of assassination recalled, if not for the purpose of exciting the subjects of that Chief Magistrate to rebellion and assassination? Let me not be told that I am an enemy to the English press, when I prosecute the abuse of it; a licentiousness that would bring it into discredit, infamy, and disgrace. I will put to your breasts, whether such a publication would constitute a crime in this country; a publication so base, so disgraceful, that even in a time of war I should not hesitate to pronounce it unjustifiable. We were then, and are happily now, at peace; and the conduct that a state of war cannot sanction, must be criminal, in a high degree, in peace. Let me not be told of character. The First magistrate of a great nation, no matter whether descended from a long line of royal ancestors, or lately raised from the abyss of obscurity, is entitled to respect, and should be treated with decorum. We may be told, Gentlemen, of abusive articles in the *Moniteur*: I am not here to vindicate the conduct or the publications of the French Government, or its Journalists. If

there be any feelings in another country that can reconcile such vile calumnies, let them have the benefit, but let us not have the disgrace."

The evidence was then called in support of the prosecution; which consisted merely of proving the publication of the two papers, at the desire, and by the request, of the defendant Mr. Peltier, by Mr. De Boffe, against whom an information was also filed; but he suffered judgment to pass by default.

An Interpreter read the whole of the original, and then verified an English translation; and also, at the request of the defendant's Counsel, read a number of extracts out of the "*Ambigu*," that were not included in the information; which they said was necessary, in order to give to the Jury the whole context of the publication.

All the readings, both French and English, being concluded, the case for the prosecution closed.

Mr. Mackintosh then rose, and addressed the Jury on the part of the defendant, for nearly three hours; but the substance of his speech was as follows:

"My Lord, and Gentlemen of the Jury, the time is now come for me to address you; but I must confess I feel myself unworthy of those high eulogiums which the kindness of my learned Friend has been pleased to bestow upon me; but he has done me but justice, when he supposed that I would not prostitute whatever small talents I may possess, so far as to lend myself out to answer the ends of a faction, or to defend my client on any principles that are inconsistent with the honour of the profession to which I belong: I do not mean to justify him from the example of the *Moniteur*, or any other foreign Journal; I do not mean to contend, that an indefinite liberty is to be allowed even with respect to political discussion, much less would I pretend to justify any expressions which could be fairly construed as tending to provoke *assassination*. In professing this, I cannot claim the least merit to myself; my feelings are the same with those of all who hear me; and I believe there is no one who wears the gown of our profession that would so disgrace it as to defend the principle of any libel provoking to assassination. If there are any Libels in foreign Journals which more than others call forth the indignation of every British reader, it is those libels which do not hesitate to charge the British Nation with feelings that cannot enter into a British bosom. Such a libel, for instance, as in a very recent *Moniteur* charged a distinguished British Officer (General Stuart) with provoking to assassination. Such libels as have been thrown out against our gracious Sovereign, a Prince who, through a long and tumultuous reign of forty-three years, has ever preserved a blameless and amiable career of private life; when against a Prince so respected and so beloved, we read in the *Moniteur*, that if the assassination of Bonaparte had taken place in France, the assassin would have been rewarded with the *Order of the Garter*, what British bosom does not feel indignant at so foul a calumny, so atrocious a libel? What! can that illustrious Order, insti-

inſtituted by our firſt Edwards, in the days of the battles of Creſſy and Poitiers, be polluted by an aſſociation with murderers? Shall that unſullied Garter, which has been hitherto the proud diſtinction of what is moſt noble and moſt valued in our nation, ſerve to adorn the perſon of an aſſaſſin? And is it our amiable and virtuous Sovereign that is to give the Ribbon of this Order to a cut-throat and an aſſaſſin, and affix the ſtar of honour on the breaſt of infamy? Were I to purſue theſe obſervations, it might lead our minds ſomewhat from that even temper in which we ſhould weigh the defence againſt the accuſation; I ſhall therefore proceed directly, and as ſhortly as the nature of the caſe will allow me, to ſtate for my client that defence which ſeems to grow out of the circumſtances of the caſe. The real proſecutor in this caſe is the Maſter of the greateſt Empire the world ever ſaw. We cannot believe but it was from his ſuggeſtions that this proſecution originated. The defendant, John Peltier, is a poor, proſcribed exile, a French Royaliſt, one of thoſe unfortunate men who have ſurvived the ſhipwreck of their fortunes and of their country, but who ſtill cannot be perſuaded to give up all principles which they had learned in early life. It is true, that many of theſe unfortunate emigrants have been allowed to return to their native land, on the condition of paying an implicit allegiance to the Firſt Conſul. There ſtill remain a handful, which, whether rightly or fooliſhly cannot bring themſelves to pay this allegiance that their hearts diſclaim. Among this number is John Peltier. He had cultivated literature much in his youth, and in his exile; after the loſs of his fortune he made it his profeſſion, and his means of livelihood. He had ſet up a little obſcure Journal in London, which ſerved to ſolace the miſeries of his fellow-exiles, by affording a variety of miſcellaneous reading, and, among other things, political miſcellanies, which were peculiarly intereſting to that ill-fated claſs; but in this avocation he had the misfortune to offend the Maſter of the Continent of Europe, and he is now under proſecution. Gentlemen of the Jury, he ſtands now on the only ſpot in this earth where, by the juſtice of our laws, he can be on an equality with his powerful proſecutor; he ſees that ſight which is the moſt pleaſing to accuſed innocence, the honeſt countenance of a Britiſh Jury. Here then, in this only aſylum which remains for perſecuted innocence, I do not fear to defend him; and if I can ſucceed in convincing you that the publications were not written in the ſpirit in which they have been alledged to have been written, and that they have not that tendency, I am convinced you will, without conſidering the rank or power of the proſecutor, find my client not guilty. I ſhall now, Gentlemen, ſubmit to your attention ſome obſervations on the publications in queſtion, which I truſt will induce you to conſider them in a light very different from what they might appear to you without the context. As to the *Proſpectus*, I think the laſt part of it, which has been read as ex-

explaining the intentions of the author, is by no means so full and explicit as in the beginning of the *Prospectus*, which declares the object of this new work to be merely a collection of miscellanies of every sort; and the work itself seems to confirm the statement of this *Prospectus*; for, excepting those three political pieces which are the subject of this prosecution, all the rest of the work was purely miscellaneous. And as to these works themselves, I mean to justify them on this principle, that they were not the compositions of Peltier, but merely the republications of what had circulation before, and of which he only made a selection for his readers. I am convinced that the Attorney-General will see and confess the wide difference there is between an original publication and a republication of what was before in circulation. For instance, the English papers copied the grossest libels from the French papers; but they were never prosecuted on that account, because there was no libellous intention in those who republished them; but rather, on the contrary, it was their wish, by exposing the malignity of our then enemy, to unite the people of this country the closer, to resist any foreign aggression: if, therefore, he could prove that this was merely a republication, it would come within that principle. To prove this there was pretty strong internal evidence. Peltier was known to be a Royalist. Were those pieces of a Royalist stamp? Nothing like it. As to the Ode which was introduced in his Journal as the reputed work of Chenier, had it not every appearance of his Jacobin pen? Was there a sentiment of a Royalist from the beginning to the end of it? As to the second copy of verses, which were inserted as coming from the pen of a Dutchman, what was more likely than that a Dutchman should feel indignant at the oppression of his country, and write verses against him whom he considered as the principal cause of it? As to the construction on the word *apotheosis* he thought it was overstrained when supposed to imply assassination; for it was well known, that though the *apotheosis* of Romulus might have taken place after his death, yet that Augustus, Tiberius, and even Nero and Caligula, were worshipped as gods during their lives. On this subject he could remind them of the remarkable passage—

> Præsens divus Cæsar habebitur
> Adjunctis Britannis imperio.

He trusted, however, that no modern Cæsar would ever elevate himself to divine honours by adding *Britain* to his empire. The labours of Hercules would be light compared to such a task. As to the long paper given as the harangue of Lepidus to the Romans, he did not see that it was, in itself, so criminal as it had been represented. It is not every one who talks of Brutus with applause, that is, on that account, to be supposed to provoke assassination. But he must recal to the Jury the manner in which this article was inserted in Peltier's Journal: it was stated as the paper upon which *Camille Jourdan* (one of the most enlightened and best men in Europe) was arrested. This paper, it was mentioned, was thrown by one

one of Fouche's ſpies among *Camille's* papers, in order for a pretext to throw him into priſon. Is that improbable? Gentlemen of the Jury, we are not now trying the character of Fouche; but if we were, I ſhould ſhew you that it was not improbable that he ſhould ſo act. I have in my hand letters of Citizen Fouche; one of them is from Lyons, in which he laments that the deſtruction of that city went on ſo ſlowly. He ſaid, "Kings puniſhed ſlowly, becauſe they were feeble; but the anger of Republicans ſhould be as prompt as their will; they ſhould *annihilate* their enemies, and never ſpare the tears of repentance." He concluded by mentioning, "that he would ſpring a mine which ſhould at once deſtroy that guilty city:" and yet this man had afterwards the effrontery to lay to the Engliſh the charge of having deſtroyed Lyons. Is it then improbable that ſuch a perſon as Fouche ſhould have practiſed this infamous trick, and got ſuch a paper as this ſlipt among the papers of Camille Jourdan, for the purpoſe of having him arreſted and thrown into priſon? As to the internal evidence, Gentlemen of the Jury, I have already told you, that there is not a line in all theſe publications which contains a Royaliſt ſentiment; but, on the contrary, they are furiouſly Jacobinical. Does any body ſuſpect Peltier of being a Jacobin? Certainly not. Whenever anger is expreſſed in theſe pieces againſt Bonaparte, it is for overturning the Directory. Is that like the rage of a Royaliſt or a Jacobin? And is it not, then, more likely that theſe articles were really the productions of thoſe they are attributed to, Chenier, Fouche, &c.? In that caſe, Peltier is not to be conſidered as the author, but as a perſon who, with innocent motives, reprinted them in a miſcellaneous work, for the amuſement of the ſmall circle of his readers. The circulation of the "*Ambigu*" could not be intended to be among Engliſhmen, as it is written in French, nor in France, for Bonaparte knows effectually how to prohibit the entry of ſuch articles into his dominions. Having now endeavoured to prove to you, that it is not probable that Peltier was the author or original publiſher of thoſe works, or that he at all wiſhed to inculcate the Jacobin principles they contain, I muſt warn you of the immenſe importance of the free diſcuſſion of political events. If at all times the liberty of the preſs was dear to Engliſhmen, it ſhould be more peculiarly dear now that it is the the only free preſs in the world. Gentlemen, I conſider this as the firſt conteſt between the greateſt Power on earth and the Britiſh free preſs; the only one now remaining. That it is ſo is a melancholy reflection to the friends of human nature. Till that great earthquake, occaſioned by the French revolution, had ſwallowed up the preſſes of the Continent, there had, by the indulgence of the larger Powers, exiſted many States in which a free preſs had been tolerated. This was the caſe in Holland, Switzerland, and the free towns of Germany. Holland, and Switzerland, are no more, and fifty of the Germanic free States have been eraſed from the map by a daſh of the pen. Theſe States I conſider as a very in-

intereſting part of the ancient ſyſtem. Great nations cannot exiſt without conſidering their military ſyſtem, but ſmall States are obliged to devote themſelves to induſtry and the arts of peace; and they form a kind of controul over the ſuperior ones; for no depravity can ſo ſink any man in his own eſteem, as to render him regardleſs of the opinion of the world. The undiſturbed repoſe which the States I have referred to were ſuffered to enjoy, enabled them to become models atteſting the civilization to which Chriſtian Europe had reached. Nothing ſo much proved the civilization of the Continent at the period I refer to, as the freedom enjoyed by the little republic of Genoa. It was ſuffered to remain undiſturbed and unthreatened, while ſurrounded by myriads of the armies of France. All this is now paſt and gone. What the new ſyſtem is to be is not for me to conjecture; but I am perfectly convinced that the arbitrary violence of ambitious monarchs has been checked by the dread of the opinion of the impartial audience formed among the ſmaller States, and in which no ſooner were any acts of oppreſſion known than a thouſand preſſes were ſet to work to communicate them to the world. At preſent there is not ſuch a thing as a free preſs from Palermo to Hamburgh: not one aſylum for the liberty of diſcuſſion remains—no public voice, the expreſſion of which can controul the deſpotic attempts of arbitrary tyrants. Happily, however, thoſe preſſes are ſtill ſecure which are protected by the Britiſh Government, and by the valour of Engliſhmen. The ancient fabric, raiſed by our anceſtors, ſtill endures; though ſurrounded with ruins, it ſtands ſolid and unſhaken. Gentlemen of the Jury, to ſhew you of what importance our anceſtors always held this privilege, I ſhall trace a little the origin of it. Queen Elizabeth was the firſt who eſtabliſhed a newſpaper in England; ſhe did ſo at the time of the Spaniſh Armada, when it was neceſſary to preſerve high the tone and ſpirit of the people. In Cromwell's Uſurpation, the freedom of the preſs was protected by Britiſh Juries, and Cromwell's Attorney-General was twice defeated in this Court. In Charles the Second's days, though the times were corrupt and profligate yet the preſs was ſafe; and in the days of the Revolution, and ever ſince, it has been held one of the deareſt privileges of Engliſhmen. In latter times we can ſpeak more poſitively, from our own experience, on this very point. In that firſt grand breach of the ſocial ſyſtem of Europe, that national robbery, called the firſt partition of Poland, did not the Engliſh papers vent the ſtrongeſt feelings of indignation? Catherine and Frederic were not treated according to their rank, but according to the crime in which they had partaken. We were then at peace and amity with Ruſſia and Pruſſia; and yet the Attorney-General of the day never thought of proſecuting the Editors and Publiſhers of thoſe papers. In the ſecond partition of Poland, too, the Britiſh preſs expreſſed the honeſt indignation of the country; and it is well, not only for this country, but for the ſocial order of Europe in general, that it ſhould be ſo. However formidable a Sovereign's

Sovereign's military eſtabliſhment may be; however great his power and extenſive his ſway; ſtill the feelings of human nature compel him to wiſh for the approbation of his fellow-men, and bring him to the bar of the tribunal of public opinion. Newſpapers, I am aware, are not very popular in this place, nor is it very ſurpriſing, becauſe they appear in this place only to be checked for their faults. With all their faults, however, their increaſed circulation is a proof of the increaſing curioſity and deſire of knowledge in this country, of which they are at once the cauſe and effect. Perhaps it would be better to treat thoſe engaged in this difficult employment with a little more indulgence, in order to teach them that ſelf-reſpect which is the beſt way to lead men to cultivate that of others. Be this as it may, however, every thing that increaſes the number of thoſe who take an intereſt, and exerciſe a judgment, in public affairs, is, in effect, to increaſe the real democracy of a country, much more than thoſe forms to which ſome people are ſo much attached. If it be important that the public mind ſhould be fortified againſt the deſign of foreign power, it is fit that the diſcuſſion moſt calculated to diſſeminate a public ſpirit ſhould be encouraged. Upon every occaſion in which the public opinion of this country could be diſplayed reſpecting foreign affairs, it has been uniformly given, and no attempt has been made to repreſs it. From the ſeizure of Corſica down to the different partitions of Poland, the public ſentiment of England has moſt ſtrongly been expreſſed againſt ſuch unwarrantable robberies. Next followed an event, in compariſon of which the atrocity of preceding ſpoilations become trivial. Switzerland, a country for three hundred years the abode of peace; a country, as it were, raiſed above the ſtorms of political events; a country boaſting of a gallant and diſciplined army, without ever attacking its neighbours, rich without impoſing taxes, till its riches tempt the ſpoiler, and become a cauſe of its ruin. Switzerland is doomed to fall under the impoſing ravages of the French revolution. Had ſuch an event taken place in times of peace, would it have been neceſſary for the public of this country to ſtifle the voice of ſympathy and ſorrow, for fear of giving offence to the ruthleſs tyrants? Had Alois Reding, a name worthy to compare with the firſt of names, for true ſimplicity of virtue and unaffected magnanimity of character? had Alois Reding, who, with a handful of peaſants, defeated the conquerors of Europe on the ſoil where, three hundred years before, their anceſtors fought the oppreſſors of their liberty, ſought an aſylum in England, attracted by the renown of this mighty Empire; would my learned Friend have told him, that he muſt conceal his tears, and breathe low his ſighs, for the ruin of his country, leſt his potent enemy ſhould drive him from his aſylum, or lead him into Court, the victim of proſecution?" I am ſure that no Engliſhman could think with patience of ſuch an ignominy; and ſure I am that my learned Friend has a heart too thoroughly Engliſh to brook ſuch diſgrace. Had we

we been at peace between 1792 and 1794, could an Engliſh Court or an Engliſh Jury have been called upon to protect the reputation of a Robeſpierre, Preſident of the Committee of Safety; of his friend Marat; of a Carrier, his agent, who drowned 2,000 Prieſts in the Loire, and cauſed 600 children, under fourteen, to be ſhot by the ſoldiery? Could the laws of the land have been called upon to protect, becauſe they were in place, thoſe butchers who perpetrated, within that period of two years, atrocities which, contrary to the practice of mankind, are generally under-rated, not exaggerated? Atrocities ſo prodigious as to compel the mind to ſeek refuge in ſcepticiſm; and which, but half believed, are now but half remembered. But I cannot, with regard to my own feelings, or the reſpect I bear my learned Friend, purſue this train of interrogation. Had ſuch things taken place, the courage of our Courts, and the integrity of our Juries, had been our only reſource. All would have been loſt, but the unextinguiſhable ſpirit of an Engliſh Jury. To conclude—I truſt that on this, as on all former occaſions, the ſubdued ſpirit of the country will appear. All I aſk is, a favourable conſtruction for what may appear ambiguous."

The Attorney-General.—"Gentlemen, you have heard a ſpeech full of moſt ſplendid eloquence, and moſt wonderful ingenuity. Nothing, of which the ſubject is capable, has been neglected by my learned Friend, to give weight to his argument. It is now my duty, with far feebler powers, to make ſome remarks upon that torrent of almoſt irreſiſtible eloquence. My learned Friend has ſaid, the Chief Magiſtrate of the French Republic is the proſecutor in the preſent libel. This I am authoriſed to deny. It is not the Chief Magiſtrate of France that now comes forwards in order to vindicate his character, and to claim the protection of a Britiſh Jury, againſt thoſe papers which ſeem to be publiſhed with a view to endanger his perſon, and to procure his aſſaſſination.—No! It is the Chief Magiſtrate of this country, feebly repreſented by the perſon now before you, who appears, to enforce the laws of the realm againſt a publication, the obvious tendency of which is to encourage aſſaſſination, and diſturb the good underſtanding that at this moment exiſts between this and a neighbouring country. My learned Friend, has in the courſe of his addreſs, put ſeveral queſtions to me, which I feel no difficulty in anſwering. In ſtating the freedom and boldneſs of diſcuſſion which in every period of its hiſtory has diſtinguiſhed this country, he aſks me, what I would have done with reſpect to the undaunted ſpirit and fearleſs intrepidity with which the Britiſh Preſs has never failed to exhibit, in their proper colours, the actions of tyrants and villains, whether foreign or domeſtic? My learned Friend has done me but juſtice, when he has aſſumed, that my ſentiments upon this ſubject are thoſe which he, and every honourable man, will feel with reſpect to matters of that deſcription. No man is more a friend to freedom of diſcuſſion, and the real liberty of the preſs, than I am. My learned Friend proceeds to aſk, what I would have

have done with regard to the terms in which the first English newspaper that was published in the reign of the glorious Queen Elizabeth, censured the tyrant who at that time threatened the liberties of Europe? what I would have done in regard to the strong and manly language in which the British prints attacked the ambitious and vain Louis the Fourteenth? In fine, what I would do, with regard to that feeling and energetic manner in which the atrocious crimes of the frantic Democrats of France were represented in public, and submitted to the sympathetic feelings of our countrymen; the glowing expressions in which the massacre of Toulon and Lyons; the invasion of the unoffending, and formerly happy Switzerland, and a long series of crimes were held up to the indignation and abhorrence of generous Britons? By way of answer to these questions, I ask, what did I do? Did I seem eager to come forward to solicit your verdict against the authors of free and bold declamation? No. Even though the prints of this country were not, perhaps, always distinguished for candour and impartiality; though the bounds of prudence and moderation might have been sometimes overleapt; yet I reflected that the passions of mankind were aroused by strange, and almost unparalleled crimes, and therefore that inflammatory language was palliated, if not excused in discussing those subjects. I was aware of the delicacy with which the liberty of the press ought to be touched; and therefore, unless in cases where this liberty has been scandalously abused, as in the present instance, I have never been anxious to discover libellous matter in any publication. I refer my learned Friend to the fact; and this, I apprehend, is the best answer to his interrogatories that can possibly be given. You have heard, Gentlemen, a great deal about the independence and intrepidity that has always distinguished British Juries. Juries, the bulwark of the Constitution; the glorious and immoveable *palladium* of our liberties! My learned friend here gave full scope to the energy of his eloquence, and ingeniously endeavoured to impress upon your minds, that he was combating the principles and arguments which I advanced. But, Gentlemen, I aver, that the principles and sentiments which he, in the highest strain of impressive eloquence, has now delivered, are with very little variation, the same with those which I in humbler dress, had before uttered. I agree with him in his account of the independent spirit of our ancestors, the rigid caution of former Juries, in matters relating to the freedom of the press, and the liberty of the subject. I agree with him in the propriety of rousing the abhorrence and resentment of the people against crime by means of periodical publications. But still there exists no little danger that this liberty will be abused in the present instance: and it is my duty to check such abuse whenever it appears. I agree with my learned friend, that the newspapers have been a powerful instrument in disseminating knowledge, and diffusing civilization; but he has, with the same breath, justly stated, that these are, at the same time, extremely

tremely liable to become the source of much mischief and disorder in the community; and, therefore, here again our sentiments exactly correspond. You have not only, then, Gentlemen, my assertion respecting the danger and impolicy of passing over in silence publications of a libellous tendency, but that assertion is corroborated by the powerful eloquence of my antagonist. Having thus shortly turned your attention, Gentlemen, to the observations of my learned Friend, respecting myself and my sentiments, I beg leave to trespass upon your patience for a few minutes, while I advert to the construction which he has endeavoured to affix to some of the passages which form the grounds of the present prosecution. In one of these the Author says, that "he was to erect an edifice to the *glory* of Bonaparte, and that he would take care to select such materials as should be worthy of the Temple." I submit to the candid and impartial judgment of the Jury, whether these are not to be considered as an ironical attack upon the First Consul, notwithstanding the ingenious gloss intended to be put upon them by the learned Counsel? But mark another passage: "I have no particular resentment against Bonaparte! let him be declared Emperor of the Gauls, and *let his Apotheosis* follow on the ensuing morning." Though the ingenuity of my learned Friend has endeavoured to make those expressions refer to the Roman Emperors who were deified while still alive, yet it is hardly necessary for me to observe, that they are evidently intended to apply to the case of Romulus, whose deification, every one acquainted with the Roman History knows, immediately followed upon his assassination. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the Author intended to excite his countrymen to the assassination of the First Consul of France. The learned Counsel has endeavoured to persuade us, that the Ode, which also forms part of the grounds of the present prosecution, is a mighty harmless composition. The sentiments it contains, he avers, are intended not to apply to the First Consul of France, but to the infamous Jacobins whose crimes deluged their country with blood. But when a parallel is instituted between the state of France under Bonaparte, and the state of Rome under Julius Cæsar, and when the *poniard* of Brutus is described as the last resource of the Romans against the usurpation of the latter, can any man who exercises his judgment with impartiality, entertain a doubt respecting the tendency of such a passage, which manifestly is to encourage the discontented to dispatch Bonaparte, as Brutus did Cæsar?—In vain does my ingenious friend argue, that no conclusions, detrimental to his client, can be drawn from his allusion to the conduct of Brutus, which has been admired in all ages. The application is clear to every unprejudiced understanding; and this, out of all question, fixes the charge of a libel upon its author. It has been attempted to be proved, that a manifest inconsistency appears, in ascribing such sentiments and views to this determined Royalist. Is it likely, it has been asked, that the resolute and constant enemy of the Jacobins should entertain a particular resent-

resentment against their destroyer? My learned Friend has answered, No. But let us consider the character of the publication, and the situation of the author. That a French Royalist, strongly attached to the late Royal Family of France, should hate the person who, to its exclusion, has occupied that throne, appears to me far from improbable. That the author of the *Ambigu*, therefore, should be disposed to vilify Bonaparte, notwithstanding his being the enemy of Jacobinism, is certainly not so unlikely as he would have us suppose.----Bonaparte, therefore, must, in the opinion of Mr. Peltier, be considered as a vile usurper, and not to be regarded by a firm partizan of the expelled family of Capet with a very favourable eye; in this view, therefore, the probability is rather on my side. Your feelings of compassion, and spirit of patriotism, are assailed, Gentlemen, in favour of this emigrant. The fame of this country for affording shelter and protection to the unfortunate, and the wretched condition of Mr. Peltier, driven by lawless villains from his home, with the barbarous murder of his family, have all been brought forward in the most glowing colours. I acknowledge the justice and propriety of my friend's observations in this respect; and I moreover assert, that this very prosecution is a proof of that justice and propriety. If the generosity and humanity that characterize Englishmen and the English Government had, for a moment, been forgotten, this man might have been delivered up to the person whom he has satirized, instead of standing here to have the decision of an impartial British Jury upon his conduct. But never, I trust, will Britons, while they endeavour to check improper conduct of every description, overleap the barriers of justice, nor forget what is due to the claims of compassion and humanity. Gentlemen, you are to decide upon the evidence before you, without allowing more than their proper weight to the observations on either side. My learned Friend has diverted your attention to the lenity and independence of our ancestors, in deciding upon any thing that might have a tendency to infringe the freedom of the press and the liberty of British subjects. He has also expressed his apprehensions lest the time may come when we shall lose sight of those principles. But if that period should unfortunately arrive, as he seems to dread, pity it is, that his most eloquent, most ingenious, and almost irresistible address, has not been reserved for an occasion when it would be so loudly demanded."

Lord Ellenborough charged the the Jury as follows:—"Gentlemen, it remains for me, with as much impartiality as I can, to sum up the evidence here as I do in other cases. It will then be your duty to give a true verdict, according to the evidence, in compliance with the terms of your oath; and the attention you have uniformly exhibited, leaves no doubt that a fair and impartial verdict will be given. With regard, Gentlemen, to the law in cases of libel, it is enacted, first, that any attempt

to disturb the peace of the community in any way, for instance, by vilifying the Government or Religion of the country, is of a libellous nature. Secondly, an attempt to injure any individual in his person, property, or reputation, is considered in the eye of law as libellous; and thirdly, is held to be libellous whatever has a tendency to vilify or injure in any manner persons high in office abroad. Let these principles of law then, Gentlemen, be applied to the case now before us. The first question, that you have to consider respects the publication of the papers on account of which the present prosecution is commenced. From the evidence of the Publisher, who deposes that he had the management of the publication, and accounted to Mr. Peltier for all emoluments derived from it, there can be little doubt as to the Author. I need not state the evidence particularly, as no question appears to be started by either party on this head. The next point, then, for your decision is, whether or not the expressions said to be libellous, are intended to apply to Bonaparte, and whether he is the Chief Magistrate of the French Republic? That the passages considered by the prosecutor as libellous, are directed against Bonaparte, appears to me beyond all doubt; and the latter proposition, viz. that he is the Chief Magistrate of France, is a matter of too much notoriety to require any comment. The third and last question that you are to try then, is whether the passages themselves are of a libellous nature? You have heard the construction which, in a speech of most astonishing eloquence and ingenuity, has been attempted to be put upon the expressions in question. If, Gentlemen, there was any ambiguity—if the expressions were capable of a favourable interpretation, I would most willingly abide by that construction; and I have no doubt you also would feel every inclination to lean to the side of mercy, if it could be done consistently with justice. But I apprehend, and I am required by law to state my opinion to you on the subject, that the words will not bear any sense, except the obvious one affixed to them by the Counsel for the prosecution. With regard to the expressions, that "an edifice should be erected to the *glory* of Bonaparte, and that materials were to to be provided worthy of the Temple," there can exist no hesitation in an unprejudiced mind, that this was meant as an ironical attack upon the First Consul of France. From whence these materials were to be drawn, appears evidently from the other parts of the publication, where quotations are cited from ancient history, tending to provoke the assassination of Bonaparte. Of this description, the allusion to the *Apotheosis* of Romulus, and the poinard of Brutus, must clearly be considered. Whether this be the first of many prosecutions that are intended to be commenced on account of libellous publications, as has been intimated by the learned counsel for the defendant, is not the question at present. You, Gentlemen are to consider the case as it lies before

before you, without any reſpect to the paſt or the future. That the *Ambigu* is printed in French, is only an aggravation of the offence in this inſtance; as it is the more likely to engage the attention of Frenchmen, and muſt therefore prove additionally injurious and offenſive to the perſon on whom the attack is made. Two trials for libels upon foreigners have taken place of late years; one for a libel on the Queen of France, and the other for one on the late Emperor of Ruſſia. What were the verdicts then, is of no conſequence in the caſe before us. The matter reſts with you, Gentlemen; and I have no doubt that your verdict will be ſuch, as will give complete ſatisfaction to every mind that is not biaſſed by improper prejudices; that you will come to that concluſion which your reaſon ſuggeſts, and your conſcience approves."

The Jury, within one minute of the time when his Lordſhip concluded, returned a verdict of *Guilty*.

The Trial laſted ſeven hours.

A GENERAL BILL

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 14, 1802, to DECEMBER 13, 1803.

Christened	Males 11014 / Females 9929	Buried	Males 9799 / Females 9783	Increased in Burials this Year 203.

Totals Males and Females Christened 20943.—Total Males and Females Buried 19582.

Died under Two Years	5355	—Forty and Fifty	2265	—Hundred	1
Between Two and Five	2077	Fifty and Sixty	2044	Hundred and One	0
—Five and Ten	790	Sixty and Seventy	1580	Hundred and Two	0
—Ten and Twenty	531	Seventy and Eighty	1038	Hundred and Seven	1
—Twenty and Thirty	1329	Eighty and Ninety	482	Hundred and Eighteen	0
—Thirty and Forty	2025	Ninety and a Hundred	64	Hundred and Twenty	0

DISEASES.						CASUALTIES.	
Abortive & Still-born	568	Cow Pox	1	Measles	438	Broken Limbs	3
Ablcefs	47	Cramp	3	Miscarriage	3	Broken Neck	1
Aged	1714	Croup	25	Mortification	388	Bruised	4
Ague	1	Dropsy	879	Palpitation of Heart	1	Burnt	33
Apoplexy and sudden	401	Epilepsey	1	Palsy	130	Choaked	1
Asthma and Phthisic	745	Evil	1	Piles	1	Drowned	115
Bedridden	4	All Fevers	2326	Pleurisy	23	Excessive Drinking	8
Bile	2	Fistula	2	Quinsy	4	Executed *	13
Bleeding	16	Flux	9	Rheumatism	5	Found dead	21
Burstен and Rupture	24	French Pox	53	Scurvy	3	Fractured	4
Cancer	64	Gaol Distemper	2	Small Pox	1202	Frighted	3
Canker	1	Gout	103	Sore Throat	14	Killed by Falls, &c.	65
Carious Spine	1	Gravel, Stranguary, and Stone	18	Sores and Ulcers	7	Killed by Fighting	3
Chicken Pox	2	Grief	7	St. Anthony's Fire	1	Killed themselves	40
Childbed	250	Head-ach	1	Spasm	15	Murdered	3
Colds	11	Headmouldshot, Horshoehead, and Water in the Head	104	Stoppage in Stomach	12	Poisoned	2
Colick, Gripes, twisting of the Guts	19	Imposthume	2	Teeth	363	Scalded	2
Consumption	4076	Jaundice	85	Thrush	78	Shot	3
Convulsions	3493	Jaw Locked	7	Vomiting and Looseness	1	Starved	1
Cough and Hooping-Cough	586	Inflammation	710	Worms	4	Stifled	1
		Influenza	52			Strained	1
		Itch	1			Suffocated	1
		Livergrown	9			Total	328
		Lunatick	135				

* There have been executed in Middlesex and Surrey 30; of which number 13 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the Bills of Mortality.

PRICES

PRICES OF THE STOCKS FOR 1803.

Date.	Bank Stock.	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Consol.	4 pr Ct. Consol.	5 pr Ct. Navy.	5 pr Ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock.	Exchcq. Bills.	Omnium	Irish 5 pr Ct.	Imperial 3 per Ct.	Lottery Tickets.
January	186	72 1/8	71 5/8	87 1/2	100 7/8	103 5/8	20 1/16	4 9/16	215 1/4	—	3 1/4 dif.	99 1/2	70 5/8	17 16 0
	187 1/2	70 3/8	69 7/8	85 7/8	99 1/2	101 1/4	20 1/4	4 7/16	207	—	5 1/4 do	99	69 5/8	17 15 0
February	190	72 3/4	71 7/8	88 5/8	101 3/8	105	20 1/16	4 5/16	217	Par.	3 1/4 do.	101 1/8	70 5/8	17 17 0
	186	70 3/8	69 7/8	86 5/8	100	103	20 3/8	4 1/2	208 1/2	2s. dif.	5 1/4 do.	—	69 1/4	17 16 0
March	193	72	71 5/8	88 1/2	102	104 3/4	—	4 9/16	222 1/2	Par.	3 1/2 do.	—	70 1/4	18 1 0
	182	71 1/2	61 1/4	88 1/8	94	104 1/8	—		202	5 dif.	16 1/2 do.	—	61 1/8	17 17 0
April	173 3/4	66 3/4	67 3/4	84 1/2	102	101	19 1/16	4 1/16	211 1/2	—	9 3/4 do.	97	63	26 0 0
	166 1/2	61 1/8	61 1/4	77 3/4	96 3/4	94 3/4	18 1/8	3 7/8	204	—	16 do.	92	61 3/4	18 1 0
May	169	65 1/2	65 3/4	82 1/4	100 5/8	99 1/8	19 1/8	4 1/16	206	—	—	94 1/2	62 1/2	—
	145	56 3/8	57 1/8	72 5/8	92 1/8	91 3/8	16 3/4	3 5/16	180	—	—	84 1/2	55	—
June	151 1/2	58 1/2	—	74 1/4	94	93 1/8	17 3/8	3 7/16	178	1s.	1 1/4 pr.	82 1/4	56 7/8	—
	145	55 1/4	—	70 5/8	93 1/2	90 1/4	16 1/16	3 1/16	177 1/2	4 dif.	4 dis.	—	54 1/4	—
July	143	55 3/8	55 1/8	71 1/4	87	90 5/8	16 1/2	3 1/2	160	1 pr.	3 1/2 do.	81	54	17 0 0
	136 1/4	51 1/8	50 1/4	64 1/8	82	84 1/4	15 1/8	3 7/16	156	10 dif.	11 1/2 do.	—	50 1/2	16 16 0
August	143 1/2	55	54 1/2	70 3/8	86 3/4	90 5/8	16 1/2	3 1/2	164 3/4	2 do.	6 1/4 do.	81 1/2	54 1/8	17 5 0
	138	52 3/4	52 1/8	67 1/8	83 3/4	87 3/8	15 11/16	3 7/16	160 1/4	3 do.	9 1/4 do.	—	54 3/8	17 2 0
September	143 1/2	—	54 3/8	70 1/2	87 1/2	90 5/8	16 1/2	3 1/2	166	2 do.	6 1/4 do.	—	54	25 10 0
	142 1/2	—	52 1/8	70 1/4	85 1/8	90 1/4	16 1/8	3 7/16	162	4 do.	10 1/4 do.	—	51 1/2	17 5 0
October	142 1/4	53	54	68 7/8	87 3/8	89 3/8	15 9/16	3 1/16	163 3/4	1 pr.	8 1/4 do.	77 3/4	52	17 2 0
	138	51 3/8	52 3/8	66	85 1/8	87 1/8	15 3/16	2 15/16	160	4 dif.	10 1/4 do.	77 1/4	51 1/2	17 0 0
November	144	54 1/8	55	69 3/4	89	90	15 3/4	3 1/16	168 1/2	—	6 3/4 do.	78	51 7/8	17 5 0
	141 1/4	52 1/8	53 1/8	67 1/8	86 5/8	87	15 1/4	3	162	—	9 1/2 do.	—	50 5/8	17 2 0
December	147	55	—	71 3/4	90 1/8	92 1/4	16 1/4	3 1/8	172	—	4 1/2 do.	81 1/2	53 3/4	17 9 0
	143 3/4	53 3/4	—	69 3/8	88 7/8	90	15 11/16	3 1/16	168	—	7 1/4 do.	80	52 1/4	17 5 0

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1803.

	Six's Thermometer without.			Thermometer without.			Thermometer within.			Barometer.*			Hygrometer.			Rain.
	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.
1803.																
January - -	48	19	35,3	48	19	35,7	56	43	49,0	30,18	29,05	29,65	95	73	86,9	1,544
February - -	53	19	38,3	52	20	38,5	59	42	49,1	30,48	29,27	29,86	95	69	85,1	0,744
March - - -	66	25	44,4	66	26	44,5	64	48	55,1	30,39	29,38	30,03	94	65	80,5	0,449
April - - -	72	36	50,4	70	39	51,0	65	56	60,3	30,50	29,18	29,89	90	61	76,2	1,094
May - - -	69	38	53,0	68	44	53,8	62	55	59,4	30,35	29,34	29,95	92	64	76,3	1,685
June - - -	74	49	59,0	73	50	59,8	65	60	62,2	30,46	29,63	30,02	91	61	78,2	3,359
July - - -	86	51	66,3	85	54	67,2	73	64	68,8	30,45	29,93	30,13	91	62	72,7	1,368
Auguſt - -	81	47	64,6	80	51	65,4	74	63	68,7	30,31	29,81	30,06	93	58	71,3	0,755
September -	75	38	55,1	74	40	55,5	67	56	62,4	30,42	29,25	30,12	92	62	74,3	0,919
October - -	67	38	51,1	67	39	51,3	65	57	60,6	30,48	29,73	30,07	91	63	79,4	0,474
November -	57	31	43,7	56	31	44,0	59	52	55,3	30,33	28,67	29,50	96	68	84,8	2,441
December -	55	21	44,7	56	21	43,3	58	46	52,6	30,53	28,98	29,61	99	75	92,1	3,090
Whole Year.			50,5			50,9			58,6			29,91			79,8	17,922

* The Quickſilver in the baſon of the Barometer is 81 feet above the level of low water ſpring tides at Somerſet Houſe.

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are taken from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivered to John James Catherwood, Eſq. Receiver of Corn Returns, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the Year ended the 5th of* January, 1804.

EXPORTED.

1803.	British. Quarters.	Foreign. Quarters.	£. s. d.
ENGLAND.			
Wheat	441	44,255	
Rye	2	1,028	
Barley	22,869	335	
Malt	8,654		419 12 0 Bounties.
Oats	19,446	1,675	
Beans	4,618		0 0 0 Drawbacks.
Peaſe	2,558	57	
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Wheat Flour	71,773 3 12	25,892 0 10	
Oatmeal	2,998 1 27		
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat		2,933	
Barley	3,509		
Bear or Big	6,043		
Bear Meal	34		
Malt	2,377		
Oats	1,605	74	348 3 1½ Bounties.
Groats	6		
Beans	193	74	0 0 0 Drawbacks.
Peaſe	11		
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Wheat Flour	1,701 0 0	1,859 1 0	
Biſcuit	825 0 0		
Barley Milled	154 0 0		
Bear Meal	2,596 0 0		
Oatmeal	908 3 0		

IMPORTED.

IMPORTED.

ENGLAND.	Quarters.	£. s. d.	
Wheat	210,539		
Rye	4,078		
Barley	8,913		
Malt	25		
Oats	423,954	12,512 18 10	Duties.
Beans	1,650		
Peaſe	22,626	41,082 14 8	Bounties on Corn and Rice outſtanding.
Indian Corn	660		
	cwt. qrs. lbs.		
Wheat Flour	323,250 1 9		
Indian Meal	98 0 18		
	olls.		
Oatmeal	3,270 0 12		

IMPORTED.

SCOTLAND.	Quarters.		
Wheat	61,421		
Rye	21		
Barley	4,437		
Oats	61,760		
Beans	87	2,502 13 4¼	Duties.
Peaſe	1,352		
Indian Corn	9	2,894 15 2	Bounties outſtanding.
	cwt. qrs. lbs.		
Wheat Flour	30,287 1 3		
Indian Meal	46 0 13		
	bolls.		
Oatmeal	41,297		

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter Buſhel, for the year 1803.

Per Buſhel	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peaſe.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
	7 0¾	4 7¼	3 1¼	2 7¾	4 4	4 9¾

A Liſt

A List of Public Acts passed in the Third Session of the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

DECEMBER 17, 1802.

For continuing and granting to his Majesty certain duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, for the service of the year 1803.

For continuing and granting to his Majesty a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates, in England, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed; and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff, for the service of the year 1803.

For raising the sum of 5,000,000l. by loans or exchequer bills.

For further suspending, until the expiration of six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament, the operation of two acts, made in the 15th and seventeenth years of the reign of his present Majesty, for restraining the negotiation of promissory notes and bills of exchange, under a limited sum, within that part of Great Britain called England.

To indemnify such persons as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, &c.

For the more speedy and effectual enrollment of the militia of Ireland, and for filling up vacancies therein.

DECEMBER 29, 1802.

For discontinuing certain drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Great Britain, and for allowing other drawbacks and bounties in lieu thereof, until the 15th of January, 1804.

For discontinuing certain drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Ireland, and for allowing, until the 15th of January, 1804, other drawbacks and bounties in lieu thereof.

To amend an act made in the 37th year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act to provide for the more speedy payment of all navy, victualling, and transport bills, that shall be issued in future."

For appointing commissioners to inquire into any irregularities, frauds, or abuses, which are, or have been, practised by persons employed in the several naval departments therein mentioned, and in the business of prize agency, and to report such observations as shall occur to them; for preventing such irregularities, frauds, and abuses; and for the better conducting and managing the business of the said departments, and of prize agency, in future.

To amend so much of an act, made in the 42d year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for amending the laws relating to the militia in England, and for augmenting the militia," as relates to the exemption of licensed teachers of any separate congregation from serving in the militia.

To rectify a mistake made in an act the 42d year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, "An act for defraying the charge of the pay of the militia of Ireland."

For continuing, until the 1st of July, 1803, "An act for regulating the prices at which grain, meal, and flour, may be exported from Great Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Great Britain," and for permitting, from and after the passing thereof, until the 1st of July,

July, 1803, the exportation of ſeed-corn from Great Britain to Ireland, and the importation of malt into Great Britain from Ireland.

To continue, until the 1ſt of January, 1804, ſo much of an act made in the 41ſt year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, as relates to the prohibiting the exportation from Ireland of corn or potatoes, or other proviſions, and for permitting the importation into Ireland of corn, fiſh, and proviſions, without payment of duty.

To continue, until the 1ſt of January, 1804, ſeveral laws relating to the prohibiting the exportation, and permitting the importation of corn; and for allowing the importation of other articles of proviſion, without payment of duty; to the relief of captors of prizes, with reſpect to the bringing and landing certain prize goods in this kingdom; and to the regulating the trade and commerce to and from the iſle of Malta.

To facilitate and render more eaſy the tranſportation of offenders.

For reviving and continuing, for five years from the paſſing thereof, and from thence to the end of the then next ſeſſion of Parliament, certain acts paſſed in the Parliament of Ireland, for regulating the baking trade in the city and county of Dublin; and for indemnifying all perſons who have acted in purſuance of any of the proviſions of the ſaid acts, or any of them.

FEBRUARY 28, 1803.

To amend and continue, until the expiration of ſix weeks after the commencement of the next ſeſſion of Parliament, the reſtrictions on payments of caſh by the Bank.

MARCH 24, 1803.

For enabling his Majeſty to ſettle an annuity on his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, to continue, until the 5th of July, 1806, and for repealing ſo much of an act, made in the 35th year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, as directs the annual payment of 13,000l. out of the revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall, to the commiſſioners appointed by the ſaid act.

For granting to his Majeſty ſeveral ſtamp duties in Ireland.

For granting to his Majeſty certain duties upon certificates with reſpect to killing of game in Ireland.

For granting to his Majeſty certain duties on licenſes to perſons ſelling hats, and on hats ſold by retail, in Ireland.

For continuing, until the 25th of March, 1804, ſeveral acts for granting and continuing duties to his Majeſty in Ireland.

For puniſhing mutiny and deſertion, &c.

For regulation of the Marine forces while on ſhore.

To authorize the training and exerciſing the militia of Great Britain, for 28 days.

For better ſecuring the freedom of elections of members to ſerve in Parliament for any place in Ireland, by diſabling certain officers employed in the collection or management of his Majeſty's revenues in Ireland from giving their votes at ſuch elections.

APRIL 7, 1803.

To repeal certain parts of an act, paſſed in the preſent ſeſſion of Parliament,

Parliament, intituled, "An act for the more ſpeedy and effectual enrolment of the militia of Ireland, and for filling vacancies therein," and for making other proviſions in lieu thereof.

For allowing veſſels employed in the Greenland Whale Fiſhery to complete their full number of men at certain ports, for the preſent ſeaſon.

To intitle Roman Catholics taking and ſubſcribing the declaration and oath contained in the act of the 31ſt year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty to the benefits given by an act of the 18th year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty.

To continue, until the 8th of July, 1803, the act for ſtaying proceedings in actions under the ſtatutes of Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, touching pluralities, leaſes of benefices, and other eccleſiaſtical livings with cure.

For regulating the office of ſurveyor-general of woods, foreſts, parks, and chaſes.

For veſting certain lands and hereditaments in truſtees, for further promoting the ſervice of his Majeſty's ordnance at Woolwich.

For raiſing the ſum of four millions by loans or exchequer bills, for the ſervice of the year 1803.

To enable his Majeſty to grant an annuity to Rear-Admiral Sir James Saumarez.

To provide for the completion of the eſtabliſhment of officers in the militia of Great Britain.

For appointing commiſſioners for diſtributing the money ſtipulated to be paid by the United States of America, under the convention made between his Majeſty and the ſaid United States, among the perſons having claims to compenſation out of ſuch money.

MAY 17, 1803.

To continue, until the 29th of September, 1804, ſeveral acts for the better collection and ſecurity of his Majeſty's revenues in Ireland, and for preventing frauds therein.

To amend and continue, until three months after any reſtriction impoſed by an act of the preſent ſeſſion of Parliament on the Bank of England from iſſuing caſh in payments ſhall ceaſe, an act made in the Parliament of Ireland, in the 37th year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, for confirming and continuing the reſtrictions on payments in caſh by the Bank of Ireland.

To continue, until the 25th of March, 1804, ſo much of an act relating to certain duties on ſugar and coffee exported, for permitting Britiſh plantation ſugar to be warehouſed, and for regulating and allowing drawbacks on ſugar exported, as relates to repealing the duties on ſugar and coffee exported, and allowing Britiſh plantation ſugar to be warehouſed.

For enlarging the period for the payment of part of certain ſums of money, advanced by way of loan, to ſeveral perſons connected with, and trading to, the iſlands of Grenada and St. Vincent.

For the more effectually preſerving the peace, and ſecuring the freedom of election, in the town of Nottingham, and county of the ſaid town.

For increaſing the rates of ſubſiſtence to be paid to innkeepers and others, on quartering ſoldiers.

MAY 27, 1803.

For conſolidating and amending the ſeveral laws for providing relief for the families of the militia-

men

men of England, when called out into actual service.

To enable the East India Company to defray the expenses of certain volunteer corps raised by the said Company.

To amend so much of several acts passed in the 6th and 7th years, and in the 7th and 8th years of the reign of King William III. as relates to the exportation of silver bullion.

For the more effectual prevention of frivolous and vexatious arrests and suits, and to authorize the levying of poundage upon executions in certain cases.

JUNE 11, 1803.

To enable his Majesty more effectually to provide for the defence and security of the realm during the present war, and for indemnifying persons who may suffer in their property by such measures as may be necessary for that purpose.

To render more effectual an act passed in the 42d year of his present Majesty's reign, for consolidating the provisions of several acts passed for the redemption and sale of the land-tax.

For more speedily completing the militia of Great Britain, raised under two acts, passed in the 42d year of the reign of his present Majesty, and for amending the said acts.

To render the process of his Majesty's Courts of King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, in personal actions, in Ireland, more beneficial, &c.

For indemnifying all persons who have been concerned in issuing, or carrying into execution, certain orders of Council for the prevention of the exportation of gunpowder, naval stores, and saltpetre, and the permission of the exportation of seed-corn to Norway.

For making better provision for the parochial schoolmasters, and for making further regulations for the better government of the parish-schools in Scotland.

JUNE 24, 1803.

For raising the sum of twelve millions by way of annuities.

To repeal the duties of customs payable in Great Britain, and to grant other duties in lieu thereof.

For remedying certain defects that have occurred in issuing certain exchequer bills.

For transferring to the Royal Navy such seamen as are now serving in the militia of Great Britain.

For the better protection of the trade of the United Kingdom, during the present hostilities with France.

To explain and amend the act for regulating the manner in which the East-India Company shall hire and take up ships for their regular service.

For regulating the vessels carrying passengers from the United Kingdom to his Majesty's plantations and settlements abroad, or to foreign parts, with respect to the number of such passengers.

For further prevention of malicious shooting, and attempting to discharge loaded fire-arms, stabbing, cutting, wounding, poisoning, and the malicious using of means to procure the miscarriage of women; and also the malicious setting fire to buildings; and also for repealing a certain act made in England, in the 21st year of King James I., intituled "An act to prevent

prevent the deſtroying and murdering of baſtard children," and alſo an act made in Ireland, in the 6th year of the reign of Queen Anne, alſo intituled, "An act to prevent the deſtroying and murdering of baſtard children," and for making other proviſions in lieu thereof.

For the better ſupply of mariners and ſeamen to ſerve in his Majeſty's ſhips of war, and on board merchant ſhips, and other trading ſhips and veſſels, during the preſent hoſtilities.

For the relief of ſoldiers, ſailors, and mariners, and of the wives of ſoldiers, in the caſes therein mentioned, ſo far as relates to England.

For veſting in truſtees certain lands and hereditaments at Charlton, in the county of Kent, for further promoting the ſervice of his Majeſty's ordnance.

For veſting in truſtees certain lands and hereditaments at Weedon Beck, in the county of Northampton, for erecting buildings thereon, for the ſervice of his Majeſty's ordnance.

For remedying certain defects in the laws relative to the building and repairing of county bridges, and other works.

JULY 4, 1803.

For granting, during the preſent war, and until the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, additional duties on the importation and exportation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, and on the tonnage of ſhips and veſſels in Great Britain.

For granting the ſum of 20,000l. to be applied towards making roads and building bridges in the Highlands of Scotland, &c.

To repeal the duties of exciſe payable in Great Britain, and to grant other duties in lieu thereof.

To amend the act, for granting ſtamp duties on certain medicines.

For making allowances, in certain caſes, to ſubaltern officers of the militia of Great Britain, while diſembodied.

For augmenting the number of field officers, and other officers of militia, within Great Britain.

For further regulating the adminiſtration of the oath, or affirmation, required to be taken by electors of members to ſerve in Parliament.

For making more effectual proviſion within Ireland for the puniſhment of offences in wilfully caſting away, ſinking, burning, or deſtroying ſhips and veſſels, and for the more convenient trial of acceſſories in felonies.

For continuing the act for regulating the prices at which grain, meal, and flour, may be exported from Great Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Great Britain; and alſo, an act made in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, for continuing the ſaid act, and for permitting the exportation of ſeed-corn from Great Britain to Ireland, and the importation of malt into Great Britain from Ireland.

For transferring to the Royal navy ſuch ſeamen as are now ſerving in the militia of Ireland.

To indemnify perſons who have omitted to qualify themſelves for offices or employments in Ireland, according to law.

To authorize the ſale or mortgage of the eſtates of perſons found lunatic by inquiſition, in England or Ireland, reſpectively, and the granting of leaſes of the ſame.

To

To extend the provisions of two acts, passed in the 39th, and 40th, and in the 41st years of the reign of his present Majesty, relating to the use of horse-hides in making boots and shoes, &c.

For raising and securing a fund for making provision for the widows of the writers to his Majesty's Signet in Scotland.

JULY 6, 1803.

To enable his Majesty more effectually to raise and assemble in England, an additional military force.

To enable his Majesty more effectually to raise and assemble, in Scotland, an additional military force.

JULY 7, 1803.

To amend the laws relating to spiritual persons holding of farms, and for enforcing the residence of spiritual persons on their benefices in England.

JULY 11, 1803.

For granting a sum to be raised by lotteries.

To enable his Majesty more effectually to raise and assemble, in Ireland, an additional military force.

For defraying, until the 25th of March, 1804, the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia of Ireland; for holding courts-martial on serjeant-majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied; and for making allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers of the said militia during peace.

To continue, during the restriction on payments in cash by the Bank of Ireland, and to amend an act to restrain the negotiation of promissory notes and inland bills of exchange under a limited sum.

For providing relief for the families of militia-men in Scotland, when called out into actual service.

For enlarging the limits of the southern whale fishery.

To prevent unlawful combinations of workmen, artificers, journeymen, and labourers in Ireland.

JULY 13, 1803.

For raising the sum of five millions by loans or exchequer bills.

For granting certain duties on the importation of goods into, and on goods exported from Ireland; and also certain duties of excise on spirits and malt distilled and made in Ireland.

For defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia in Great Britain.

To revive, and further continue and amend an act, which grants certain allowances to adjutants and serjeant-majors of the militia of England, disembodied under an act of Parliament.

To authorize the advancement of further sums of money out of the consolidated fund, to be applied in the improvement of the port of London; and to empower the lords commissioners of the treasury to purchase the legal quays between London Bridge and the Tower of London.

JULY 27, 1803.

For raising the sum of one million, Irish currency, by treasury bills.

To amend and render more effectual an act, passed in the present session of parliament, intituled, "An

"An act to enable his Majesty more effectually to provide for the defence and security of the realm, &c.;" and to enable his Majesty more effectually and speedily to exercise his ancient and undoubted prerogative, in requiring the military service of his liege subjects in case of invasion of the realm.

For consolidating certain of the provisions contained in any act or acts relating to the duties under the management of the commissioners for the affairs of taxes, and for amending the same.

To amend several acts of Parliament for the better collection and security of his Majesty's revenue of customs and of excise in Ireland.

To amend the acts now in force for securing the collection of the revenue upon malt, and for regulating the trade of a distiller in Ireland.

To rectify a mistake in the act, for enlarging the period for the payment of part of money advanced to persons connected with, and trading to, Grenada and St. Vincent.

To permit Portugal wines to be landed and warehoused in the United Kingdom without payment of duties, under certain restrictions, for a limited time.

To permit the exportation, for two years, of a certain quantity of corn, grain, meal, flour, bread, biscuit, or pulse, to the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and Alderney, from other ports of England, as well as the port of Southampton, under certain restrictions.

To render more effectual two acts, made in this present session of Parliament, for the more speedily completing the militia of Great Britain, and for raising an additional military force for the better defence of the United Kingdom.

For raising in the city of London a certain number of men, as an addition to the military force of Great Britain.

For the more effectually providing for the punishment of offences in wilfully casting away, burning, or destroying ships and vessels, and for the more convenient trial of accessories in felonies, and for extending the power of an act, made in the 33d year of the reign of King Henry VIII. as far as relates to murders, to accessories to murders, and to manslaughters.

For effectuating certain parts of an act, passed in the 2d and 3d years of the reign of Queen Anne, intituled, "An act for the making more effectual her Majesty's gracious intentions for the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy, by enabling her Majesty to grant in perpetuity the revenues of the first fruits and tenths, and also for enabling any other person to make grants for the same purpose," &c.

To rectify a mistake in an act, made in this present session of Parliament, intituled, "An act to amend the laws relating to spiritual persons holding of farms, and for enforcing the residence of spiritual persons on their benefices in England," and to remove a doubt respecting the title of the statute of the 21st year of King Henry VIII. therein mentioned.

To promote the building, repairing, or otherwise providing of churches and chapels, and of houses for the residence of ministers, and the providing of church-yards and glebes.

To enable the commissioners of first

firſt fruits in Ireland to lend certain ſums of money, intereſt free, to incumbents of benefices there, for the purpoſe of enabling them to erect or purchaſe glebe-houſes and offices convenient for their reſidence, glebe-lands fit and convenient for the erection of ſuch houſes and offices, and to make proviſion for the repayment of all loans ſo to be made by the ſaid commiſſioners.

To explain and amend an act, made in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, intituled, "An act, made in the 22d year of his preſent Majeſty, for the better relief and employment of the poor," ſo far as relates to the payment of the debts incurred for building any poor-houſe.

For enabling friendly ſocieties, intended to be eſtabliſhed under an act paſſed in the 33d year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, to rectify miſtakes made in the regiſtry of their rules.

For the better preſervation of heath fowl, commonly called black game, in the New Foreſt.

To explain and amend two acts, for preventing the commiſſion of thefts and frauds, by perſons navigating bum-boats and other boats, upon the river Thames, and for the more effectual prevention of depredations thereon, ſo far as relates to the ſeizure of exciſeable commodities.

For the further improvement of the port of London, by making docks and other works at Blackwall, for the accommodation of the Eaſt India ſhipping at the ſaid port.

For eſtabliſhing a free market in the city of London for the ſale of coals, and for preventing frauds and impoſitions in the vend and delivery of all coals brought into the port of London, within certain places therein mentioned.

JULY 29, 1803.

For the ſuppreſſion of rebellion in Ireland.

To empower the lord lieutenant of Ireland to apprehend and detain ſuch perſons as he or they ſhall ſuſpect of conſpiring againſt his Majeſty's perſon and government.

To render more effectual an act paſſed in the 5th year of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, relating to the diſcovery of the longitude at ſea, and for continuing the encouragement of perſons making certain diſcoveries for finding the longitude at ſea, &c.

For improving the funds of the cheſt at Chatham, and for transferring the adminiſtration of the ſame to Greenwich Hoſpital, and for ameliorating the condition of the penſioners on the ſaid funds.

AUGUST 12, 1803.

For granting to his Majeſty, until the 6th of May next after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, a contribution on the profits ariſing from property, profeſſions, trades, and offices.

For enabling his Majeſty to raiſe the ſum of two millions.

For raiſing the ſum of 1,500,000l. by loans, or exchequer bills.

For granting certain duties on receipts.

For enabling his Majeſty to ſettle an annuity of 16,000l. on the Houſe of Orange, during pleaſure.

For charging an additional duty on lignum quaſſia imported.

To enable the commiſſioners of the treaſury to iſſue exchequer bills on the credit of the ſupplies.

For

For consolidating the duties on stamps, vellum, parchment, and paper, in Great Britain.

For consolidating certain of the provisions contained in any act or acts relating to the duties under the management of the commissioners for the affairs of taxes, and for amending the said acts so far as the same relate to Scotland.

For rectifying a mistake in an act of the last session of Parliament, for better collecting the duties on auctioneers.

For further regulation of the collection of customs in Great Britain in certain cases.

To amend so much of the last act, for granting additional duties on excise, as relates to the exportation of tea to Ireland; for regulating the granting of permits for the removal of coffee, tea, and cocoa-nuts, out of warehouses; and for the more effectually securing the duties on coffee.

For the more effectually securing certain duties on malt, and for preventing frauds by makers of malt from beat or bigg in Scotland.

To amend an act, to enable his Majesty more effectually to provide for the defence and security of the realm, &c.

For extending the jurisdiction of the courts of justice in the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, to the trial and punishment of persons guilty of crimes and offences within certain parts of North America, adjoining to the said province.

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1803.

NAVY, &c.

December 2, 1802.

THAT 50,000 Men be employed for the Sea Service for the Year 1803; including 12,000 Marines.

	£.	s.	d.
For Wages to ditto	1,202,500	0	0
For Victuals for ditto	1,235,000	0	0
For Wear and Tear of Ships in which they are to ſerve	1,950,000	0	0
For Ordnance Sea Service on board ſuch Ships	162,500	0	0

December 14, 1802.

For the Ordinary of the Navy, including Half-pay to Sea and Marine Officers for 1803	1,228,238	13	1
For the extraordinary Eſtabliſhment of ditto	901,140	0	0
For the Hire of Tranſports	590,000	0	0
For defraying the Charge of Priſoners of War in Health	22,000	0	0
Ditto of Sick Priſoners of War	5,000	0	0

March 14, 1803.

That an additional Number of 10,000 Men be employed for the Sea Service, for Eleven Lunar Months, commencing 26th February, 1803, including 2,400 Marines.

For Wages for ditto	203,500	0	0
For Victuals for ditto	209,000	0	0
For Wear and Tear of Ships in which they are to ſerve	330,000	0	0
For Ordnance Sea Service on board ſuch Ships	27,500	0	0

June 11, 1803.

That a further additional Number of 40,000 Men be employed for the Sea Service, for Seven Lunar Months, commencing 12th June, 1803, including 8,000 Royal Marines.

For

	£.	s.	d.
For Wages for ditto	518,000	0	0
For Victuals for ditto	532,000	0	0
For Wear and Tear of Ships in which they are to ſerve	840,000	0	0
For Ordnance Sea Service on board ſuch Ships	70,000	0	0
For the further Hire of Tranſports for the Year 1803	100,000	0	0
For the further Charge of Priſoners of War in Health	65,000	0	0
Ditto of Sick Priſoners of War	20,000	0	0
	£.10,211,378	13	1

ARMY.

December 9, 1802.

That a Number of Land Forces, not exceeding 66,574 effective Men, be employed in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, from the 25th December, 1802, to the 24th of December, 1803.

For Guards, Garriſons, and other Land Forces, in Great Britain and Ireland	2,322,700	0	3
For Forces in the Plantations, including Gibraltar, in the Mediterranean, at Ceylon, and New South Wales	1,129,976	19	4
For Five Troops of Dragoons, and Seventeen Companies of Foot, ſtationed in Great Britain for recruiting Regiments ſerving in Eaſt India	28,632	17	8
For Contingencies and Allowances for the Land Forces in Great Britain and Ireland	173,341	7	0
For General and Staff Officers, and Officers of Hoſpitals in Great Britain and Ireland	58,468	0	10
For Allowance to the principal Officers of ſeveral Public Departments in Great Britain and Ireland	127,512	19	9
For the increaſed Rates of Subſiſtence to be paid to Inn-keepers and others on quartering Soldiers, and Allowances to Land Forces for Small Beer in Ireland	200,645	1	3
Upon Account of Reduced Officers of Land Forces and Marines	358,152	10	11
For Half-pay and Allowances to the Reduced Officers of his Majeſty's Britiſh American Forces	52,000	0	0
On Account of Officers late in the Service of the States General	1,000	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
For Penſions to Widows of Officers of the Land Forces in Great Britain and Ireland	26,883	16	0
For the Barrack Department in Great Britain and Ireland	513,440	7	10
For Foreign Corps	159,672	1	11
For Medicines, Bedding, and Hoſpital Contingencies, for the Forces in Ireland, and for the Royal Military Infirmary in Dublin	18,461	10	10

March 3, 1803.

For defraying the Extraordinary Expences of the Army, from the 25th of December, 1801, to the 24th of December, 1802	1,032,151	4	8

June 7, 1803.

For defraying the Charge of Full-pay to Supernumerary Officers, from the 25th of December, 1802, to the 24th of December, 1803	29,337	0	0
For defraying the Charge of the In and Out Penſioners of Chelſea and Kilmainham Hoſpitals	266,004	14	1
Ditto of the Royal Military College, for 1803	8,110	2	11
For defraying the Expences expected to be incurred on account of the Royal Military Aſylum	31,000	0	0
For defraying the Charge of One Regiment of Light Dragoons, and One Weſt India Regiment, and of an Augmentation to the Dragoon and Foot-Guards in Great Britain and Ireland	218,270	11	1
For defraying the Charge of additional General and General Staff Officers in Great Britain and Ireland for 1803	31,000	0	0
Ditto of Effective Captains, from the 25th of May to the 24th of December, 1803	35,751	17	10
For defraying the further Charge of the Barrack Department for 1803	58,333	0	0

June 11, 1803.

For the further Charge of the Barrack Department in Ireland	54,907	7	9

June 18, 1803.

Toward defraying the Extraordinary Service of the Army in Great Britain for 1803	1,400,000	0	0
Ditto in Ireland	600,000	0	0
	£.8,935,753	12	3

MILITIA

MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS.

	£.	s.	d.
December 9, 1802.			
For the Volunteer Corps of Cavalry and Infantry in Great Britain and Ireland, from the 25th of December, 1802, to the 24th of December, 1803	99,169	4	8
April 7, 1803.			
Making Provision for defraying the Charge of the Pay of the Militia of Ireland for 1803.			
Ditto of Allowances to certain Subaltern Officers of the Militia of Ireland during Peace.			
Ditto for the Pay and Cloathing of the Militia of Great Britain.			
June 2, 1803.			
For making Allowances to Adjutants and Serjeants of the Militia disembodied, for 1803.			
Ditto of Allowances to Subaltern Officers of the Militia in time of Peace.			
June 7, 1803.			
For defraying the Charge of the Embodied Militia of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Royal Corps of Miners, for several Periods in 1803 -	1,747,579	0	8
For defraying the Charge of Contingencies for the Embodied Militia of Great Britain and Ireland for 1803 - - -	38,345	12	7
Ditto of Cloathing for the Embodied Militia of Great Britain, and Royal Corps of Miners -	143,891	5	0
Ditto of Subsistence and Allowance for Small Beer for the Embodied Militia of Great Britain -	145,000	0	0
Ditto of the Supplementary Militia ditto -	416,000	0	0
For defraying the further Charge of Volunteer Corps - - -	300,000	0	0
June 11, 1803.			
Making Provision for defraying the Charge of the Cloathing of the Militia of Ireland for 1803.			
	£.2,889,976	2	11

ORDNANCE.

December 9, 1802.			
For Ordnance Land Service in Great Britain, for 1803 - - -	637,947	12	7
Ditto in Ireland - - -	150,000	0	0

June 7, 1803.	£.	s.	d.
For defraying the further Charge of Ordnance, Land Service in Great Britain - - -	282,065	10	11
For the Payment of Outstanding Claims on the late Board of Ordnance in Ireland - -	38,900	11	0
For defraying the further Charge of Ordnance in Ireland - -	20,000	0	0
	£.1,128,913	14	6

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

December 14, 1802.			
To make Good the like Sum paid for Bounties on Corn, &c. to the 10th of October, 1802 -	524,573	19	7
For defraying the probable Amount of Bills drawn, or to be drawn, from New South Wales, in 1803 - -	25,000	0	0
Ditto—the Expence of Confining and Maintaining Convicts at Home - -	40,847	9	0
For Relief of the Suffering Clergy and Laity of France, Toulonese, and Corsican Emigrants, &c.	191,584	17	6
To make good Money issued for making Inquiries respecting the State of the Collieries -	219	7	0
To make good Money issued to the Secretary to the Commissioners for ascertaining Boundaries of New Forest - -	300	0	0
Ditto—to Mr. Baldwyn for his Services in Egypt	1,086	1	6
Ditto—to Mr. Palmer, Commissary at New South Wales, for Half Freight of a Vessel -	324	10	0
Ditto—for making Indexes to the Journals of the House of Lords - -	1,659	18	0
Ditto—to the Chairman of the Committees of the House of Peers - -	2,701	9	0
Ditto—for Expences at the Parliament Office -	360	18	2
Ditto—for preparing the Model of a Bridge, &c. by Direction of the Committee for the Improvement of the Port of London -	169	7	6
Ditto—to pay Persons employed in preparing Abstracts of Population - -	500	0	0
Ditto—to discharge Expences in making Abstracts of the Cultivation of England and Wales -	146	1	0
Ditto—in Surveying the Straits of Menai -	814	8	6
Ditto—for additional Allowance to the Clerks in the Office for Auditing the Public Accounts -	7,134	17	4

To

	£.	s.	d.
To make good Money iſſued to diſcharge Fees on paſſing Accounts through the Offices of the Treaſury and Exchequer	3,000	0	0
Ditto—to the Secretary to the American Commiſſioners, for Expences of the Commiſſion	1,060	8	6
December 16, 1802.			
Ditto—purſuant to Addreſs	15,160	0	6
February 8, 1803.			
To be paid to the Board of Firſt Fruits in Ireland, for Building and Re-building Churches, from the 5th of January, 1803, to the 5th of January, 1804	4,615	7	8½
For defraying the probable Expence of Civil Buildings in Ireland	23,076	18	6
Ditto—the Expence of Printing and Binding 250 Copies of Acts of the Third Seſſion of the United Parliament	830	15	5
Ditto—of Proclamations and Advertiſements in the Dublin Gazette, &c.	6,485	19	11
Ditto—of Printing, Stationary, and other Diſburſements for the Public Offices in Ireland	18,840	0	0
For defraying the probable Charges of Treaſury Incidents	1,846	3	1
Ditto—of apprehending Public Offenders in Ireland	2,307	13	10½
Ditto—of Criminal Proſecutions in Ireland	18,461	10	9½
To be paid to the Truſtees of the Linen and Hempen Manufacturers in Ireland	19,938	9	3
For defraying the Expence of Pratique in the Port of Dublin	966	18	7½
To be paid to the Accountant-General for preparing and ſtating the Public Accounts of Ireland	313	16	11
Ditto—to the Deputy Accountant-General	221	10	9
Ditto—to the Paymaſter of Corn Bounties in Ireland	738	9	3
Ditto—to the Examinator—ditto	184	12	4
Ditto—to the Inſpector-General of Imports and Exports of Ireland	230	15	5
Ditto—to the Firſt Clerk of the Office of ditto	184	12	4
Ditto—to the Examinator of Exciſe in Ireland	184	12	4
Ditto—to the Aſſiſtant ditto	138	9	3
Ditto—to the Clerk in the Office of the Auditor of the Exchequer	184	12	4
To be applied in Working a Gold Mine in the County of Wicklow	1,647	1	4
For defraying the Expence of Printing an Index to the Acts of the Two laſt Seſſions of the Parliament of Ireland	288	9	3

	£.	s.	d.
For defraying the Expence of Building Law Offices in Ireland	3,692	6	2
For defraying the Charge of the Incorporated Society in Dublin, for promoting Engliſh Proteſtant Schools in Ireland	19,442	11	11
Ditto—of the Office of Secretary to the Commiſſioners of Charitable Donations	369	4	7½
For defraying the Charge of the Society for diſcountenancing Vice, and promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Chriſtian Religion	623	1	6½
Ditto—of the Female Orphan Houſe, near Dublin, for deſerted Female Children	445	5	1½
For defraying the Charge of fitting up and ſupporting a Penitentiary in Dublin, for young Criminals	2,030	15	4½
Ditto—of the Foundling Hoſpital in Dublin	16,153	16	11
Ditto—of the Hibernian Marine Society	1,886	10	6½
Ditto—of the Hibernian School for Soldiers' Children	4,153	16	11
Ditto—of ſupporting the Weſtmorland Lock Hoſpital in Dublin	5,903	1	6½
Ditto—of the Fever Hoſpital in Dublin	475	16	3½
Ditto—of the Houſe of Induſtry in Dublin	17,321	15	6
Ditto—of the Roman Catholic Seminary at Maynooth	7,384	12	4
To be paid to the Commiſſioners for making wide and convenient Streets in Dublin	4,153	16	11
Ditto—to the Corporation for Paving, &c. Dublin	9,230	15	5
Ditto—to the Dublin Society for promoting Huſbandry, and other uſeful Arts	5,076	18	6
To be applied towards completing additional Buildings at the Repoſitory of the Dublin Society, and Botanic Gardens	4,153	16	11
For defraying the Expences of the Farming Society of Ireland	1,846	3	1
March 7, 1803.			
For paying off Treaſury Bills that will become due the 25th of March, 1803	356,538	9	3
March 24, 1803.			
For Expences of the Commiſſion for the Reduction of the National Debt	1,910	10	0
To Officers of the Exchequer for extra Trouble	500	0	0
For Diſcount on Loan for 1802	22,564	13	6
To the Bank for receiving Contributions to ditto	22,538	2	3
For Buſineſs relating to American Claims	371	17	0

	£.	s.	d.
For incidental Expences attending the Lotteries for 1802	3,600	0	0
April 7, 1803.			
For compenſation to Mr. Martin, junior, for his Loſſes as an American Loyaliſt	12,626	14	0
For defraying the Charge of the Society for promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Chriſtian Religion in Ireland	923	1	6
Ditto—of the Female Orphan Houſe, near Dublin	903	6	5½
Ditto—of the Dublin Lying-in Hoſpital	2,492	6	2
June 16, 1803.			
For defraying the Expence of Roads and Bridges in the Highlands of Scotland	20,000	0	0
June 18, 1803.			
For defraying Expences incurred in Repairs of the Fleet Priſon	1,760	19	11½
Ditto—in printing the 56th Volume of the Journals of the Houſe of Commons, and Indexes	4,500	13	2½
Ditto—in Fitting-up a Houſe in Abingdon-Street for depoſiting the Journals, and for the Reſidence of the Clerk of the Journals	1,281	4	0¼
To complete the Purchaſe of certain Buildings for the Accommodation of the two Houſes of Parliament	14,369	4	0
For defraying the Expence of Works done at the Auditor's Office, &c. Somerſet Place	8,771	7	8½
Ditto—of Works done at the two Houſes of Parliament, and at the Houſe of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, to the 31ſt of May, 1803	21,434	0	9
For Foreign and other Secret Services for 1803	150,000	0	0
For defraying Expences under the Commiſſion purſuant to the Sixth and Seventh Articles of the American Treaty	340,000	0	0
Ditto—the Charge of the Works and Repairs of the Military Roads in North Britain	5,000	0	0
Ditto—the Extraordinary Expences incurred for Proſecutions, &c. relating to the Coin in 1802	2,661	17	8
Ditto—of the Superintendance of Aliens	7,620	0	0
To make good Money iſſued for additional Allowances to Clerks in the Office for Auditing the Public Accounts	5,100	18	3
Ditto—to pay a Bill of Exchange for the Repairs of Port Patrick	558	17	5
Ditto—to Mr. Clementſon, for Expences incurred by him in removing from his Official Houſe	177	6	0
To make good Money iſſued to Lieutenant Grant for certain Loſſes ſuſtained by him	98	13	3
Ditto—for ſundry Articles provided for the Uſe of			

the

the Convicts embarked on Board the Glatton for New South Wales	291	8	3
Ditto—to defray the paſſage to New South Wales, of the Lieutenant Governor, and others	634	13	0
Ditto—to Re-pay the Expences incurred by Sir George Yonge, in conſequence of Orders directing his immediate Return to England	1,060	7	6
Ditto—for defraying the Expences of Surveys, Reports, and Deſigns for Bridges over the Straits of Menai	657	11	4
Ditto—for Expences incurred in a Journey to Bangor, &c. reſpecting the Straits of Menai	113	13	9
Ditto—for publiſhing the Average Price of Sugar	429	14	0
Ditto—to diſcharge Fees on paſſing Public Accounts	3,000	0	0
Ditto—for Expences attending the Surveys of the intended Military Roads in Sutherland and Caithneſs	229	18	6
PLANTATIONS: For Civil Eſtabliſhment of Upper Canada in 1803	8,900	0	0
Ditto—of Nova Scotia	7,665	0	0
Ditto—of New Brunſwick	4,650	0	0
Ditto—of Prince Edward's Iſland	2,214	4	11¼
Ditto—of Cape Breton	1,840	0	0
Ditto—of Newfoundland	1,515	0	0
Ditto—of the Bahama Iſlands	4,100	0	0
Ditto—of the Bermudas, or Somers Iſlands	580	0	0
Ditto—of the Iſland of Dominica	600	0	0
Ditto—of New South Wales	9,124	17	6
To the Eaſt India Company, on Account of Expences incurred by them in the Public Service during the late War	1,000,000	0	0
Towards defraying the Civil contingent Expences for the Service of Ireland in 1803	50,000	0	0

June 30, 1803.

Towards defraying the Expence of making an Inland Navigation in Scotland	20,000	0	0

July 2, 1803.

For repairing, maintaining, and ſupporting the Britiſh Forts and Settlements on the Coaſt of Africa	16,000	0	0
To make good the like Sum iſſued purſuant to Addreſſes	12,314	16	0
To make good the Deficiency of Laſt Year's Grants	171,431	11	1½

July 26, 1803.

To enable his Majeſty to take ſuch Meaſures as the Exigency of Affairs may require	2,000,000	0	0
To be applied for the Benefit of the Houſe of Orange	60,000	0	0

For

	£.	s.	d.
For granting a yearly Sum of £.16,000 out of the consolidated Fund of Great Britain toward the Support of the House of Orange.			
July 30, 1803.			
To make good the like Sum issued to Mr. Martin for Expences incurred in an Enquiry into the Mendicity of the Metropolis -	639	17	0
Ditto—to Mr. Cracklow, for Loss sustained by erecting temporary Buildings at the Marshalsea	534	15	0
Ditto—to Mr. Chinnery, for Articles supplied Convicts at Portsmouth and New South Wales	822	9	6
Ditto—to pay a Bill drawn by Mr. Broughton at Norfolk Island - -	471	5	0
For defraying the Expence of printing Journals, &c. of the House of Commons - -	15,000	0	0
For discharging Arrears of Expences of the Seven Police Offices for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1802 - -	960	8	6
For defraying Expences incurred by Mr. Soane, in making Designs, &c. for Alterations proposed in the House of Lords in 1794 and 1795 -	1,000	0	0
For Re-paying the Deposit Money made on Forty Tickets of the Lottery of 1801, which were forfeited - -	204	0	0
To Reimburse Dr. Jenner the Amount of Fees paid by him on the Receipt of the Sum granted by Act of last Session - -	725	10	6
For the Board of Agriculture -	3,000	0	0
For the British Museum - -	3,000	0	0
For the Veterinary College - -	1,500	0	0
August 23, 1803.			
To make Compensation to Mr. Dubois for his Losses as an American Loyalist -	5,320	0	0
	£.5,446,441	13	9½

EXCHEQUER BILLS.

December 2, 1802.			
For paying off Exchequer Bills made out per Act 41st George III. - -	2,781,532	15	2½
December 14, 1802.			
For paying off Exchequer Bills made out per Act of last Session for raising the Sum of £1,500,000	1,500,000	0	0

For

	£.	s.	d.
March 24, 1803.			
For paying Intereſt on Exchequer Bills made out per Acts 39th and 40, and 41ſt and 42d George III. - -	868,923	8	0½
July 2, 1801.			
For paying off Exchequer Bills made out by Act of laſt Seſſion - -	5,000,000	0	0
	£.10,150,456	3	3

WAYS AND MEANS FOR RAISING THE SUPPLY.

Grants.

December 6, 1802.			
For continuing the Duties on Malt, Mum, Cyder, and Perry - -	750,000	0	0
For raiſing Four Shillings in the Pound upon Penſions, Offices, and perſonal Eſtates - For continuing certain Duties on Sugar, Malt, Tobacco, and Snuff - -	2,000,000	0	0
For raiſing £.5,000,000 by Loans or Exchequer Bills - -	5,000,000	0	0
December 13, 1802.			
For applying £.4,000,000 out of the Monies that ſhall ariſe of the Surplus of the Conſolidated Fund	4,000,000	0	0
March 28, 1803.	£.	s.	d.
For raiſing £4,000,000 by Loans on Exchequer Bills - -	4,000,0000	0	0
June 2, 1803.			
That the Charge of the Pay and Clothing of the Militia of Great Britain be defrayed out of the Land Tax.			
June 14, 1803.			
For raiſing the Sum of £.12,000,000 by Annuities, whereof the Charges of £10,000,000 are to be defrayed on the Part of Great Britain, and of £.2,000,000 on the Part of Ireland -	12,000,000	0	0
June 16, 1803.			
That the Allowances to Adjutants, &c. of the Militia,			

litia, disembodied in pursuance of Act 39th and 40th George III. be defrayed out of the Land Tax

That the Allowances to certain Subaltern Officers of the Militia in Time of Peace be defrayed out of the Land Tax.

That the Charge of the Pay and Clothing of the Militia of Ireland be defrayed out of the consolidated Fund of Ireland.

That the Allowances to certain Subaltern Officers of the Militia of Ireland be defrayed out of the consolidated Fund of Ireland.

June 27, 1803.

For raising £.1,052,333 6*s.* 8*d.* by three Lotteries, whereof £701,555 11*s.* 1*d.* shall be for the Service of Great Britain, and £.350,777 15*s.* 7*d.* for the Service of Ireland - -	1,052,333	6	8

July 2, 1803.

For raising £.5000,000 by Loans or Exchequer Bills - - -	5,000,000	0	0
For applying £.612 16*s.* 3*d.* of the Monies reserved for payment of the Judges' Salary -	612	16	3
For applying £.37,169 14*s.* 8*d.* of the Monies reserved for payment of Bounties on Hemp and Flax - -	37,169	14	8

July 5, 1803.

For raising £.923,076 18*s.* 6*d.* by Treasury Bills, for the Service of Ireland - -	923,076	18	6

July 26, 1803.

For raising £.1,500,000 by Loans on Exchequer Bills - -	1,500,000	0	0
For raising £.2,000,000 by Loans on Exchequer Bills, to be charged on the first Aids to be granted in the next Session of Parliament -	2,000,000	0	0
For applying £2,500,000 out of the Surplus of the consolidated Fund - -	2,500,000	0	0

July 30, 1803.

For applying £.600,000 (Irish currency) of the Monies arising of the Surplus of the consolidated Fund of Ireland - -	600,000	0	0
Total Ways and Means -	£.41,363,192	16	1

RECA-

RECAPITULATION.

	£.	s.	d.
Navy	10,211,378	13	1
Army	8,935,753	12	3
Militia, &c.	2,889.976	2	11
Ordnance	1,128,913	14	6
Miſcellaneous Services	5,440,441	13	9½
National Debt	200,000	0	0
Exchequer Bills	10,150,456	3	3
Total of Supply	£.38,956,919	19	9½
Exceſs of Ways and Means for the Year	2,406,272	16	3½
	£.41,363,192	16	1

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses, on opening the first Session of the second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 23d of November, 1802.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is highly gratifying to me to resort to your advice and assistance, after the opportunity which has been recently afforded, of collecting the sense of my People.—The internal prosperity of the country has realized my most sanguine hopes; we have experienced the bounty of Divine Providence in the produce of an abundant harvest. The state of the Manufactures, Commerce, and Revenues of my United Kingdom, is flourishing beyond example; and the Loyalty and Attachment which are manifested to my person and Government, afford the strongest indication of the just sense that is entertained of the numerous blessings enjoyed under the protection of our happy Constitution.

In my intercourse with Foreign Powers, I have been actuated by a sincere disposition for the maintenance of Peace. It is nevertheless impossible for me to lose sight of that established and wise system of policy, by which the interests of other States are connected with our own; and I cannot therefore be indifferent to any material change in their relative condition and strength. My conduct will be invariably regulated by a due consideration of the actual situation of Europe, and by a watchful solicitude for the permanent welfare of my People.—You will, I am persuaded, agree with me in thinking, that it is incumbent upon us to adopt those means of security which are best calculated to afford the prospect of preserving to my Subjects the blessings of Peace.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you; and I rely on your zeal and liberality in providing for the various branches of the Public Service; which it is a great satisfaction to me to think, may be fully accomplished without any considerable addition to the burdens of my People.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I contemplate with the utmoſt ſatisfaction the great and increaſing Benefits produced by that important meaſure, which has united the intereſts and conſolidated the reſources of Great Britain and Ireland. The improvement and extenſion of theſe advantages, will be objects of your unremitting care and attention. The trade and commerce of my Subjects, ſo eſſential to the ſupport of public credit, and of our maritime ſtrength, will, I am perſuaded, receive from you every poſſible encouragement; and you will readily lend your aſſiſtance in affording to mercantile tranſactions in every part of my United Kingdom, all the facility and accommodation that may be conſiſtent with the public revenue.

To uphold the honour of the country, to encourage its induſtry, to improve its reſources, and to maintain the true principles of the Conſtitution in Church and State, are the great and leading duties which you are called upon to diſcharge. In the performance of them, you may be aſſured of my uniform and cordial ſupport; it being my earneſt wiſh to cultivate a perfect harmony and confidence between me and my Parliament, and to promote to the utmoſt the welfare of my faithful ſubjects, whoſe intereſts and happineſs I ſhall ever conſider as inſeparable from my own.

His Majeſty's Meſſage to Parliament, recommending to their Conſideration, the Affairs of His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales.

G. R.

HIS Majeſty having taken into conſideration the period which has elapſed ſince the adoption of thoſe arrangements which Parliament, in its wiſdom thought fit to eſtabliſh, for diſcharging the incumbrances of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, and having adverted to the progreſs made for carrying the ſame into effect, recommends to the conſideration of his faithful parliament the preſent ſituation of his Royal Highneſs; and notwithſtanding the reluctance and regret his Majeſty feels at ſuggeſting any additional burthens upon his people, he is induced to reſort to the experience, liberality, and attachment towards his royal houſe, always manifeſted by his faithful Parliament, and to expreſs his reliance on their taking ſuch meaſures as are beſt calculated to maintain the dignity, and add to the comforts of ſo diſtinguiſhed a branch of his Royal family.

His Majeſty's Meſſage announcing the Armaments in France and Holland, 9th of March, 1803.

G. R.

HIS Majeſty thinks it neceſſary to acquaint the Houſe of Commons, that as very conſiderable military preparations are carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he has judged it expedient to adopt additional meaſures of precaution for the ſecurity of his dominions. Though the preparations to which his Majeſty refers, are avowedly directed to Colonial ſervice, yet as diſcuſſions of great importance are now ſubſiſting

fisting between his Majesty and the French Government, the result of which, must be uncertain at present; his Majesty is induced to make this communication to his faithful Commons, in the full persuasion, that whilst they partake of his Majesty's earnest and unvarying solicitude for the continuance of Peace, he may rely with perfect confidence on their public spirit and liberality, to enable his Majesty to adopt such measures as circumstances may seem to require for supporting the honour of his crown, and the essential interests of his people.

His Majesty's Message to Parliament for calling out the Militia, the 10th of March, 1803.

G. R.

IN consequence of the formidable military preparations carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, pending the discussion of an important negotiation between His Majesty's government and that of France, the result of which cannot yet be known, his Majesty acquaints the House, that, actuated by the concern he always feels for the security and welfare of his subjects, he has thought it necessary to exercise the powers vested in him by act of parliament, for calling out, and embodying forthwith, the Militia of these kingdoms, or such part thereof as his Majesty shall think proper for the defence and safety of these kingdoms, not doubting but his parliament will approve the same.

His Majesty's Message to Parliament respecting an Annuity to be settled on Sir James Saumarez, the 24th of March, 1803.

G. R.

HIS Majesty having taken into consideration, the eminent services of Sir James Saumarez, Bart. K. B. and particularly the brilliant victory obtained by him, and the ships under his command, over a superior squadron of Spanish ships in the Streights of Gibraltar, on the memorable 12th of July, 1801, has thought it necessary to confer upon him an annuity of 1,200l. a year, during his natural life; and recommends the same to the consideration of this house.

His Majesty's Message to Parliament announcing the Rupture with France, the 16th of May, 1803.

G. R.

HIS Majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the House of Peers, that the discussions which he announced to them in his Message of the 8th of March last, as then subsisting between his Majesty and the French government, have been terminated; that the conduct of the French government has obliged his Majesty to recall his Ambassador from Paris, and that the Ambassador from the French Republic has left London.

His Majesty has given directions for laying before the House of Peers, with as little delay as possible, copies of such papers as will afford the fullest information

to his parliament at this important conjuncture.

It is a conſolation to his Majeſty to reflect, that no endeavours have been wanting on his part to preſerve to his ſubjects the bleſſings of peace; but under the circumſtances which have occurred to diſappoint his juſt expectations, his Majeſty relies with confidence on the zeal and public ſpirit of his faithful commons, and on the exertions of his brave and loyal ſubjects, to ſupport him in his determination to employ the power and reſources of the nation, in oppoſing the ſpirit of ambition and encroachment, which at preſent actuates the councils of France, in upholding the dignity of his crown, and in aſſerting and maintaining the rights and intereſts of his people.

His Majeſty's Meſſage to Parliament announcing Hoſtilities againſt Holland, the 17th of June, 1803.

G. R.

HIS Majeſty thinks it right to inform the Houſe of Lords, that from an anxious deſire to prevent the calamities of war being extended to the Batavian Republic, he communicated to that Government his diſpoſition to reſpect their neutrality, provided that a ſimilar diſpoſition was manifeſted on the part of the French Government, and that the French forces were forthwith withdrawn from the territories of the Batavian republic. This propoſition not having been acceded to by the government of France, and meaſures having been recently taken by them in direct violation of the independence of the Batavian Republic, his Majeſty judged it expedient to direct his miniſter to leave the Hague; and he has ſince given orders, that letters of marque and general repriſals, ſhould be iſſued againſt the Batavian Republic and its ſubjects.

His Majeſty has at all times manifeſted the deepeſt and moſt lively intereſt for the proſperity and independence of the United Provinces: he has recourſe to theſe proceedings with the moſt ſincere regret, but the conduct of the French Government has left him no alternative; and in adopting theſe meaſures, he is actuated by a ſenſe of what is due to his own dignity, and to the ſecurity and eſſential intereſts of his dominions.

His Majeſty's Meſſage to Parliament reſpecting an Additional Force for Defence of the Country, the 18th of June, 1803.

G. R.

HIS Majeſty thinks it proper to acquaint the Houſe of Lords, that for the more effectual defence of the United Kingdom againſt the avowed deſigns of the enemy, and for the purpoſe of providing ſuch means, as may be beſt calculated for a vigorous proſecution of the war, his Majeſty deems it important that a large additional force ſhould be forthwith raiſed and aſſembled.

His Majeſty recommends this ſubject to the conſideration of their Lordſhips, and relies with con-

confidence on their zeal and public ſpirit, that they will adopt ſuch meaſures as upon this occaſion ſhall appear to them to be moſt effectual, and for carrying the ſame into execution, with the leaſt poſſible delay.

His Majeſty's Meſſage to Parliament requiring a Supply, the 20th of July, 1803.

G. R.

HIS Majeſty relying on the zealous ſupport of his faithful Commons in the vigorous proſecution of the war, in which the country is engaged, recommends to the Houſe to conſider of making proviſion towards enabling his Majeſty to defray the extraordinary expences incurred in the ſervice of the preſent year, and to take ſuch further meaſures, as the exigency of affairs may require.

His Majeſty's Meſſage to Parliament, on the Affairs of the Prince of Orange, the 20th of July, 1803.

G. R.

HIS Majeſty having taken into conſideration the preſent ſituation of the illuſtrious Houſe of Orange, the bonds of alliance and affinity between him and that illuſtrious family, the important ſervices it has rendered to this country on ſo many occaſions, and the loſſes it ſuſtained in the late war, recommends theſe circumſtances to the attention of his faithful Commons, truſting that they will enable him to make ſuch pecuniary allowance to that illuſtrious family, as may be warranted by its preſent ſituation, and the juſtice of this country.

His Majeſty's Meſſage to Parliament, on the Inſurrection in Ireland, the 28th of July, 1803.

G. R.

HIS Majeſty feels the deepeſt regret in acquainting the Houſe of Commons, that a treaſonable and rebellious ſpirit of inſurrection, has manifeſted itſelf in Ireland, which has been marked by circumſtances of peculiar atrocity in the city of Dublin.

His Majeſty relies with perfect confidence on the wiſdom of his Parliament, that ſuch meaſures ſhall be forthwith adopted as are beſt calculated to afford protection and ſecurity to his Majeſty's loyal ſubjects in that part of the United Kingdom, and to reſtore and preſerve general tranquillity.

Proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on the ſame Subject.

HARDWICKE,

Whereas divers perſons, engaged in a treaſonable and daring inſurrection againſt his Majeſty's Government, did, on the evening of yeſterday, the 23d of July inſtant, ſuddenly aſſemble in the Liberties of Dublin, with fire-arms and pikes, and did there commit ſeveral outrages, and particularly in Thomas-ſtreet, in the pariſh of St.

Catharine, within the ſaid Liberties, did aſſault the carriage of the Right Hon. Arthur Lord Viſcount Kilwarden, Chief Juſtice of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council, and did drag the ſaid Arthur Lord Viſcount Kilwarden, together with his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe, Clerk, from his ſaid carriage, and did there baſely and inhumanly murder the ſaid Arthur Lord Viſcount Kilwarden and Richard Wolfe, by ſtabbing them reſpectively with pikes in various parts of their bodies, of which wounds they both ſoon after died.

Now we, the Lord Lieutenant and Council, in order to bring ſuch enormous offenders to condign puniſhment, do, by this our Proclamation, publiſh and declare, that if any perſon or perſons ſhall within ſix calendar months from the date hereof, diſcover any of the perſon or perſons who committed the ſaid inhuman murders on the ſaid Arthur Viſcount Kilwarden and the ſaid Rev. Richard Wolfe, or either of them, or who aided and aſſiſted therein, or who adviſed, encouraged, inſtigated, moved, ſtimulated, or incited the perſons concerned therein to commit the ſame, ſuch perſon or perſons ſo diſcovering ſhall receive as a reward the ſum of One Thouſand Pounds ſterling for each and every of the firſt three perſons who ſhall be apprehended and convicted thereof.

And we do likewiſe publiſh and declare, that if any of the perſons concerned in the murder aforeſaid, ſave and except the perſons who actually ſtabbed the ſaid Lord Viſcount Kilwarden and the Rev. Richard Wolfe, or either of them, as aforeſaid, ſhall diſcover any other of the perſons concerned in the ſaid murder, or either of them, ſo that ſuch perſon or perſons ſo diſcovered ſhall be convicted thereof, ſuch perſon or perſons ſo diſcovering ſhall, over and above the ſaid reward, receive his Majeſty's moſt gracious pardon for the ſaid offences.

And whereas it has appeared to us, that the daring and rebellious outrages aforeſaid were committed in proſecution of a rebellious Conſpiracy againſt his Majeſty's Government, and that divers other enormities were at the ſame time committed in Thomas-ſtreet aforeſaid, and in the neighbourhood thereof, in proſecution of the ſame treaſonable purpoſe, and that divers of the Perſons engaged therein did come to Dublin with intent to commit ſuch outrages and enormities, in order to induce and perſuade his Majeſty's peaceable and loyal Subjects in the City of Dublin and its neighbourhood, by the terror thereof, and by apprehenſions for their own perſonal ſafety, to join in the treaſonable Conſpiracy aforeſaid.

Now we the Lord Lieutenant and Council do hereby ſtrictly enjoin and command all his Majeſty's ſubjects in their ſeveral ſtations, and according to their ſeveral duties, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs all ſuch rebellious inſurrections and treaſonable practices, and to apprehend and bring the perſons engaged therein to the puniſhment due to their crimes; and more eſpecially we do ſtrictly enjoin and command the Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin, and all Juſtices of the Peace of the ſaid City of Dublin, and

and of the County of Dublin, and all Sheriffs and other Magiſtrates and officers within their ſeveral juriſdictions, and all other his Majeſty's loving ſubjects, to do all acts in their power to ſuch purpoſes.

And we do hereby further require and command all Officers commanding his Majeſty's forces, to employ the troops under their command in the moſt ſpeedy and effectual manner, for the ſuppreſſion of all Rebellious Inſurrections and Treaſonable Practices, whenever the ſame may appear, and particularly to diſarm all Rebels, and recover all arms forcibly and traitorouſly taken from his Majeſty's peaceable and loyal ſubjects, and take up and ſeize all arms and ammunition which may be found in the cuſtody of any perſon or perſons not duly authorized by law to have and keep the ſame.

Given at the Council Chamber, in Dublin, the 24th day of July, 1803.

Signed, Redeſdale, C. Chas. Dublin, W. Tuam, Drogheda. Ely, Arran, Anneſley, Tyrawley, Her, Langriſhe, Denis Drowne, Henry King, S. Hamilton, St. George Daly, D. La Louche, James Fitzgerald, M. Fitzgerald, H. E. Fox, M. Smith, Standiſh O Gradv.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Addreſs of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons to his Majeſty at the Cloſe of the Seſſion, the 12th of Auguſt, 1803.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament aſſembled, have at length completed the ſupplies granted to your Majeſty for the ſervice of the preſent year —a period memorable for the events which it has produced, and awful for thoſe which may be yet to come.

In granting thoſe ſupplies, your Majeſty's faithful Commons have conſidered, that a criſis without example demanded unexampled efforts: and, by reſolving to raiſe annually a large proportion of the ſupplies for the current year, ſo long as the war endures, they have given to all the world a ſolemn pledge of their inflexible determination to render public credit unaſſailable.

They have alſo proceeded to reviſe the ſyſtem of your Majeſty's permanent revenue. By conſolidating the duties in each of its principal branches, they have ſimplified its operations, and at the ſame time they have endeavoured to render its preſſure leſs burthenſome, by regulating its mode of collection.

The commercial intereſts of this country to which our attention was called by your Majeſty's gracious commands at the commencement of the preſent ſeſſion, have been maturely conſidered: and meaſures have been taken for affording material accommodations and facilities to mercantile tranſactions, by rendering our principal ports free for all nations to

import, depoſit, and re-export their merchandize, without toll or tax, unleſs voluntarily brought into our own market for home conſumption.

Nor have we forgotten to beſtow our earneſt and ſerious thoughts upon the ſafety and efficacy of our church eſtabliſhment in every part of the United Kingdom. Upon this ſubject, as comprehending all that conſecrates our rational hopes, morals, and policy, we have deliberated with peculiar care and anxiety; and we preſume to believe, that the important laws which have been paſſed in aid of our church eſtabliſhment, will materially ſtrengthen and gradually extend its influence through ſucceeding ages.

But, Sirs, theſe were cares and objects belonging to times of peace. Wiſe, politic and deſirable as they might be, nevertheleſs, called upon now by your Majeſty's commands, we have without heſitation turned all our thoughts and efforts to meet the renewal of war, perſuaded that your Majeſty's paternal care preſerved to us the the bleſſings of peace, ſo long as they could be retained with ſafety and honour, and confident that ſince they have been openly attacked, and the juſtice of our cauſe has been made manifeſt to the world, our appeal to arms will not be in vain.

This war we ſee and know to be a war of no ordinary character. We feel that our religion, laws, and liberties, and exiſtence as a nation are put to the iſſue, and we have prepared for the conteſt accordingly. Beſides the ſupplies of money we have augmented, beyond all former example, every ſpecies of military force known in this country—we have met rebellion with prompt and neceſſary laws—and for the defence of a Sovereign endeared to us by long experience of his royal virtues, and commanding not our allegiance alone, but our hearts and affections, the whole nation has riſen up in arms.—May then the God of our fathers go forth with us to battle, and bleſs our cauſe, and ſtabliſh with victory that throne which we revere as the bulwark of our liberties; and ſo ſhall other nations at length learn, that a free, valiant, and united people is unconquerable, and able to ſet laſting bounds to an empire of violence, perfidy, and unrelenting ambition.

To the bills which I have now humbly to preſent to your Majeſty, your Commons, with all humility, entreat your Majeſty's royal aſſent.

The King's Moſt Gracious Speech, on proroguing the Parliament, the 12th of Auguſt, 1803.

My Lords, and Gentlemen,

I AM at length enabled, by the ſtate of public buſineſs, to releaſe you from your long and laborious attendance in Parliament.

In cloſing the ſeſſion, I have the utmoſt ſatisfaction in expreſſing the ſtrong ſenſe which I entertain of that zealous and unwearied regard for the welfare and honour of your country, which has diſtinguiſhed all your proceedings.

During

During the continuance of peace, your conduct manifested the just view which you had taken of our actual situation, and of the dangers against which you were peculiarly called upon to provide; and since the recurrence of hostilities, you have displayed an energy and promptitude which have never been surpassed, in the means which you have applied for the defence of the country, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war. Your proceedings, in consequence of the late treasonable and atrocious occurrences in Ireland, will, I trust, have the effect of preventing any further interruption of its internal tranquillity, and of convincing my loyal subjects in that part of the united kingdom, that they may confidently rely on that protection to which they are so justly entitled.

In the midst of the deliberations, which were occasioned by the immediate exigency of the times, you have not been unmindful of other objects, to which I had directed your attention; and I have great satisfaction in observing that you have completed a system for consolidating the duties, and regulating the collection and management of the several branches of the revenue; and that you have adopted measures which are calculated to afford material accommodation to the mercantile part of the community, and to encourage and extend the navigation and commerce of my dominions.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my particular thanks for the liberality and readiness with which you have granted the supplies for the public service.—It is painful to me to reflect, that the means of necessary exertion cannot be provided without a heavy pressure upon my faithful people; but I cannot sufficiently applaud that wisdom and fortitude which have led you to overlook considerations of temporary convenience, for the purpose of preventing a large accumulation of debt during the continuance of the war. You may be assured that there shall be as strict an attention to economy on my part as may be consistent with those preparations and exertions which will be best calculated to frustrate the designs and weaken the power of the enemy, by whose arrogant pretensions and restless ambition alone these sacrifices have been rendered unavoidable.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am fully persuaded that, during the cessation of your parliamentary duties, you will continue to be actuated by the same spirit, which has been uniformly displayed in your councils. It will be your duty to assist in carrying into effect those important measures, which your wisdom has matured for the defence and security of the realm: and particularly to give the most beneficial direction to that ardour and enthusiasm in the cause of their country, which animate all classes of my people. Justly sensible of the state of pre-eminence, in which it has pleased the Almighty to support us, for so many ages, amongst the nations of Europe, I rely with confidence, that under the continuance of his Divine protection, the exertions of

my brave and loyal ſubjects will prove to the enemy and to the world, that an attempt to ſubvert the independence, or impair the power of this united kingdom, will terminate in the diſgrace, and ruin of thoſe by whom it may be made, and that my people will find an ample reward for all their ſacrifices, in an undiſturbed enjoyment of that freedom and ſecurity, which by their patriotiſm and valour, they will have preſerved, and enſured to themſelves, and their poſterity."

Addreſs of the Firſt Conſul of France to the Helvetic Deputies, publiſhed at Paris, the 28th of December, 1802.

THE more I learn of your country, ſo much the more am I convinced that it cannot, with advantage, have more than a ſingle government. By the repreſentative ſyſtem, the democratic cantons would be ſubjected to the neceſſity of payments to which they are unaccuſtomed. The deſcendants of William Tell muſt know neither the reſtraint of chains, nor the payment of impoſts. But, on the other hand, for Berne and the other great cantons, the attempts at pure democracy were abſurd. Your different cantons muſt of neceſſity have diverſities of conſtitutional arrangement. With three leading exceptions, you muſt be re-eſtabliſhed nearly in the ſame political order in which you were before. The inequality of rights which ſubſiſted among the old cantons; the relations between ſovereign and ſubject ſtates; with the prerogatives of the Patrician families muſt be aboliſhed for ever. Under theſe corrections of the conſtitution of the cantons; Switzerland may poſſeſs a federative government of effective vigour.

For the maintenance of an independent central government your country is, by the invincible parſimony of nature, too poor. Your government cannot be other than one which may be ſupported without a burthenſome civil liſt. You cannot now act that part, among the great powers of Europe, to which you were formerly not unequal, when thoſe which now conſtitute the great powers, were ſubdivided into a multitude of petty ſtates. Your real force would be enfeebled, your preſent militia would be loſt by the inſtitution of a ſtanding army. You might, indeed, become great by forming two departments of France. But from France you are ſeparated by the eternal indeſtructible barriers of nature. Between two powers, between which there is a balance of force and influence, you are ſafe. Preſerve your neutrality, your laws, your political tranquillity, your good morals; and your fortune cannot but be happy. Confederative governments enfeeble great ſtates; but by concentrating, invigorates the energies of thoſe which are ſmall. Beſides, whom would you place at the head of your central government? If ſeveral perſons, would there not be a diviſion of their opinions and intereſts? If one man, who is there among you, whom you would all be willing to inveſt with the neceſſary confidence and authority? I, inveſted as I am, by the confi-

dence

dence of a great nation, with the power of its ſupreme magiſtracy, could not undertake to govern you. Should you chuſe a native of Zurich, the inhabitants of Berne would be diſſatisfied. By the choice of a catholic, offence would be given to the proteſtants. By the reſtoration of the governments of the cantons, you may become happier than by any merely central government. During the exiſtence of one ſingle government for all Switzerland, what have you known but inceſſant and unavailing changes? Laſt year you drove away a diet legitimately nominated by the people. Of your laſt conſtitution I cannot approve; a central government cannot be maintained among you, without the preſence of French troops. Your preſent government knows this by experience. Its members ſpoke the voice of patriotiſm, in conſenting that the French troops ſhould be withdrawn; but their prudence in that conſent was not juſtified by the events which followed. As a French citizen, I cannot but add, that Switzerland, though independent in regard to its own affairs, muſt not be ſo in its relations to France. No Engliſh emiſſaries are to be entertained in Switzerland. With England the Swiſs muſt enter into no treaty. The governor of Berne has ever been in the habit of ſeeking the ſupport of foreign powers, hoſtile to France. This example was followed by Reding, and the other leaders in the laſt inſurrection. Such muſt never again be the policy of Switzerland. France will never permit the Leman territory, of which the inhabitants are by blood and language allied to the French, to become again ſubject to the Swiſs. The baſis of your new ſtructure muſt be taken from the revolution and the will of the people. In the whole, the people muſt be ſatisfied, and no taxes muſt be impoſed.

The Federal Conſtitution of the SWISS CANTONS, *as ſettled by the Mediation of the Firſt Conſul of France and the Deputies of the Cantons.*

Dated Paris, Feb. 19, 1803.

General Diſpoſitions.

Art. 1. The nineteen cantons of Switzerland, viz. Appenzell, Argovia, Baſle, Berne, Fribourg, Glaris, Griſons, Lucerne, St. Gall, Schaffhauſen, Schwitz, Soleure, Teſſen, Thurgovia, Underweld, Uri, Vaud, Zug, and Zurich, are to be federally united, according to the principles of their reſpective conſtitutions. They reciprocally guarantee thoſe conſtitutions, as well as their territories, liberty, and independence, either with a reference to foreign powers, or the uſurpation of any particular canton, or the conduct of factions.

2. The contingencies, either in troops or money, which will be neceſſary for the due execution of thoſe guarantees, are to be furniſhed by the reſpective cantons in the following proportions. [*Here follows the quota, &c. which it is propoſed each canton ſhall furniſh.*]

3. There ſhall exiſt no longer in Switzerland provincial ſubjects, nor any ſpecies of privilege, either local, hereditary, perſonal, or appertaining to families.

4. Every Swiſs citizen ſhall have the liberty of removing his reſidence

residence from one canton to another, and freely to exercise his industry in any. It is permitted him to acquire political right in whatever canton he establishes himself. But he shall not enjoy, at the same time, political rights in more than one canton.

5. The ancient laws of commerce, external or internal, are abolished. The free exchange and circulation of commodities, cattle, merchandizes, &c. are guaranteed. All exclusive commercial privileges are abolished in the interior of Switzerland. The customs, &c. payable on the frontiers, shall go to the treasury of the adjoining canton; but the rates and proportions of these shall be submitted for the approbation of the diet.

6. Each canton shall reserve to itself the tolls destined for the repairs of the roads, keeping in order the banks of the rivers, bridges, &c.; but the rates of these shall, as in the foregoing instance, be left to the discretion of the diet.

7. The monies coined in Switzerland shall be of a uniform description, which is also to be determined by the diet.

8. No canton shall afford asylum to a criminal legally convicted, nor even to one legally accused.

9. The number of stipendiary troops to be supported in any one canton shall not exceed two hundred.

10. All partial alliances of one canton with another, or with any foreign power, is interdicted.

11. The government, or the legislative body of any canton, which shall violate a decree of the diet, is liable to be cited as rebellious, before a tribunal composed of the presidents of the criminal tribunals of all the other cantons.

12. The cantons shall possess all those powers which are not expressly delegated to the federal authority.

Of the Directorial Canton.

13. The diet is to assemble by rotation, and at annual periods, at Fribourg, Berne, Soleure, Basle, Zurich, and Lucerne.

14. The cantons, of which the above cities are the chief places, shall, in succession, become the directorial canton: the year for those purposes commences on the first of January.

15. The directorial canton shall provide suitable residence, and a guard of honour for the deputies; it also supplies the expences of the session.

16. The avoyer or burgomaster of the directorial canton, shall unite to those titles that of landamman of Switzerland. He shall have custody of the seal of the Helvetic republic. He cannot absent himself from the city. The supreme council of his canton shall accord to him an appropriate establishment, and shall defray the extraordinary expence of his official functions.

17. The foreign ministers are to present to the landamman their letters of credence, or of recall; and must apply to him on all matters of negotiation. He has also in charge the other diplomatic concerns.

18. At the opening of the diet, he is to communicate to them the necessary information respecting the domestic and foreign concerns of the republic.

19. No

19. No canton shall be allowed to call out or put in motion more than five hundred militia, until it shall have apprised the landamman of Switzerland of such an intention.

20. In case of a revolt in the interior of any canton, or on any other pressing occasion, the troops of one canton may march into another canton; but this shall take place only on the requisition of the supreme or petty council of the canton which wants such assistance; and after taking the advice of the petty council of the directorial canton, the diet, however, is to be convoked after the cessation of hostilities, or if the danger continues.

21. If, during the vacations of the diet, any disagreement should arise between any two or more cantons, they are to address themselves to the landamman of Switzerland, who, according to circumstances, shall appoint conciliatory arbiters, or refer the case to the consideration of the diet on its next sitting.

22. He is to make known to the cantons, every instance in which he deems their conduct likely to interrupt the tranquillity of Switzerland, and every thing which takes place of an irregular nature, and militating against either the federal act, or their particular constitution. He may, in some cases, convoke the supreme council, or that of the *Landsgemeindes*, in those places where the supreme authority is immediately exercised by the people.

23. The landamman of Switzerland sends, in cases of need, inspectors for the purpose of examining the state of the roads, rivers, &c. Where necessity requires it, he can direct the immediate execution of public works, and make the necessary arrangements with respect to the expences thereof, &c.

24. His signature attaches a national credit and character to those acts to which it is affixed.

Of the Diet.

25. Each canton sends a deputy to the diet, who may be accompanied by one or two substitutes, who shall be eligible to act as such in case of the absence or indisposition of the principal.

26. The deputies to the diet are to have instructions and limited powers; they cannot vote contrary to their instructions.

27. The landamman of Switzerland is, *ex officio*, deputy of the directorial canton.

28. The nineteen deputies, who compose the diet, shall have twenty-five votes in the deliberations, in manner as follows:—the deputies of those cantons, of which the population is more than 100,000 inhabitants, viz. those of Berne, Zurich, Vaud, St. Gall, Argovie, and the Grisons, shall have each two votes. The deputies of those cantons, of which the population is less than 100,000 souls, namely, those of Tessen, Lucerne, Thurgovie, Fribourg, Appenzell, Soleure, Basle, Schwitz, Glaris, Schaffhausen, Underwald, Zug, and Uri, shall have but one vote each.

29. The diet, at which the landamman of Switzerland presides, is to assemble the first Monday in June; its session shall not exceed the term of one month.

30. There shall be extraordinary

nary diets on the following occasions: 1. On the demand of a neighbouring power, or of one of the cantons, supported by the supreme council of the directorial canton, which shall be assembled on such occasion, if not sitting at the time. 2dly. On the determination of the supreme council, or of the lands-gemeindes of five cantons, who can, on such an occasion, demand the proceeding, though the directorial canton may not concur in it. 3dly. When they shall be convoked by the landamman of Switzerland.

31. The declaration of war, and the treaties of peace or of alliance, emanate from the diet; but the concurrence of three-fourths of the cantons, on such occasions, is necessary.

32. It shall alone have the power of concluding treaties of commerce, &c. for the foreign service. It authorizes the cantons in case it shall deem expedient, to treat particularly in other concerns with a foreign power.

33. The diet has the direction of the contingent of the troops to be furnished by each canton, according to Art. 2. It appoints the commanding officer, and in short, adopts all the measures necessary for the security of Switzerland, and for the execution of the other dispositions of the first article: this power also comprizes internal concerns.

34. It nominates and dispatches ambassadors extraordinary.

35. It decides finally upon all matters in dispute between the cantons. For this purpose it forms itself into a *syndicat*, but in such case each deputy has but one voice —neither are previous instructions necessary on this occasion.

36. The verbal process of the diet is to be entered into two registers, of which one remains with the directorial canton, and the other with the state seal, which, at the end of December, is to be removed to the chief place in the directorial canton.

37. A chancellor, and a greffier, appointed by the diet for two years, and paid by the directorial canton (at the rate the diet shall think proper) shall always accompany the state seal and the register.

38. The constitution of each canton, engrossed on parchment, and sealed with the seal of the canton, shall be deposited in the archives of the diet.

39. The present federal act, as well as those of the particular constitutions of the nineteen cantons, shall abrogate and annul all anterior dispositions whatever that may be contrary to it; and no law relative to the internal affairs of the cantons, or to the relations between them, can be found on the ancient political state of Switzerland.

The repose of Switzerland, the success of the new institutions now forming, require that the necessary operations for carrying them into effect, and to transmit to the new magistrates, the care of the public happiness and welfare, be secured from the influence of the passions, and executed with moderation, impartiality, and wisdom.

We cannot hope for a prosperous issue unless the commissioners, named by the act of mediation, be animated by the spirit which dictated it.

By these considerations, we in our

our said quality, and with the reservations before expressed, do constitute as follows:

1. For the year 1803, Fribourg to be the directorial canton.

2. The citizen Louis d'Affry to be landamman of Switzerland for the said year, and invest him with the extraordinary powers until the assembling of the diet.

3. The original act of mediation shall be transmitted to the landamman, in order to be deposited in the archives of the directorial canton.

4. In each canton a commission of seven members, and of which one shall be appointed by us, and six chosen by the ten deputies selected to confer with us, is charged to put into activity the constitution, and to administer it provisionally.

5. These commissions are composed as follows: [*Then follow the names of persons appointed to fill the commissions of the different cantons.*]

6. On the 10th of March next, the central government shall dissolve itself, after having transmitted its papers and archives to the landamman of Switzerland.

7. Each commission shall assemble on the 10th of March, at the chief place of the canton, and notify its assembling immediately to the prefect.

8. Within twenty-four hours after that notification, the prefect shall transmit to the commission the papers of administration.

9. In those cases which may require instructions, or special authorities, the commissions shall address themselves to the landamman of Switzerland.

10. On the 15th of April the commission shall be put into a state of activity, in order that on the 1st of June each canton may elect its deputies to the diet, and prepare their instructions, and on the first Monday in July, in the present year, the diet shall assemble.

11. The affairs pending before the supreme tribunal, shall be carried to the tribunal of appeal of the canton in which the parties reside. The supreme tribunal shall cease all its functions on the 10th of March.

12. The Helvetic troops, at present in the pay of Switzerland, who shall not be employed by the 1st of May by the cantons, shall be taken into the service of France.

13. No prosecution shall be carried on for crimes relating to the revolution, committed, or pretended to be committed, either by individuals, or in the exercise of any public function.

The dissolution of the central government, and the reinstatement of the sovereignty in the cantons, requires that there should be a provision made for the discharge of the Helvetic debt, and of the disposal of the property declared national. We, in our said quality, and with the reserve before expressed, appoint as follows:

Art. 1. The property heretofore belonging to the convents shall be restored to them, not only the property situated in the same canton, but also in any other.

2. The administration of national property, other than that heretofore belonging to Berne, in the cantons of Vaud and Argovia, is provisionally transmitted to the cantons to which it belonged. The documents respecting the claims of Berne, shall be provisionally transmitted to those commissioners

missioners appointed by the cantons of Berne, Vaud, and Argovia.

3. In each canton burdened with debts anterior to the revolution, there shall be assigned funds for their funding or discharge, out of what remains of the property heretofore belonging to the canton.

4. There shall be re-constituted for each city a revenue proportioned to its municipal expences.

5. The national debt shall be liquidated, to which purpose all claim shall be appropriated. If the debt exceeds the amount of the credit, in a proportion according to what remains of their ci-devant immoveable property, after the discharge of the cantonal debts anterior to the revolution, and the re-composition of the patrimony of the cities.

6. The moveable and immoveable property which shall remain after the formation of the communal funds, the discharge of the cantonal and national debts, shall return to the possession of those cantons to which it had belonged. The property which shall remain in the cantons of Vaud and Argovia shall belong to them. What may remain of the claims of Berne, shall be equally distributed amongst the cantons of Berne, Vaud, and Argovia.

7. A commission composed of the members, namely, the citizens Stapfer, Minister of the Republic, Kuster, Ex-minister of the Finances, Raemy, Ci-devant Chancellor of Fribourg, and at present Member of the Administrative Chamber, Sutzer, of Winterthur, Helvetic Deputy, Laurent, Mayor of Lucerne, President of the Administrative Chamber, shall determine the extent of the wants of the municipalities, and of the funds necessary for re-constituting their revenues, shall liquidate the debts of the canton, and the national debt, shall assign to each debt the funds necessary to operate its discharge, and shall determine the property which shall return into the possession of each canton.

8. It shall publish the result of its labours with respect to the debts on the 10th of May, and with respect to the revenues of the cities, and the patrimony of the cantons on the 10th of June: it shall send the result of each labour to the first landamman of Switzerland, and to each canton, for the purpose of being carried into execution.

9. The commission shall assemble at the chief place of the directorial canton, and shall remain there till the end of its labours. The present act, the result of long conferences between wise men and friends to virtue, appears to us to contain those dispositions which are most proper to ensure the peace and happiness of Switzerland. As soon as they shall be executed, the French troops shall be withdrawn.

We recognize Helvetia, constituted conformably to the present act, as an independent power.

We guarantee the federal constitution, and that of each canton, against the enemies of the tranquillity of Helvetia, whomsoever they may be, and we promise to continue those relations of beneficence, which for so many ages have united the two nations.—Made and done at Paris, 19th February, 1803.

(Signed)
BONAPARTE.
The Secretary of State.
(Signed)

(Signed)
HUGUES B. MARET,
The Minister for Foreign Affairs.
(Signed)
C. M. TALLEYRAND,
The Minister for Foreign Affairs
of the Italian Republic.
(Signed)
J. MARESCALCHI.

The present act has been transmitted by the senators commissioners undersigned, to the ten Swiss deputies undersigned, at Paris, 19th February, 1803.

(Signed)
BARTHELEMY,
ROEDERER,
FOUCHE,
DEMEUNIER.

(Signed)
LOUIS D'AFFRY,
PIERRE GLUTZ,
EMMAN. JAUCH,
H. MONNOT.
REINHARD,
SPRECHER BERNYS,
P. A. STAPFER,
PAUL USTERY,
R. D. WATTERVILLE KE MONTBENAY.
Y. VON FLUE.

Convention concluded between Prussia and the Batavian Republic, in November, 1802.

BE it known, to all whom it may concern, That his Prussian Majesty being firmly resolved to observe, and scrupulously to fulfil, the stipulations agreed upon in favour of the Batavian republic, in the convention signed at Paris, the 23d of May, between his Prussian Majesty and the French republic, respecting the cession of the territorial property hereafter pointed out; and, being desirous to proceed to the preliminary and complete execution of the first treaty, which is the basis of it, the two powers have agreed previously to regulate, by an arrangement, the mode and conditions of that cession; and, in that view, they have authorized, viz. his Majesty of Prussia, Mr. C. H. C. Count Haugwitz, his Minister of State, &c. &c.; and the Batavian Republic, Citizen C. G. Hultman, her Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Berlin, who, after having mutually exchanged their full powers, agreed to the following articles:

Art. 1. Agreeably to Art. 2. of the treaty of Paris, already referred to, his Majesty the King of Prussia renounces for himself and heirs, all claims, pretensions, and propriety, over Sinaar, Huissen, and Malbourg, locked within the Batavian republic, and cedes, abandons, and gives them up for ever, in full sovereignty and property to the Batavian republic, to be possessed by her, and united with her territory.

2. The complete surrender of the ceded districts shall take place, if possible, within the term of three months after the dispositions relating to it, and upon the ground of which the undersigned will hereafter negotiate, shall be adjusted to the mutual satisfaction of the two contracting powers. By consequence, there shall be appointed without delay, and reciprocally by both parties, commissioners, who will repair to the spot, in order to take these objects into consideration, and to decide upon them in the manner agreed upon.

3. The two contracting powers will, like good neighbours, and agreeably

agreeably to the principles of perfect equity, come to an amicable understanding respecting every thing that concerns their respective interests, not only with regard to the commercial intercourse between their contiguous dominions, and the navigation of the Rhine, but also with respect to the construction and repairs of the hydraulic works, which are connected with the common safety of their adjoining territories.

4. The Batavian Republic takes upon it to discharge the debts of these districts; and more especially of those debts for which these districts are especially mortgaged; as likewise its quota of those debts which it is to sustain, as a part of the collective debts of the duchy of Cleves. In order, however, to obviate all the difficulties that might start up in the application of the first Article, it is expressly understood, that there shall not be charged upon the Batavian Republic but those debts only which arise out of those formal loans which have been contracted by the dominions of the duchy of Cleves, or the corporations and communal bodies of the ceded districts; and finally, those debts occasioned by the expences which have been incurred for their respective administration. The liquidation of those debts shall be settled by the commissaries of both parties, conformably to the legal and juridical proofs which shall be given in, and submitted to, the commissioners of the Batavian Republic.

5. All the deeds, titles, and acts, relative to the public and private property of the ceded districts shall be faithfully given up to the commissaries of the Batavian Republic, and in the supposition that there might arise a collision of interests with the Prussian provinces, to which these districts formerly belonged, there shall be drawn up, at common expences, authentic copies, which shall likewise be deposited in the hands of the Batavian commissaries.

6. The present convention shall be ratified by the two parties; and the exchange of the ratifications shall take place within the term of four months, counting from this date, or sooner, if possible.

In faith of which we, the plenipotentiaries of his Majesty the King of Prussia, and of the Batavian Republic, have, in virtue of our full powers, signed the present convention, and affixed to it our respective seals.

Done at Berlin, the 14th November, in the year of our Lord 1802.

COUNT DE HAUGWITZ.
HULTMAN.

Convention between Austria, France, and Russia, signed at Paris, on the 26th of December, 1802.

HIS Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, having signified that he could not consider the 5th article of the treaty of Luneville, as far as it relates to his Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, as sufficiently fulfilled by the plan of indemnities agreed to by the Deputation of the Empire; and as the First Consul of the French Republic, on his part, has nothing more at heart than to contribute to the entire and perfect fulfilment

fulfilment of that treaty, it has been resolved, with the consent of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, to agree on certain modifications to be introduced into the plan accepted by the Deputation of the Empire, to render it conformable to the principles of the treaty of Luneville, and such as may receive the ratifications of the Emperor and the empire.

For this purpose, the high contracting powers have appointed their respective plenipotentiaries, namely, his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Sieur John Philip, Count Cobentzel; and the First Consul of the French Republic, Citizen Joseph Bonaparte; who, having exchanged their full powers, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. 1. To enlarge the indemnities stipulated in favour of his Highness the Duke of Modena, and his heirs, his Imperial Majesty cedes the district or province Ortenau, with all its dependencies, to be united to the Breisgau, and his Highness, and his heirs, shall possess these two provinces without any exception or limitation, according to the 4th article of the treaty of Luneville, which, with respect to the Duke, is to be understood as well of the Ortenau as of the Breisgau.

2. To indemnify his Imperial Majesty for the cession of the Ortenau, the two bishopricks, Trent and Brixen, shall be secularized, and his Majesty shall receive possession of the same, and all their property, rights, and revenues, only under the condition that he shall provide for the maintenance, for life, of the two Prince-bishops and the Chapters, as shall be agreed on, and for the future dotation of the clergy, which, in these dioceses, shall be placed on the same footing as in the other provinces of the Austrian monarchy.

3. To complete the indemnities of his Royal Highness the Archduke, Grand Duke (of Tuscany,) the bishopric of Eichstadt shall be added to what has already been assigned to his Royal Highness by the general conclusum, or recess, of the 2d of Frimaire (November 23,) to be possessed by his Royal Highness, and his heirs, in full sovereignty and independence, with all the property, revenues, rights, and prerogatives, connected therewith, as possessed by the Prince-bishop himself at the time of the signing the treaty of Luneville; only with the exception of the districts of Sandsee, Wernsels, Spalt, Oberberg, Hornburg, and Warburg, with all the dependencies of the bishopric of Eichstadt, contained in the territories of Anspach and Bayreuth, which shall remain to his Electoral Palatine Highness of Bavaria, and shall be recompensed to his Royal Highness the Archduke, Grand Duke, by a suitable equivalent from the domains of his Electoral Highness of Bavaria in Bohemia, and in case these should not be sufficient, from other revenues of his Electoral Highness.

4. For the confirmation of the said stipulations, and the property, and other rights, which his Imperial Majesty, as sovereign of the Austrian hereditary states, and head of the empire, has agreed on and ceded, for the completion of the plan of indemnities, his Majesty engages to employ his influence that the general plan of in-

demnities, as modified by the present convention, shall be ratified by the empire, and that it shall, without delay, receive the imperial ratification.

5. It is expressly understood, that after the exchange of the present act, the territories mentioned in the preceding articles shall be taken possession of, both in the civil manner, by the princes to whom they are allotted, or in their names; also that the city of Passau, and the suburbs of Instadt and Illstadt, shall be immediately evacuated by the troops of his Imperial Majesty, and given up to his Electoral Palatine Highness of Bavaria, but under condition that the fortifications of the city shall not be enlarged or strengthened, but only maintained in their present state; and that no new fortifications shall be erected in the suburbs of Instadt and Illstadt. Also in the territory of the bishopric of Eichstadt, no new fortifications shall be erected by his Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand, or his heirs.

6. The First Consul of the French Republic will unite with his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias, to procure the electoral dignity for his Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand.

7. The high contracting parties guarantee reciprocally the fulfilment of every thing contained in the preceding articles, and the minister plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias shall be invited to accede to the present convention, for, and in the name of, his Imperial Majesty, as a contracting principal.

The present convention shall be ratified within twenty days from the present time, or sooner, if possible.

Done at Paris, the 5th Nivose, of the year 11, (December 26, 1802.)

(Signed) PHIL. COBENTZEL,
JOSEPH BONAPARTE,
COUNT MARKOFF.

Papers presented to both Houses of Parliament, 18th May, 1803.

No. I.

London, May 23, 1802.

My Lord,

THE 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens, which fixes the new organization of the Order of Malta, having prescribed various measures, to the execution of which it is necessary that the two principal contracting powers should concur, the First Consul has named General Vial as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Order and Island of Malta, for the purpose of concerting with the person whom his Britannic Majesty shall appoint for that purpose, respecting the execution of the arrangements agreed upon in the late treaty. General Vial will set out on his destination as soon as your Excellency shall have informed me of his Majesty's intentions, and of the choice he may make.

I have the honour to be, &c.
OTTO.

No. II.

Downing-Street, May 24, 1802.

Sir,

IN answer to your letter of yesterday,

yesterday, in which you communicate to me the nomination, by the First Consul, of General Vial to be Minister Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; I have the honour to inform you that the King has been pleased to appoint Sir Alexander Ball to be his Majesty's Minister to the Order. Sir Alexander Ball will shortly proceed to Malta, and will be instructed to concert with General Vial the necessary measures for carrying into effect the arrangements relative to that island, which are stipulated in the 10th article of the definitive treaty of peace.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

M. Otto, &c. &c. &c.

No. III.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord St. Helens to Lord Hawkesbury, dated St. Petersburg, April 23, 1802.

I HOPE very soon to be enabled to re-dispatch your Lordship's last messenger, with the answer of this Government to the communications which I have made to them, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, respecting the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens. In the mean time I must not conceal from your Lordship, that there is great reason to fear that his Imperial Majesty will decline taking part in the proposed joint guaranty of the possessions and new constitution of the Order of Malta.

No. IV.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord St. Helens to Lord Hawkesbury, dated St. Petersburg, May 7, 1802.

I HAVE reason to hope that the first impressions that had been produced here by certain parts of the arrangement relative to Malta have been removed; and that his Imperial Majesty may even be ultimately induced to guaranty the whole of that arrangement, provided that the steps which have been taken towards the election of a new Grand Master, according to the mode suggested by this Court, be considered as fulfilling what is required on that head by the latter part of the paragraph of the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens; and, consequently, that no new election for that office is to take place in the manner pointed out by the former part of the same stipulation.

No. V.

Downing-Street, June 5, 1802.

Sir,

I INFORMED you in my dispatch, No. 10, that M. Otto had made an official communication to me, that General Vial was appointed, by the First Consul, Minister Plenipotentiary to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Sir Alexander Ball has been, in consequence, invested with the same character by his Majesty. He will proceed immediately to Malta,

and he will receive inſtructions to concert, with General Vial, the beſt means of carrying into complete effect the ſtipulations contained in the 10th article of the definitive treaty. By the paragraph marked No. 1, in that article, it is ſtipulated:

"The Knights of the Order, "whoſe Langues ſhall continue to "ſubſiſt after the exchange of the "ratifications of the preſent treaty, "are invited to return to Malta "as ſoon as that exchange ſhall "have taken place: they ſhall "there form a general chapter, "and ſhall proceed to the election "of a Grand Maſter, to be cho-"ſen from amongſt the natives of "thoſe nations which preſerve "Langues, if no ſuch election "ſhall have been already made "ſince the exchange of the ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace."

The object of this paragraph was, that in the event of an election having taken place ſubſequent to the exchange of the ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace, and antecedent to the concluſion of the definitive treaty, that election ſhould be conſidered as valid; and though no mention is made in the article of the proclamation of the Emperor of Ruſſia ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, by which the Knights of the Order were invited to aſſemble, and to proceed to the election of a Grand Maſter, the ſtipulation in queſtion evidently referred to the contingency of an election taking place on the Continent in conſequence of that proclamation.

You will inform the French Government, that his Majeſty is ready to conſider the election which has lately taken place at St. Peterſburg, under the auſpices of the Emperor of Ruſſia, to be valid, according to the ſtipulation in the 10th article.

His Majeſty has no other object in the whole of this tranſaction, than that the 10th article of the treaty may be fairly executed; and that the arrangement may be carried into complete execution with as little difficulty as poſſible.

As the 13th paragraph in the 10th article ſtipulates that the Governments of Auſtria, Ruſſia, and Pruſſia, ſhould be invited to accede to the arrangements reſpecting Malta, it is deſirable that the French Government ſhould inſtruct, without delay, their Ambaſſadors or Miniſters at Vienna, Peterſburg, and Berlin, to make, conjointly with his Majeſty's Miniſters at thoſe Courts, an official communication, deſiring the acceſſion of thoſe powers to the arrangements relative to Malta in the definitive treaty; by which it is provided, that the independence of the iſland, and the other ſtipulations, ſhall be under the guarantee of thoſe powers, in conjunction with his Majeſty, the French Government, and the King of Spain.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

Anthony Merry, Eſq.
&c. &c. &c.

No. VI.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Anthony Merry, Eſq. to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Paris, June 17, 1802.

I HAVE now the honour to tranſmit to your Lordſhip, inclоſed,

cloſed, copy of an anſwer which reached me laſt night, (though dated eight days back,) from the French Miniſter, to the note verbale which I delivered to him, containing his Majeſty's propoſitions reſpecting the execution of ſome points of the arrangements relative to Malta, contained in the 10th article of the definitive treaty of peace. You will find the entire acquieſcence of this Government to thoſe propoſitions, expreſſed in a very ſatisfactory manner.

(Incloſure referred to in No. VI.)

HIS Britannic Majeſty's Miniſter Plenipotentiary has the honour to tranſmit herewith to Citizen Talleyrand, Miniſter for the Foreign Affairs of the French Republic, the "note verbale" of the communication he has been ordered to make to him by his Government, who are deſirous that the propoſals it contains may be acceptable to the French Government; and they may be aſſured the Britiſh Government, in making theſe propoſals, have no other object in view than to facilitate, in the eaſieſt manner, the execution of the Treaty of Amiens, and to act, in this reſpect, in perfect harmony with the French Government.

Mr. Merry has the honour to renew, on this occaſion, the aſſurances of his high conſideration for M. Talleyrand.

(Signed) ANT. MERRY.

Paris, 8th June, 1802.

The Citizen Miniſter for Foreign Affairs will find incloſed a liſt of ſuffrages, obtained from ſeveral priories of the Order of St. John of Jeruſalem, for the election of a Grand Maſter, which has been received from St. Peterſburg by the Britiſh Government, with the notice, that theſe priories have agreed amongſt themſelves, that his Holineſs the Pope ſhall ſelect (pro hac vice) from amongſt the candidates therein ſpecified, the perſon who is to fill the poſt of Grand Maſter.

His Britannic Majeſty, on his part, is willing to conſider an election ſo made as valid, according to the ſtipulations of the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens.

His Majeſty, therefore, is ready to acknowledge, in quality of Grand Maſter, the perſon whom the Pope ſhall think proper to fix upon, from amongſt the names contained in that liſt.

His Majeſty has no other end in view in this, than to ſee the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens duly fulfilled, and the arrangement it contains executed with as little difficulty as poſſible.

It is ſtipulated by the 13th paragraph of the ſame article, that the Auſtrian, Ruſſian, and Pruſſian Governments, ſhall be ſolicited to accede to the ſaid arrangement.

The Britiſh Government is of opinion, that it might be proper for that of France to ſend, without delay, inſtructions to their Miniſters at Vienna, Peterſburg, and Berlin, to make, conjointly with his Britannic Majeſty's Miniſters, a communication to thoſe powers, in which they ſhould be invited to accede to the arrangement reſpecting Malta, by which the independence of the iſland, and the other ſtipulations relative there-

to, are placed under the protection and guarantee of those powers, conjointly with their Britannic and Catholic Majesties, and the French Republic.

The undersigned, Minister for Foreign Affairs, has the honour to transmit to M. Merry, his Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, his answer to the note verbale, which he addressed to him on the 8th Prairial. He doubts not that his Majesty's Ministers will see, in this answer, a new proof of the constant dispositions of the First Consul to come to an agreement with the English Government, for the securing and facilitating the execution of the respective clauses of the treaty which has re-established peace between the two States.

The undersigned has the honour to renew to M. Merry the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed)

CHA. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

Paris, 20th Prairial, Year 10.

[The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic has received the communication which has been made to him by his Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary, of the list of the candidates nominated by the votes of the different priories to the Grand Mastership of the Order of Malta; and he has submitted to the First Consul the proposal concerted between the priories of the Order, and approved by his Britannic Majesty, of submitting (pro hac vice) to his Holiness the choice among the proposed candidates.

The First Consul has no other object in whatever relates to the Order of Malta, than to see the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens duly executed, and to remove all the obstacles which might render that execution tardy or difficult. He moreover desires, equally with his Britannic Majesty, that France and England should act in concert, in order the better to secure the independence and the organization of the Order of Malta. He therefore consents that the choice of its Grand Master, from the candidates proposed by the votes of the priories, should, for this time, be submitted to his Holiness.

As to the 13th paragraph of the same article, respecting the accession of the powers, the First Consul thinks with his Britannic Majesty, that the powers should be invited to give their consent to the arrangements agreed upon; and the French Ministers at the courts of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, shall consequently receive orders to take, conjointly with his Britannic Majesty's Ministers, the necessary steps for obtaining the accession ptovided by the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens.]

Paris, 10th Prairial, Year 10.

No. VII.

Paris, June 4, 1802.

My Lord,

I HAD occasion to see M. Talleyrand yesterday afternoon, for the purpose of introducing to him, by appointment, some English gentlemen, previously to their presentation to-day to the First Consul.

Having gone first alone into the Minister's

Minister's Cabinet, he said, that he had been directed by General Buonaparte, to represent to me several circumstances which stood very much in the way of that perfect reconciliation and good understanding between the two countries and their governments, which it was the First Consul's sincere wish to see re-established, in order that such obstacles might be removed before the arrival in London of the French Ambassador; because, although the circumstances in question had already produced a very disagreeable effect, whilst only M. Otto, as Minister, had to witness them, they would acquire a great addition of force if they should still exist when the Ambassador should be present; and since the First Consul had given orders for General Andreossy to proceed to his destination with as little delay as possible, he wished that I should take an early opportunity to give an account to your Lordship, of the observations which he was charged to make to me.

After a preface to this effect, M. Talleyrand proceeded to state to me, that the accounts which M. Otto had transmitted of the disgust and inconvenience which he could not but feel and experience, at meeting frequently at his Majesty's court, and at other places, the French Princes, and some French persons, still decorated with the insignia of French orders which no longer existed; and at seeing the countenance and support which continued to be given in England, to what he termed the ci-devant French bishops, as well as to other persons (he here mentioned Georges) inimical to the present Government of France, had affected so strongly the First Consul, and were, in fact, so calculated to prevent that system of cordiality which he was anxious to see established, that it was incumbent upon him to express his wish, that his Majesty's Government might be disposed to remove out of the British dominions, all the French Princes and their adherents, together with the French bishops, and other French individuals, whose political principles and conduct must necessarily occasion great jealousy to the French Government. He continued to observe, that the protection and favour, which all the persons in question continued to meet with, in a country so close a neighbour to France, must alone be always considered as an encouragement to the disaffected here, even without those persons themselves being guilty of any acts tending to foment fresh disturbances in this country; but that the Government here possessed proofs of the abuse which they were now making of the protection which they enjoyed in England, and of the advantage they were taking of the vicinity of their situation to France, by being really guilty of such acts, since several printed papers had lately been intercepted, which it was known they had sent, and caused to be circulated in France, and which had for object to create an opposition to the Government. I cannot, my Lord, do better than refer you to what you will have read in the French official paper of the day before yesterday, under the article of Paris, for the exact text of M. Talleyrand's discourse upon this subject; which he concluded by saying, that he

thought the residence of Louis the XVIII. was now the proper place for that of the rest of the family, and that I might add this suggestion in my report to your Lordship.

I answered the French Minister, that without any reference to you, I could assure him, that the practices of the French residing in England, of which he complained, had not been encouraged, nor would be countenanced, by his Majesty's Government; which was as sincerely disposed to cultivate harmony, and a good understanding between the two countries, as he had represented the First Consul to be: but that I could by no means say how far they would be disposed to adopt the measures which he had intimated it to be General Buonaparte's wish that they should pursue, in order to remove so effectually, every thing which might not perhaps be considered equally by them, as giving just cause of offence, or jealousy, to France.

M. Talleyrand did not rejoin upon the matter; but asked me when I proposed writing. Upon my replying, I should lose no time; he said, that if I should write as to-day, he would avail himself of the opportunity to convey a letter to M. Otto.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) A. MERRY.

To the Right Honourable
Lord Hawkesbury, &c.
&c. &c.

No. VIII.

Downing-Street, June 10, 1802.

Sir,

YOUR dispatches of the 4th instant were received on Monday night, and have been laid before the King.

The account given in that dispatch of the conversation which passed on the 3d instant, between you and M. Talleyrand, respecting the French Princes and their adherents, would have afforded here considerable surprise, if his Majesty's Government had not, in some degree, been prepared for it by information which had been previously received: from the manner, however, in which this subject has been mentioned to you, it is important that you should take a proper opportunity to explain, candidly and fairly, to the French Government, the line of conduct which his Majesty feels it to be his duty to pursue in this very delicate business. His Majesty would certainly consider it inconsistent with both the letter and spirit of the treaty of peace, between him and the French Republic, to encourage or countenance any projects that might be hostile to the present Government of France. He is sincerely desirous that the peace which has been concluded may be permanent, and may lead to the establishment of a system of good understanding and harmony between the two countries. With these sentiments, he is disposed to employ all the means in his power to guard against any circumstance which can have the effect of disturbing the tranquillity that has been so happily restored; and he certainly expects, that all foreigners who may reside within his dominions, should not only hold a conduct conformable to the laws of the country, but should abstain from all acts which may be hostile to the Government of any country with

with which his Majesty may be at peace. As long, however, as they conduct themselves according to these principles, his Majesty would feel it inconsistent with his dignity, with his honour, and with the common laws of hospitality, to deprive them of that protection which individuals resident in his dominions can only forfeit by their own misconduct. The greater part of the persons to whom allusion has been made in M. Talleyrand's conversation with you, are living in retirement, and his Majesty has no reason whatever to suppose, that since the conclusion of peace, they have availed themselves of their residence in this country, to promote any designs injurious to the Government of France.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

Anthony Merry, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

No. IX.

Paris, June 17, 1802.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that I have executed the instructions given me by your secret and confidential dispatch, (No. 14,) in consequence of the communication from M. Talleyrand, which I transmitted in my Number 23, respecting the residence of the French Princes, and other French persons, in his Majesty's dominions.

In delivering my answer on this business to the French Minister, I took care to express, in the strongest manner, the assurances which your Lordship has authorized me to give of his Majesty's sincere desire that the peace which has happily been concluded should be permanent, and that it should lead to the establishment of a system of harmony and good understanding between the two countries; and that, as his Majesty's conduct would, in every respect, be guided by those sentiments, he of course would not tolerate, much less encourage, any proceedings on the part of persons within his dominions, which might be hostile to the present Government of France; which assurances might, I trusted, be sufficient to tranquillize and satisfy the First Consul, without recurring to the measures which had been intimated to me, and which could not but be considered as inconsistent with his Majesty's dignity and honour, as well as with the common laws of hospitality, which he could not but observe towards foreigners within his dominions, until they should have forfeited that protection by their misconduct.

M. Talleyrand expressed to me, in reply, that the First Consul had solicited no more than the British Government itself had, at the time, demanded of France, when the Pretender was in this country, and then had been practised between other Governments under similar circumstances: that he could not see any humiliation in the measure which he had intimated to me; that he could assure me it had not been suggested with any such idea; and that he could only repeat, that the adoption of it would be, in the highest degree, agreeable and satisfactory to the First Consul, and be considered by him

him as the moſt convincing proof of his Majeſty's diſpoſition to ſee a cordial good underſtanding eſtabliſhed between the two countries; concluding his anſwer, with a requeſt that I would report it to your Lordſhip.

I rejoined upon the ſubject, by obſerving to the French Miniſter, that even without adverting to the ſerious conſideration of the King's dignity and honour, the feelings of the people of England were to be taken into account on the occaſion; that he muſt be ſenſible the relative ſituation, hitherto, of the two countries, eſpecially in regard to trade, afforded his Majeſty's ſubjects no room to reap thoſe advantages which were common to, and which were always expected from, a ſtate of peace; and that it therefore appeared to me, that the Firſt Conſul would equally give a proof of his diſpoſition to ſee harmony and a friendly intercourſe re-eſtabliſhed between the two nations, by not repeating his wiſh upon a matter which would operate, in the ſtrongeſt manner, againſt ſuch an approximation and reconciliation of ſentiments, were it even only to come to the knowledge of his Majeſty's ſubjects.

I am happy, my Lord, to ſay, that M. Talleyrand ſhewed no warmth, or any very marked eagerneſs, in his manner of replying to my communication; and that our converſation on this head terminated with the laſt remarks I made to him, when he changed it to another ſubject.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ANTHONY MERRY.

Right Honourable Lord
Hawkeſbury, &c. &c.
&c.

No. X.

Portman-Square, July 25, 1802.

My Lord,

I tranſmitted ſome time ago, to Mr. Hammond, a number of Peltier, containing the moſt groſs calumnies againſt the French Government, and againſt the whole nation; and I obſerved, that I ſhould probably receive an order to demand the puniſhment of ſuch an abuſe of the preſs. That order is actually arrived, and I cannot conceal from you, my Lord, that the reiterated inſults of a ſmall number of foreigners, aſſembled in London to conſpire againſt the French Government, produce the moſt unfavourable effects on the good underſtanding between the two nations. Even though the firſt article of the Treaty of Amiens had not provided for the maintenance of that reſpect which two independent nations owe to each other; the general maxims of the law of nations would formally condemn ſo revolting an abuſe of the liberty of the preſs. It cannot be believed, that the law can give more latitude to a libelliſt than to any other individual, who, without declaration of war, ſhould permit himſelf to violate the duties of good neighbourhood. The offence in queſtion is ſo much the more ſerious, as its object is evidently to diſturb the harmony which ſubſiſts between the two Governments.

It is not to Peltier alone, but to the Editor of the "Courier François de Londres," to Cobbet, and to other writers who reſemble them, that I have to direct the attention of his Majeſty's Government. The perfidious and malevolent

volent publications of these men, are in open contradiction to the principles of peace; and if it could ever enter into the mind of the French Government to permit retaliation, writers would doubtless be found in France, willing to avenge their countrymen, by filling their pages with odious reflections on the most respectable persons, and on the dearest institutions of Great Britain.

The want of positive laws against these sorts of offences cannot palliate the violation of the law of nations, according to which peace should put a stop to all species of hostilities; and doubtless those which wound the honour and the reputation of a Government, and which tend to cause a revolt of the people, whose interests are confided to that Government, are the most apt to lessen the advantages of peace, and to keep up national resentments.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) OTTO.

To his Excellency Lord Hawkesbury, Minister and Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.

No. XI.

Downing-Street, July 28, 1802.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter on the subject of the last number of Peltier. It is impossible that his Majesty's Government could peruse the article in question without the greatest displeasure, and without an anxious desire that the person who published it should suffer the punishment he so justly deserves. The calumnies, however, to which his Majesty's Government, and many of the best subjects in this country, are frequently exposed in the public prints, must necessarily convince all foreign Governments of the difficulties which exist in a constitution like that of Great Britain, in preventing the abuse which is often unavoidably attendant on the greatest of all political benefits; and though publications of this nature are, as they certainly ought to be, by the law of England, subject to punishment, it is often difficult to prove the guilt of an individual so satisfactorily as to obtain the judgment of a court of justice; and the inconvenience which arises from prosecution, unless there is a reasonable prospect of success, is frequently sufficient to deter both the Government and individuals from undertaking it. In the present case, I have thought it my duty to refer the article in question to his Majesty's Attorney General, for his opinion whether it is or is not a libel, according to the construction of the law of England, and whether it is such a libel as he would, under all the circumstances, recommend for prosecution. As soon as I receive his report, I shall have the honour of communicating it to you.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

M. Otto, &c. &c. &c.

NOTE.

No. XII.

NOTE.

THE underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary of the French Republic having ſubmitted to his government the letter which his excellency Lord Hawkeſbury, miniſter and principal ſecretary of ſtate of his Britannic Majeſty, did him the honour of writing under date of the 27th July, is directed to offer the following obſervations.

If the Britiſh government tolerates cenſures upon the acts of its adminiſtration, and the perſonal abuſe of the moſt reſpectable men, it does not ſuffer even the ſlighteſt attempt againſt the public tranquillity, the fundamental laws of the empire, and the ſupreme authority which ariſes from them. Every nation is, moreover, at liberty to ſacrifice any advantage whatever in its interior, in order to obtain another to which it attaches a higher value: but the government which does not repreſs the licentiouſneſs of the preſs, when it may be injurious to the honour or the intereſts of foreign powers, would afford an opportunity for libelliſts to endanger the public tranquillity, or at leaſt the good underſtanding that forms the baſis of it, and whenever ſuch ſerious injuries are continued in a regular and ſyſtematic manner, doubts muſt ariſe as to its own diſpoſitions.

The particular laws and conſtitution of Great Britain are ſubordinate to the general principles of the law of nations, which ſuperſede the laws of each individual ſtate. If it be a right in England to allow the moſt extenſive liberty to the preſs, it is a public right of poliſhed nations, and the bounden duty of governments to prevent, repreſs, and puniſh, every attack which might by thoſe means be made againſt the rights, the intereſts, and the honour, of foreign powers.

This general maxim of the law of nations has never been miſtaken without paving the way for the greateſt diviſions, and has even furniſhed in England a plauſible pretext to thoſe who have written volumes to prove the neceſſity of the laſt war againſt France. Are theſe men now deſirous of preſenting to the Conſular government a weapon which they have wielded with ſo much addreſs? And can they flatter themſelves that the authority which has ſigned the peace has not power to maintain it?

By the firſt article of the treaty of Amiens, the two powers agree to afford no protection, either directly or indirectly, to thoſe who ſhould cauſe prejudice to any of them.

But the greateſt of all injuries doubtleſs is, that which tends to debaſe a foreign government, or to excite within its territory civil and religious commotions; and the moſt decided of all protections, is that which places under the ſafeguard of the laws, men who ſeek not only to diſturb the political tranquillity of Europe, but even to diſſolve the firſt bonds of ſociety.

The underſigned miniſter muſt moreover obſerve, that this is not a queſtion reſpecting ſome paragraphs, which, through the inadvertence

vertence of an editor, might have been accidentally inſerted in a public print; but it is a queſtion of a deep and continued ſyſtem of defamation, directed not only againſt the Chief of the French republic, but againſt all the conſtituted authorities of the republic, againſt the whole nation, repreſented by theſe libellers in the moſt odious and degrading terms. It has even been remarked that many of theſe prints contain an appeal to the French people, againſt the government and fundamental laws of their country.

If theſe obſervations apply to the Engliſh writers, who, for theſe three months paſt, have deluged the public with the moſt perfidious and unbecoming publications, they are ſtill more applicable to a claſs of foreign calumniators, who appear to avail themſelves of the aſylum offered them in England only for the purpoſe of the better gratifying their hatred againſt France, and undermining the foundations of peace.

It is nor merely by inſulting and ſeditious writings, evidently publiſhed with a view to circulation in France, but by other incendiary papers diſtributed through the maritime departments, in order to excite the evil-diſpoſed or weak inhabitants to reſiſt the execution of the *Concordate*, that theſe implacable enemies of France continue to exerciſe hoſtilities, and to provoke the juſt indignation of the French government and people. Not a doubt exiſts of theſe writings having been compoſed and circulated by *Georges*, and by the former biſhops of France. Theſe men can no longer be conſidered but as rebels againſt both political and religious authority; and after their reiterated attemps to diſturb the good underſtanding between the two governments, their reſidence in England militates openly againſt the ſpirit and letter of the treaty of peace.

The meetings likewiſe which have taken place in the iſland of Jerſey, and the odious plots which are there framed, in ſpite of the repreſentations which the underſigned miniſter has already taken care to make on this ſubject, alſo demand immediate meaſures to be taken by a Government, the neighbour and friend of France.

Other perſons (attached, by recollections never to be effaced, and by regrets too long foſtered, to an order of things which no longer exiſts in France) find themſelves daily implicated by the plots of thoſe who pretend to ſerve them. A ſenſe of their own reputation will without doubt lead them to avoid a focus of intrigues, with which they ought not to have the leaſt connection.

Peace happily re-eſtabliſhed, the mutual deſire of the two Governments to render it ſolid and laſting, and the general intereſts of humanity, require that all theſe cauſes of diſſatisfaction ſhould be done away, and that his Majeſty's Miniſtry ſhould, by frank and energetic meaſures, manifeſt their diſapprobation of all the attempts made to produce new diviſions.

The underſigned has in conſequence received eſpecial orders to ſolicit,

1ſt.

1ſt. That his Majeſty's Government will adopt the moſt effectual meaſures to put a ſtop to the unbecoming and ſeditious publications with which the newſpapers and other writings printed in England are filled.

2d. That the individuals mentioned in the underſigned Miniſter's letter of the 23d July laſt, ſhall be ſent out of the iſland of Jerſey.

3d. That the former Biſhops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, and all thoſe, who like them, under the pretext of religion, ſeek to raiſe diſturbances in the interior of France, ſhall likewiſe be ſent away.

4th. That *Georges* and his adherants ſhall be tranſported to Canada, according to the intention which the Underſigned has been directed to tranſmit to his Government at the requeſt of Lord Hawkeſbury.

5th. That, in order to deprive the evil-diſpoſed of every pretext for diſturbing the good underſtanding between the two Governments, it ſhall be recommended to the Princes of the Houſe of Bourbon at preſent in Great Britain, to repair to Warſaw, the reſidence of the head of their family.

6th. That ſuch of theF rench emigrants as ſtill think proper to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient government of France, ſhall be required to quit the territory of the Britiſh empire.

Theſe demands are founded upon the Treaty of Amiens, and upon the verbal aſſurances that the underſigned Miniſter has had the ſatisfaction to receive in the courſe of the negociations, with regard to a mutual agreement for maintaining tranquillity and good order in the two countries. If any one in particular of theſe demands does not proceed ſo immediately from the treaty concluded, it would be eaſy to juſtify it by ſtriking examples, and to prove how very attentive the Britiſh Government has been in times of internal fermentation, to remove from the territory of a neighbouring power thoſe who might endanger the public tranquillity.

Whatever may be the protection which the Engliſh law's afford to native writers, and to other ſubjects of his Majeſty, the French Government knows that foreigners do not here enjoy the ſame protection; and that the law, known by the title of the *Alien Act*, gives the Miniſtry of his Britannic Majeſty an authority which it has often exerciſed againſt foreigners whoſe reſidence was prejudicial to the intereſts of Great Britain. The firſt clauſe of this act ſtates expreſsly that any Order in Council which requires a foreigner to quit the kingdom ſhall be executed under pain of impriſonment and tranſportation. There exiſts, therefore, in the Miniſtry a legal and ſufficient power to reſtrain foreigners, without having recourſe to the courts of law; and the French Government, which offers on this point a perfect reciprocity, thinks it gives a new proof of its pacific intentions, by demanding that thoſe perſons may be ſent away, whoſe machinations uniformly tend to ſow diſcord between

tween the two people. It owes to itſelf and to the nation at large, (which has made it the depoſitory of its power and of its honour), not to appear inſenſible to inſults and to plots during profound peace, which the irritation of open war could not juſtify; and it is too well acquainted with the conciliatory diſpoſitions of the Britiſh Miniſtry, not to rely upon its efforts to diſperſe a faction equally the enemy of France and England.

The underſigned Miniſter ſeizes this opportunity to preſent to his Excellency Lord Hawkesbury, the homage of his reſpectful conſideration.

(Signed) OTTO.

London, 17th Auguſt, 1802.

No. XIII.

Downing-ſtreet, Auguſt 28th, 1802.

Sir,

I Send you the copy of a letter which I received ſome days ago from M. Otto, together with a copy of an official note incloſed in it. I have informed M. Otto, that you would receive inſtructions to enter into explanations with the French Government on the ſeveral points to which it refers. It is impoſſible not to feel conſiderable ſurprize at the circumſtances under which it has been thought proper to preſent ſuch a note; at the ſtile in which it is drawn up, and at the complaints contained in it. Whatever may be the general diſpoſitions of the French Government towards this country, ſuppoſing them to be as hoſtile as they have been at any former period, or even more ſo, it would appear ſo contrary to their intereſt to provoke a war with us at the the preſent moment, that I am inclined to aſcribe their conduct, in the whole of this buſineſs, more to temper, than to any other motive; but whether their conduct is to be referred to temper or to policy, the effects of it may ſtill be the ſame; it is therefore become of the utmoſt importance that a frank explanation ſhould be made of the line of conduct which his Majeſty has determined to adopt on reaſons of the nature of thoſe to which this note refers, and of the motives on which it is founded; and it is to be hoped that ſuch an explanation will have the effect of putting an end to a courſe of proceeding which can lead only to perpetual irritation between the two Governments, and which might ultimately tend to the moſt ſerious conſequences.

The firſt conſideration that naturally ariſes on this tranſaction, is that of the peculiar circumſtances under which the note of M. Otto has been preſented. It cannot be denied that ſome very improper paragraphs have lately appeared in ſome of the Engliſh newſpapers againſt the Government of France; it cannot be denied likewiſe, that publications of a ſtill more improper and indecent nature have made their appearance in this country, with the names of foreigners affixed to them. Under theſe circumſtances, the French Government would have been warranted in expecting every redreſs that the laws of this country could afford them; but as, inſtead of ſeeking it in the ordi-

nary

nary courſe, they have thought fit to reſort to recrimination themſelves, or at leaſt to authorize it in others, they could have no right to complain if their ſubſequent appeal to his Majeſty had failed to produce the effect that otherwiſe would have attended it.

Whatever may have been the nature of the prior injury, they have in fact taken the law into their own hands: And what is this recrimination and retort? The paragraphs in the Engliſh newſpapers, the publications to which I have above referred, have not appeared under any authority of the Britiſh Government, and are diſavowed and diſapproved of by them; but the paragraph in the Moniteur has appeared in a paper avowedly official, for which the Government are therefore conſidered as reſponſible, as his Majeſty's Government is reſponſible for the contents of the London Gazette. And this retort is not confined to the unauthorized Engliſh newſpapers, or to the other publications of which complaint is now made, but is converted into, and made a pretence for a direct attack upon the Government of his Majeſty. His Majeſty feels it beneath his dignity to make any formal complaint on this occaſion; but it has been impoſſible for me to proceed to the other parts of the ſubject, without pointing your attention to the conduct of the French Government in this reſpect, that you may obſerve upon it in the manner it deſerves.

The propoſitions in M. Otto's official note, are ſix in number; but may in fact be divided under two heads: the firſt, that which relates to the libels of all deſcriptions, which are alledged to be publiſhed againſt the French Government; the laſt, comprehending the five complaints which relate to the emigrants reſident in this country. On the firſt, I am ſure you muſt be aware that his Majeſty cannot, and never will, in conſequence of any repreſentation or any menace from a foreign Power, make any conceſſion which can be in the ſmalleſt degree dangerous to the liberty of the preſs, as ſecured by the conſtitution of this country. This liberty is juſtly dear to every Britiſh ſubject. The conſtitution admits of no previous reſtraints upon publications of any deſcription; but there exiſt judicatures, wholly independent of the Executive Government, capable of taking cognizance of ſuch publications as the law deems to be criminal, and which are bound to inflict the puniſhment the delinquents may deſerve; theſe judicatures may take cognizance not only of libels againſt the Government and the magiſtracy of this kingdom, but, as has been repeatedly experienced, of publications defamatory of thoſe in whoſe hands the adminiſtration of foreign Governments is placed. That our Government neither has nor wants any other protection than what the laws of the country afford: and though they are willing and ready to give to every foreign Government all the protection againſt offences of this nature which the principle of their laws and conſtitution will admit, they never can conſent to new-model their laws, or to change their conſtitution,

tion, to gratify the wishes of any foreign Power. If the present French Government are dissatisfied with our laws on the subject of libels, or entertain the opinion that the administration of justice in our courts is too tardy and lenient, they have it in their power to redress themselves by punishing the venders and distributors of such publications, within their own territories, in any manner that they may think proper, and thereby preventing the circulation of them. If they think their present laws are not sufficient for this purpose, they may enact new ones; or, if they think it expedient, they may exercise the right which they have of prohibiting the importation of any foreign newspapers, or periodical publications, into the territories of the French republic. His Majesty will not complain of such a measure, as it is not his intention to interfere in the manner in which the people or territories of France should be governed; but he expects on the other hand, that the French Government will not interfere in the manner in which the government of his dominions is conducted, or to call for a change in those laws with which his people are perfectly satisfied. With respect to the distinction which appears to be drawn in M. Otto's note, between the publications of British subjects and those of foreigners, and the power which his Majesty is supposed to have in consequence of the alien act, of sending foreigners out of his dominions, it is important to observe, that the provisions of that act were made for the purpose of preventing the residence of foreigners, whose numbers and principles had a tendency to disturb the internal peace of his own dominions, and whom the safety of those dominions might require in many instances to be removed, even if their actual conduct had not exposed them to punishment by law. It does not follow that it would be a warrantable application of such a law to exert its powers in the cases of individuals such as those of whom complaint is now made, and particularly as they are liable to be prosecuted under the law of the land, in like manner, as others have been in similar cases, at the instance, and upon the complaint of foreign Governments.

The second general head, which includes the five last complaints, relates to the removal of some of the French emigrants resident in this country. His Majesty entertained hopes that the explanation furnished on this head in my dispatch, No. 14, would have proved satisfactory, and would have precluded the necessity of any farther discussion on this subject. The French Government have, upon several occasions, resorted on this part of the subject to precedent, and have particularly rested on the demand formerly made by this country, that the person then called the Pretender, should be sent from the French dominions. It is important that the differences between these two cases should be stated. When James the Second abdicated the Throne, and left this country, he retired with his adherents to France; and though in the war which immediately succeeded that event, the French Governmont adopted his cause as their own, no stipulation was made at the treaty of Ryswick, that he should be sent from

that country, nor was any subsequent demand ever made to the French Government to this effect; but he was suffered to remain at St. Germain, in the neighbourhood of Paris, surrounded by his family and friends, till the time of his death. It was not till after his demise, when Lewis the Fourteenth, in direct violation of the Treaty of Ryswick, had acknowledged his Son as King of Great Britain, that a different course of proceeding was adopted by the British Government; and in the Treaty of Peace signed at Utrecht, which put an end to the war which had been carried on, on account of the Spanish succession, an article was inserted to prevent the Pretender from residing in any part of the French Dominions. The demand which was subsequently made for the removal of the Pretender from a town which was situated in the centre of these dominions, was founded on this Article of the Treaty, which was in fact one of the conditions of the Peace; but both the Article in the Treaty and the demand were confined to the Pretender personally, and were not extended to any of his family, or to any of his adherents. After his removal, many of his adherents continued to reside in France; many persons resident in this country, who were attached to the cause of the Pretender, and had promoted the rebellion in his favour, and who were consequently attainted for High Treason, sought refuge in France, and were permitted to remain there till their death, without any application ever having been made by the British Government for their removal. The Duke of Berwick, the natural Son of James the Second, who from his principles and talents was the most dangerous man to the interests of this country and the protestant Succession, continued to be a general in the French armies, and though descended from the King, an Englishman and an Emigrant, it was not required that he should be sent out of France. In the present case, there is no Article in the Treaty of Peace, by which his Majesty is bound to send from this country any Frenchman whatever, except on account of the crimes specified in the Twentieth Article of the Definitive Treaty, and in consequence of the proofs therein required having been adduced. In the present case, it cannot be pretended that his Majesty has ever given the slightest countenance to the cause of the Royalists in France against the present Government, since the period when He acknowledged that Government; and if there were not these important differences in the two cases, they would be totally dissimilar in the only remaining point; for in the case of the House of Stuart, as has been already stated, notwithstanding the violence of the times, and the danger to which the protestant succession was really exposed, this strong act of authority was confined to the person of the Pretender; and the individual who must be recognized in that character by the French Government, and whose case can alone bear any similarity to the former even in this respect, is not, and never has been within his Majesty's dominions: Other precedents might be adduced on this subject; but it is not necessary to state them, as the foregoing are sufficient.

With respect to the complaints in detail under the second head.—Upon the first, you may inform the French

French Government, that the emigrants in Jersey, many of whom had remained there solely on account of the cheapness of subsistence, had actually removed, or were removing previous to the representation concerning them in Mr. Otto's Note, and that before your explanation with Mr. Talleyrand can take place, there will probably not be an emigrant in the island.

To the second complaint which relates to the Bishops of Arras and Saint Paul de Leon, and others, his Majesty can only reply, that if the facts alledged against them can be substantiated; if it can be proved that they have distributed papers on the coast of France, with a view of disturbing the Government, and of inducing the people to resist the new Church Establishment, his Majesty would think himself justified in taking all measures within his power for obliging them to leave the country; but some proof must be adduced of those facts; and such proof must not be that of their having in a single instance, viz. in reply to the Pope's Mandate, published a vindication of their own conduct, in refusing to conform to the new establishment, a proceeding in which they would be justifiable on every principle of toleration and justice; but it should shew that they have since availed themselves of their situation in this country to excite the people of France against the authority of that government, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

On the third complaint, which respects the removal of *Georges*, and those persons supposed to be described as his adherents, Mr. Otto, must have mistaken me in what he supposes me to have said on that subject. His Majesty is however very desirous to obviate any cause of complaint or uneasiness with respect to these persons; and measures are in contemplation, and will be taken, for the purpose of removing them out of his Majesty's European Dominions.

On the fourth complaint respecting the Princes of the House of Bourbon, I can only refer you to my former answer. His Majesty has no desire that they should continue to reside in this country, if they are disposed, or can be induced to quit it; but he feels it to be inconsistant with his honor and his sense of justice to withdraw from them the rights of hospitality, as long as they conduct themselves peaceably and quietly; and unless some charge can be substantiated of their attempting to disturb the peace which subsists between the two governments.

With respect to the fifth complaint, which relates to the French emigrants wearing in this country the orders of their ancient government; there are few if any persons of that description in this country who wear such orders. It might be more proper if they all abstained from it; but the French Government could not persist in expecting, that even if it were consistent with law, his Majesty could be induced to commit so harsh an act of authority as to send them out of the country on such an account.

I have thus stated to you his Majesty's sentiments on the several points contained in Mr. Otto's note. You will take an early opportunity of communicating these sentiments to the French Government, and of accompanying them

with the arguments and explanations above ſtated. And if it ſhould be deſired, and you ſhould be of opinion, that it was likely to produce any good effect, there is no objection to your putting the ſubſtance of what you ſhall have ſtated in writing, and of delivering it to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, as a memorandum of your converſation.

Upon the general tone and ſtyle of Mr. Otto's Note, it is important to obſerve, that it is far from conciliating; and that the practice of preſenting notes of this deſcription, on any motive or ſuggeſtion of perſonal irritation, cannot fail to have the effect of indiſpoſing the two Governments towards each other, inſtead of conſolidating and ſtrengthening the peace which happily ſubſiſts between them. That after a war, in which the paſſions of men have been rouſed beyond all former examples, it is natural to ſuppoſe that the diſtruſt, jealouſy, and other hoſtile feelings of individuals ſhould not immediately ſubſide, and under theſe circumſtances it appears to be both the intereſt and the duty of the two Governments by a mild and temperate conduct gradually to allay theſe feelings, and not on the contrary to provoke and augment them by untimely irritation on their part, and by aſcribing proceedings like thoſe above noticed, to cauſes to which they have no reference. His Majeſty has thus fully and frankly explained his ſentiments, and the ground of his conduct. He is ſincerely diſpoſed to adopt every meaſure for the preſervation of peace, which is conſiſtent with the honor and independence of the country, and with the ſecurity of its laws and conſtitution. But the French Government muſt have formed a moſt erroneous judgment of the diſpoſition of the Britiſh Nation, and of the character of its Government, if they have been taught to expect that any repreſentation of a foreign power will ever induce them to conſent to a violation of thoſe rights on which the liberties of the people of this country are founded.

I have the Honor to be, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

Anthony Merry, Eſq.

No. XIV.

NOTE.

GENERAL Vial, Miniſter Plenipotentiary of the Republic at Malta, having ſet out for his deſtination about the 20th of July, it is to be preſumed, that he will ſoon be in a condition to enter into a concert with his Britannic Majeſty's Miniſter Plenipotentiary on the evacuation of Malta, and of its dependencies.

The three months, in which this evacuation ſhould have taken place, are expired; and it being the intention of the two Governments that the execution of the Treaty of Amiens ſhould experience the leaſt poſſible delay, the Firſt Conſul would have been deſirous that the two thouſand Neapolitans who are ready to depart, could have been tranſported at an early period to the Iſland of Malta, to be in readineſs whenever the evacuation ſhall be on the point of being effected.

It appears, nevertheleſs, that Mr. Drummond, the Engliſh Miniſter at Naples, has not been authorized by

by his Government to facilitate this tranſport; and that the motive alledged by that Miniſter was, that the ſtipulations, which ought to precede the evacuation not being fulfilled, that evacuation could not yet take place.

In communicating the above details to his Excellency Lord Hawkeſbury, his Britannic Majeſty's principal Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, the underſigned is directed to obſerve, that the ſending the two thouſand Neapolitans to the Iſland of Malta cannot but be conſidered as a preliminary ſtep, in order to accelerate the evacuation, as ſoon as the neceſſary meaſures ſhall have been taken by the reſpective Plenipotentiaries; and that it does not in any manner prevent the ſubſequent concert on the details of the evacuation, conformably to the clauſes of the Treaty of Amiens.

The Underſigned is moreover directed to requeſt the Britiſh Miniſtry to give general inſtructions to his Majeſty's Plenipotentiaries at Naples, and at Malta, that the evacuation, and the other Conditions of the 10th Article, may be executed without obſtacle, and without theſe Plenipotentiaries conceiving themſelves obliged to refer to their Government on each of the ſucceſſive operations which ſhould take place.

The underſigned embraces this opportunity to preſent to his Excellency Lord Hawkeſbury, the homage of his reſpectful conſideration.

London, Auguſt 21ſt, 1802.

(Signed) Otto.

His Excellency Lord Hawkeſbury,
&c. &c. &c.

No. XV.

NOTE.

THE underſigned has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Otto's Note of the 21ſt inſtant.

When the Neapolitan Government notified to Mr. Drummond, the King's Miniſter at Naples, that the 2000 troops which his Sicilian Majeſty had ſelected to ſerve in Malta, were ready to proceed to their deſtination, that gentleman declined taking any ſtep to facilitate their embarkation, till he ſhould receive intelligence of the arrival of Sir Alexander Ball in that Iſland, and till he ſhould be informed that the Commander in Chief of the Britiſh Forces had made ſuitable preparations for their reception. By the laſt advices from Malta it appears, that Sir Alexander Ball had arrived there on the tenth of laſt month, and that after having conferred with General Fox upon the ſubject, he had written to Mr. Drummond, that there was no impediment whatever to the immediate reception of the Neapolitan Troops, and that their quarters would be prepared accordingly; the underſigned has the honor to ſtate this to M. Otto as the moſt ſatisfactory anſwer which he can give to his Note. It is probable, therefore, that the troops of his Sicilian Majeſty are already embarked and on their paſſage; but to prevent the poſſibility of any unneceſſary delay or miſconception, the moſt explicit inſtructions will be immediately forwarded to Mr. Drummond on this ſubject.

With reſpect to the other points in M. Otto's Note, the underſign-

ed can only repeat what he has before ſtated to him, that his Majeſty is moſt ſincerely deſirous to ſee all the ſtipulations of the Tenth Article of the Definitive Treaty carried into effect with the utmoſt punctuality, and with the leaſt poſſible delay. With this view he takes this opportunity of obſerving to M. Otto, that by the very laſt Diſpatches from the Engliſh Ambaſſador at St. Peterſburgh, the French Miniſter at that Court had not even then received any inſtructions from his Government relative to the ſteps to be taken in concert with Lord St. Helens, for inviting the Emperor to become a Guaranty of the proviſions and ſtipulations of the Article in queſtion. The French Miniſter at Berlin, was in the ſame predicament. The underſigned, therefore, requeſts that M. Otto would have the goodneſs to repreſent theſe circumſtances to his Government, and to urge them, if they have not already done it, to tranſmit without delay to their Miniſters at thoſe courts the neceſſary inſtructions for bringing this part of the buſineſs to a concluſion.

The underſigned requeſts M. Otto to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

Downing Street, Auguſt 23d, 1802.

No. XVI.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Paris, October 3, 1802.

AS ſoon as the Helvetic Government had retired from Berne to Lauſanne, the partizans of the antient Federative ſyſtem of the Swiſs Cantons, who eſtabliſhed immediately in the former City a Proviſional Government, deputed a confidential to Paris, for the purpoſe of counteracting the meaſures of M. Stapfer, and of engaging the Firſt Conſul to ſuffer the inhabitants of Switzerland to ſettle their affairs amongſt themſelves. He was inſtructed in any emergency to addreſs himſelf to the Miniſters here of the principal Powers of Europe, and to ſolicit their interference and aſſiſtance in the objects of his miſſion. He reached Paris four days ago, and had reaſon to flatter himſelf, from the reſult of an interview which he had immediately with M. Talleyrand, that the Firſt Conſul would put no obſtacle in the way of any arrangement which the Swiſs might agree upon among themſelves for the final ſettlement of their Government; he was therefore much ſurpriſed to learn ſoon afterwards, that a change had taken place in the Firſt Conſul's ſentiments, and his aſtoniſhment was compleated when he found that the latter had taken ſo decided and ſo unfavourable a part in the buſineſs, as that which is announced by a reſolution publiſhed in yeſterday's Moniteur, (which I have the honor to tranſmit incloſed), in the form of an Addreſs to the Inhabitants of Switzerland. This perſon having, beſides this public declaration, acquired ſome private information of its being the Firſt Conſul's intention to give the moſt immediate and vigorous effect to it, loſt no time in addreſſing a letter to the latter, in which he took the liberty of ſtating that he muſt have been deceived by falſe repreſentations, that his interference in the affairs of Switzerland, was,

was, as he was authorized to say, entirely unsolicited by the majority, and the best thinking part of the inhabitants; and that he had, therefore, to entreat of him, in the most earnest manner, to suspend the execution of his resolution until those explanations could take place, which he trusted might be the means of preventing the immense effusion of blood which would otherwise inevitably ensue. He at the same time addressed himself in the course of yesterday to me, as well as to the Austrian and Spanish Ambassadors, and to the Russian and Prussian Ministers, (not having gained admittance to Monf. de Cobenzel, nor to M. de Markoff or Luccheſini; he afterwards wrote to them), soliciting, in the strongest terms, an interference (jointly, if possible), on their part, with the French Government, to endeavour to avert the impending evil. I naturally observed to him in answer, that the present state of political relations between the great powers of Europe afforded no prospect of his obtaining of their Ministers at Paris, to adopt a concerted measure in favour of the object which he had so much at heart, and that of course I could not take it individually upon myself, without any express instruction from my government. He returned to me to-day, to acquaint me that he was not only as yet without a reply from any quarter, but had reason to fear that his prayers would not be listened to by the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian Ministers; *he therefore conjured me to transmit them to His Majesty's Government, from whom only his Countrymen could have a hope of deriving any assistance in the terrible conflict which he knew they were determined to stand, and which would only cease by the extermination of every virtuous and brave man in the country.* He then put into my hand a Note which he had drawn up in a hurry, and of which I inclose a copy. whilst, my Lord, it was out of my power to give him any encouragement to expect from his Majesty's Government the assistance which his petition expresses, I have thought it my duty to lose no time in making you acquainted with a state of things which may shortly be attended with very important consequences.

(Inclosure referred to in No. 16.)

NOTE.

SO long as Switzerland was occupied by the French armies, the wishes of the people could never be freely manifested. The petty revolutions which took place in the Government were the mere tricks of certain factions, in which the nation at large took but a very trifling interest. Scarcely did Switzerland think herself independent when she was desirous of returning to her ancient institutions, rendered still dearer to her by her late misfortunes, and the arbitrary acts of the Government furnished her with the means of doing so. Almost the whole of Switzerland, with unexampled unanimity and moderation, shook off the yoke. The Cantons formed themselves into Constituent Bodies; and Twelve of the Thirteen Cantons of Switzerland sent their representatives to the Diet of Schwitz, in order there to organize a central power which might be acceptable to the neighbouring powers.

The ariſtocratical cantons renounced their excluſive rights: the Pays de Vaud was left at liberty to form its own conſtitution, as well as Thurgovia, and the other new cantons.

The Government having taken refuge at Lauſanne, was by no means ſecure there, notwithſtanding its regular troops; perhaps even at the preſent moment it no longer exiſts.

Who would not have thought that, according to the ſtipulation of the Treaty of Luneville, which grants independence to Swiſſerland, and the right of chooſing its own Government, every thing was ſettled, and that this nation might ſee its former happineſs and tranquillity revive?

Who could have thought that the Firſt Conſul would have iſſued ſuch a decree as that of the 8th Vendermiaire (29th September)?

Is an independent nation to be thus treated? Should Bonaparte perſiſt in his determination, and the other Powers ſhould not interpoſe in our favour, it only remains for us either to bury ourſelves in the ruins of our houſes, although without hope of reſiſtance, exhauſted as we are by the Coloſſus who is about to overwhelm us, or to debaſe ourſelves in the eyes of the whole univerſe!

Will the Government of this generous nation, which has at all times afforded ſo many proofs of the intereſt it takes in the welfare of the Swiſs, do nothing for us under circumſtances which are to decide, whether we are ſtill to be ranked amongſt *free people?*

We have only men left us:—the revolution, and ſpoliations without end, have exhauſted our means: we are without arms, without ammunition, without ſtores, and without money to purchaſe them.

No. XVII.

NOTE VERBALE.

LORD Hawkeſbury has received his Majeſty's commands to communicate, through M. Otto, to the French Government, the ſentiments of deep regret which have been excited in his Majeſty's mind, by the addreſs of the Firſt Conſul to the Helvetic people, which was publiſhed by authority in the Moniteur of the 1ſt inſtant, and by the repreſentations which have been made to his Majeſty on this ſubject, on behalf of the nation whoſe intereſts are ſo immediately affected by it. His Majeſty moſt ſincerely laments the convulſions to which the Swiſs Cantons have for ſome time paſt been expoſed; but he cannot conſider their late exertions in no other light than as the lawful efforts of a brave and generous people to recover their ancient laws and government, and to procure the re-eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem which experience has demonſtrated, not only to be favourable to the maintenance of their domeſtic happineſs, but to be perfectly conſiſtent with the tranquillity and ſecurity of other powers.

The Cantons of Swiſſerland unqueſtionably poſſeſs, in the ſame degree as every other independent ſtate, the right of regulating their own internal concerns; and this right has, moreover, in the preſent inſtance, been formally and explicitly guaranteed to the Swiſs nation by the French Government in the Treaty of Luneville, con-

jointly with the other Powers who were parties to that engagement. His Majesty has no other desire than that the people of Switzerland, who now appear to be so generally united, should be left at liberty to settle their own internal government without the interposition of any foreign powers; and with whatever regret his Majesty may have perused the late proclamation of the French Government, he is yet unwilling to believe that they will farther attempt to controul that independent nation in the exercise of their undoubted rights. His Majesty thinks himself called upon, by his regard for the general interests of Europe, and by his peculiar solicitude for the happiness and welfare of the Swiss nation, to express these his sentiments with a frankness and sincerity which he feels to be due to his character, and to the good understanding which he is desirous of preserving with the Government of France.

Downing-Street, October 10, 1802.

M. Otto, &c. &c. &c.

No XVIII.

Downing-Street, October 10, 1802.

Sir,

HIS Majesty having deemed it expedient, that a confidential person should be sent at the present moment to Switzerland, in consequence of the communication which he has received from the Swiss Confederacy, through their representative at Paris, I am commanded to inform you, that he has made choice of you for that purpose.

It is of the utmost consequence, considering the nature of the business with which you are entrusted, that you should lose no time in taking your departure from hence, and that you should make every practicable exertion to arrive on the frontiers of Switzerland with as little delay as possible. You will inform yourself there what is the actual residence of the Government of the Swiss Confederation, to which you will immediately repair. Having taken the proper means to obtain a confidential interview with the persons who may be entrusted with the principal direction of affairs, you will communicate to them a copy of the note verbale which I delivered to M. Otto, and which is herewith inclosed; and you will take every opportunity of impressing upon their minds the deep interest which his Majesty takes in the success of their exertions. You will state to them, that his Majesty entertains hopes, that his representation to the French Government may have the effect of inducing the First Consul to abandon his intention of compelling the Swiss nation, by force, to renounce that system of government under which they had so long prospered, and to which they appear to be almost unanimously anxious to return. In this event, his Majesty will feel himself bound to abstain from all interference on his part; it being his earnest desire that the Swiss nation should be left at liberty to regulate their own internal concerns, without the interposition of any foreign power. If, however, contrary to his Majesty's expectations, the French Government should persist in the system of coercion announced in the proclamation

mation of the Firſt Conſul, inſerted in the Moniteur of the 1ſt inſtant, you will, in that caſe, inform yourſelf, by every means in your power, of the diſpoſition of the people at large of the Swiſs Confederacy, and particularly of thoſe who have the direction of their affairs, and of thoſe who poſſeſs the greateſt ſhare of influence amongſt them, to perſevere in the defence of their rights, and in the maintenance of the ſyſtem they have adopted. You will likewiſe enquire into the means of defence of which they may be poſſeſſed, and of the probability of their being exerted with ſucceſs. You will on no account encourage them to perſevere in active meaſures of reſiſtance, which they are not themſelves deſirous to adopt, or which they may believe are unlikely to be ultimately effectual. If, however, you ſhould find that the people of the Swiſs Confederacy are generally determined to perſevere in the maintenance of their independence, and of their right to return to their ancient ſyſtem of government; and if you ſhould be of opinion, that from the union that ſubſiſts amongſt the people, and from their zeal and enthuſiaſm in the cauſe in which they are engaged, they are finally reſolved, at all hazards, to reſiſt the threatened attempt of the French Government to interpoſe, by force of arms, in the ſettlement of their internal conterns, you will then immediately communicate, in confidence, to the Swiſs Government, that either in the event of a French army having entered the country, or in the event of your having reaſon to be convinced that a French army is actually advancing for that purpoſe, his Majeſty has authorized you to accede to their application for pecuniary ſuccours.

I have furniſhed you with a cypher and decypher, that you may have it in your power to correſpond with his Majeſty's Miniſters at Vienna and Munich, if you ſhould think it adviſeable; and as it is highly probable, that the armies of the Swiſs Confederacy may be inadequately ſupplied with arms, ammunition, or proviſions, and may be deſirous of procuring ſupplies thereof from the neighbouring countries, you will uſe your utmoſt endeavours to give them every facility for this purpoſe. You will be very particular in informing me of the numbers and ſituation of any Auſtrian corps in the neighbourhood of Switzerland, and of the probability of their advancing, in any event, into the Swiſs territory.

As it is of great importance that his Majeſty's Government ſhould be regularly informed of the events which may be paſſing in Switzerland, and of the diſpoſitions that may prevail there, you will endeavour to aſcertain the moſt ſafe and expeditious mode of conveying your letters, which will avoid their paſſing through any part of the French republic.

As it is poſſible, that previous to your arrival in Switzerland, the preſent ſtate of affairs may have undergone a decided alteration, either in conſequence of the ſubmiſſion of the Swiſs cantons, or of any compromiſe having taken place as to their internal concerns, it will be proper that, in that caſe, you ſhould take up your reſidence in ſuch a ſituation as you may think moſt convenient in the neighbourhood of Swiſſerland, of which you will give me the earlieſt intelligence, and

and there wait for his Majesty's further orders.

I am, with great truth and regard, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

Francis Moore, Esq.

No. XIX.

Constance, October 31, 1802.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that I arrived here on the 27th instant, and that, having received this evening authentic information of the submission of the diet of Switzerland, assembled at Schwitz, to the French arms, I lose no time in dispatching the messenger Shaw with this intelligence; from which your Lordship will perceive that it only remains for me to obey that part of my instructions by which I am directed, under such circumstances, to take up my residence in the neighbourhood of Switzerland, and there to await his Majesty's further orders.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) FRA. MOORE.

The Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. XX.

Downing-Street, November 25, 1802.

Sir,

I HAVE duly received your several letters by the messenger Shaw. As from the present state of Switzerland your continuance in the vicinity of that country appears to be no longer necessary, you are at liberty to return to England as soon as it may suit your convenience.

I am, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

Francis Moore, Esq.

No. XXI.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Liston to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Hague, 13th October, 1802.

A FEW hours after I had sent off my last dispatch to your Lordship, (on Saturday, the 9th of this month,) the French ambassador, M. de Semonville, waited upon the President of the Government of State, and informed him that he had just received, by a courier from Paris, orders to inform the government of this country,

"Que le Premier Consul avoit appris, avec autant de surprise que d'indignation, que des personnes avides de révolutions vouloient de nouveau troubler le repos dans la Batavie, en abusant même pour cet effêt de noms respectables; et que le Premier Consul, comme allié de la republique, invitoit le gouvernment à prendre toutes les mésures néceſſaires pour maintenir l'ordre des choses établi par la constitution."

These were nearly the words read to me by the Secretary of State, from a note in his own hand writing, dictated to him by M. de Semonville, with a view to its publication, (and a translation was accordingly inserted in the Dutch official Paper of the Hague on the 11th;) but they fall very far short of the language employed by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs in his dispatches to the Ambassador, and in the communication made by him

him to the Dutch Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, (who alſo ſent a meſſenger to the Hague upon this occaſion.) In theſe M. de Talleyrand entered into conſiderable detail on the ſubject of the plots ſuppoſed to be formed in this country againſt the adminiſtration, mentioned the names of the chiefs, and ended by making an offer, on the part of the Firſt Conſul, to come to the aſſiſtance of the government (ſhould circumſtances render it neceſſary) with all his forces.

No. XXII.

Hague, October 29, 1802.

My Lord,

THE recent attack made by Bonaparte upon the liberties and independence of the Swiſs cantons, has naturally made a ſtrong impreſſion on the inhabitants of this country; and the public anxiety has been much augmented by certain ſymptoms in the conduct of the Conſular Government, which ſeem to indicate an intention not to withdraw the French troops, which have been kept in the Batavian republic for ſome time paſt under the title of *auxiliaries*, and paid and maintained at the expence of the Dutch nation.

Theſe troops (amounting to between ten and eleven thouſand men) were to remain here till the concluſion of the definitive treaty with Great Britain. It was afterwards formally promiſed, on the part of France, that they ſhould evacuate the territories of the republic at the lateſt, on the expiration of the laſt French year, (the 23d of September).—They accordingly began their march to the ſouthward a few days before that period; and the government and the people rejoiced at the proſpect of being finally relieved from a load which has become extremely irkſome to them. But, on pretence that a great proportion of the corps were to be embarked at Fluſhing for Louiſiana, and that there was a want of ſhipping for their accommodation, they took up their quarters on the frontiers of the country (at Bois-le-Duc, Breda, and Bergen-op-Zoom), where they ſtill remain; and demands have continued to be made for their pay and maintenance.

Hopes were, however, entertained from day to day, that their departure would take place; when, to the aſtoniſhment of the Batavian Government, official Notice was (laſt week) tranſmitted from France to the Department of War at the Hague, (which has been charged with the ſupport of theſe corps), that the Firſt Conſul has been pleaſed to appoint a new Commander in Chief, (General Montrichard), and a new ſtaff, for the auxiliary troops in this country; and the Notice was given that Government might provide for the pay of the officers in queſtion.

The adminiſtration appear reſolved to oppoſe all the reſiſtance in their power to this unexpected and oppreſſive extortion. An expreſs has been ſent off to the Dutch Ambaſſador at Paris, charging him to claim, in the moſt urgent terms, the accompliſhment of the treaties ſubſiſting between the Two Republics, and the fulfilment of the repeated and recent promiſes made by the French Government upon this ſubject. And in caſe of the failure of this application, they talk of addreſſing themſelves

themſelves to the principal powers of Europe who had any ſhare or influence in the concluſion of the peace, to entreat their intervention and good offices, with a view to the maintenance of the independence of the Republic.

I have the honor to be, &c.

ROBERT LISTON.

Right Honourable Lord Hawkeſbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXIII.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Hawkeſbury, to Lord Whitworth, dated November 30th, 1802.

HIS Majeſty's Government have learnt with ſome ſurpriſe from the communications from General Stuart, that that officer had ſignified to Colonel Sebaſtiani his inability to evacuate Egypt, until he ſhould receive ſpecific orders for that purpoſe. It is certainly true that no warrant has been tranſmitted to General Stuart, or to his Predeceſſor the Earl of Cavan, for the evacuation of Egypt; neither was it conſidered to be neceſſary, in as much as his Majeſty's Government had already expreſſed their intention to General Stuart, in his inſtructions, that, except in a caſe of abſolute neceſſity, the King's troops ſhould remain in Egypt no longer than the month of July laſt. In all the inſtances of places which had been conquered by the King's forces, and of which poſſeſſion had been taken in his Majeſty's Name, it has been uſual when they have been reſtored to the French Republic, or its allies, that the commanding officer ſhould be furniſhed with a regular warrant under the King's Sign Manual, authoriſing him to make ſuch reſtoration. But the caſe of Egypt is different, as that country had never been taken poſſeſſion of in his Majeſty's name, as it had been actually reſtored to the Ottoman Porte, and as certain ſtations in it were continued to be occupied merely as military poſts, until the means of removing the troops ſhould be provided.

It is probable, that in the preſent inſtance, General Stuart may have been miſled by a doubt as to the extent of his own power, and by the opinion that he required a warrant to evacuate Egypt, ſimilar to that which had been granted to officers who ſuperintended the reſtitution of conqueſts of which poſſeſſion had been taken in his Majeſty's name. In order, however, to obviate any farther difficulties, inſtructions have now been ſent to General Stuart, directing him to remove the King's Troops from Egypt with as little delay as poſſible, and information has been given to this effect to General Andreoſſy.

No. XXIV.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord St. Helens to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Peterſburgh, July 20, 1802.

I HAVE ſince renewed my applications to this government on the buſineſs of Malta, and have ſome reaſon to hope that ſome impreſſion has been made on the mind of his Imperial Majeſty. The French Miniſter however has not yet received his inſtructions; and till they arrive, it will of courſe be impoſſible for me to take the requiſite

requiſite ſteps for bringing this affair to any ſatisfactory, or even poſitive iſſue.

No. XXV.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord St. Helens to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Peterſburgh, Auguſt 3, 1802.

I MUST not omit to acquaint your Lordſhip, that although in order to prevent any further waſte of time, I have thought it right to endeavour to obtain a definitive explanation of the intentions of this court, with relation to the propoſed guaranty, I have not yet been enabled to demand it officially, according to the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, as the French Miniſter here is ſtill without inſtructions authorizing him to join with me in that inſtance.

No. XXVI.

Extract of a Diſpatch from the Honorable A. Paget to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Vienna, 18th July, 1802.

ON the 15th inſtant, M. de Champagny and I met at a Conference at the Vice Chancellor's, to whom we preſented our reſpective Notes, copies of which I have the honor to encloſe, marked A. and B.

(Incloſure A. referred to in No. 26.)

The underſigned, his Britannic Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary and Miniſter Plenipotentiary, has the honor to tranſmit herewith to the Vice Chancellor of Court and State, a copy of the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens. He has, at the ſame time, the honor to acquaint his Excellency that he has received orders from his Court to invite his Majeſty the Emperor and King, conformable to the 13th paragraph of that article, to give his guarantee to the arrangement ſtipulated therein.

He therefore requeſts the Vice Chancellor of Court and State, to lay this communication before his Imperial Majeſty.

The underſigned avails himſelf, with pleaſure, of this opportunity to reiterate to his Excellency the expreſſion of his moſt diſtingiſhed conſideration.

(Signed) ARTHUR PAGET.

Vienna, 15th July, 1802.

(Incloſure B. referred to in No. 26.)

The Ambaſſador of the French Republick, on the invitation which has been given him by Mr. Paget, his Britannic Majeſty's Miniſter Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary, haſtens in conjunction with that Miniſter, to communicate to the Vice Chancellor of Court and State, the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens, concerning the order and Iſland of Malta, the ſixth paragraph of which Article, places the independency of the Iſland of Malta under the guarantee of his Imperial Majeſty, and ſeveral other powers of Europe.

In taking this ſtep, the ambaſſador, who has not yet received any orders reſpecting it, acts from the knowledge he has of the intention of his Government to execute all the ſtipulations of the Treaties it has concluded.

The Ambaſſador ſeizes, with eagerneſs, this opportunity to offer to his Excellency the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

Vienne, 26 Meſſidor, year 10.

(Signed) CHAMPAGNY.

Count Cobentzel.

Extract

No. XXVII.

Extract of a Diſpatch from the Honorable A. Paget to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Vienna, 22d Auguſt 1802.

I HAVE the honor herewith to tranſmit to your Lordſhip the Emperor's Act of Guarantee and Acceſſion to the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens.

(Inclosure referred to in No. 27.)

The Emperor and King having been invited by his Britannic Majeſty and the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, to accede to the ſtipulations contained in the Tenth Article of the Treaty concluded and ſigned at Amiens on the 29th of March 1802 (4th Germinal, Year 10), reſpecting the Order of St. John of Jeruſalem; and alſo to take under his protection and guarantee, conjointly with the other Powers cited in the ſixth Paragraph of the ſaid Article, whatever was therein eſpecially ſtipulated on the ſubject of the Iſland of Malta: And His Imperial and Royal Apoſtolick Majeſty having been at the ſame time informed that the two above-mentioned powers adopted on their part the concert which had been entered into by the Two Imperial Courts, previous to the exchange of the Ratifications of the above-mentioned Treaty of Amiens, to leave to the Pope the ſelection of a Grand Maſter from amongſt the candidates nominated for that purpoſe by the Priories of the Order. His Majeſty the Emperor and King, deſirous on the preſent occaſion of exhibiting a freſh proof of his ſincere friendſhip for his Majeſty the King of Great Britain, and for the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic, has empowered and inſtructed his Grand Chamberlain and Cabinet Miniſter Count Francis of Colloredo, and his Vice Chancellor of Court and State Count Louis of Cobenzel, to proceed in his Name to the Acceſſion and Guarantee of the ſtipulations of the Tenth Article of the afore-mentioned Treaty; who, in virtue thereof declare that his Majeſty accedes, by the preſent Act, to the ſtipulations contained in this Article, with the clauſe herein-before referred to, reſpecting the mode of the next Election of the Grand Maſter of the Order; and his Majeſty ſpecifically guarantees whatſoever is therein regulated, with regard to the independence of the Iſlands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino.

In witneſs whereof we, the Plenipotentiaries of his Imperial, Royal and Apoſtolick Majeſty, have ſigned the preſent Act of Acceſſion and of Guarantee; have thereunto affixed the ſeal of our arms, and have exchanged it againſt the acts of acceptation, delivered in the name of his Majeſty the King of Great Britain, and of the Firſt Conſul of the French Republic. Which acts of Acceſſion, of Guarantee, and of Acceptation, ſhall be ratified in the ſpace of four weeks, or ſooner, if it can be done.

Done at Vienna, the 20th of Auguſt, 1802.

(L.S.) Francis Count of Colloredo.

(L.S.) Lewis Count of Cobenzel.

Extract

No. XXVIII.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Casamajor to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Berlin, August 21, 1802.

HAVING opened the subject of your Lordship's last dispatch, relative to the Accession of this Court to the Arrangement stipulated in the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens, to Mr. Bignon, this gentleman undertook very willingly to mention the same to his Government, and has in fact already performed his promise. In several conversations with Mr. Bignon, in which I have occasionally remarked that nothing had hitherto been said to me here upon the subject of Malta, he has constantly affected the greatest indifference, and treated it as a business of too little importance to occupy the attention of the French Government.

No. XXIX.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Casamajor to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Berlin, August 31, 1802.

MR. BIGNON received last night instructions from the French Government, to invite the King of Prussia, conjointly with me, to accede to the Guarantee of the Independence of the Island of Malta, and of the other stipulations relating to that Island, which are contained in the 10th Article of the Definitive Treaty of Amiens. Mr. Bignon sent to me immediately, and we propose to meet to-morrow for the purpose of preparing a note upon this subject, of which we shall each present a copy to Count Haugwitz.

No. XXX.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Casamajor to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Berlin, October 2, 1802.

MY note upon the subject of the Guarantee of Malta remains unanswered.

No. XXXI.

Extract of Dispatch from Mr. Jackson to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Berlin, November 25, 1802.

AT my first interview with Count Haugwitz, I told him that the only subject in suspence between our Two Courts, to which I need call his immediate attention, was that of the Guarantee of Malta, on which an answer is still due from him. He adverted to what he had told Mr. Casamajor of the King his Master having ordered a report to be made to him, on the state of the commanderies in Silesia, hinting, that this country took a very slight interest in the fate of the island; and that he was countenanced in withholding its guarantee *by the example of Spain*. He however added that the Report in question had been made to the King, and that he only waited his Majesty's Commands to confer with me farther upon the subject.

No. XXXII.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Garlike to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Petersburgh, September 17, 1802.

THE French Minister has at length

length been directed by his Government to make, conjointly with his Majesty's minister here, a formal invitation to the Emperor of Russia for his Imperial Majesty's guaranty of the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens, which provide for the independence of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, and of the other arrangements of that article.

No. XXXIII.

Extract of a Dispatch from Sir John Borlase Warren to Lord Hawkesbury, dated St. Petersburgh, November 18, 1802.

ON the third instant I waited upon the Chancellor with General Hedouville, when the note of invitation for his Imperial Majesty's guaranty of the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens, was presented by each of us.

General de Hedouville entered into various reasons to induce the Russian Government to grant the guaranty; the principal of which was to prove, that without the guaranty of Russia, either of the two Powers, upon the first difference between them, would look upon themselves at liberty to seize upon the island, which was only important in a military point of view; and the only alteration he should make in his invitation was, that the island might be delivered up to the Neapolitan Troops.—He added that the Act of Guaranty would not be considered as affecting the arrangement of any particular power with the order, or of any alteration that Power might wish to make in the Baillages, or that part belonging to itself, *as Spain had already done.*

No. XXXIV.

Extract of a Dispatch from Sir J. B. Warren to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Petersburgh, 25th November, 1802.

THE Chancellor appointed yesterday evening for delivering to me, and to the French Minister, the answer of the Russian Government to his Majesty's invitation for his Imperial Majesty's accession to the tenth article of the Treaty of Amiens.

(Inclosure referred to in No. 34.)

Conditions upon which his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias is willing to accede to the Stipulations of the 10th Article of the Treaty of Amiens.

1. THE acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the order of St. John of Jerusalem over the island of Malta, and its dependencies; the acknowledgement of the Grand Master, and of the civil Government of the Order, according to its ancient institutions, with the admission into it of native Maltese. Upon this point, as well as upon every other that may relate to its interior organization, the legal Government of the Order shall have the power to enact and prescribe such regulations as it may judge best calculated to promote the future welfare and prosperity of the Order.

2. The rights of the King of the Two Sicilies, as Suzerain of the

Iſland, ſhall remain upon the ſame footing as they were previous to the war which is now terminated by the Treaty of Amiens.

3. The independance and neutrality of the iſland of Malta, its ports and dependencies, ſhall be ſecured and guarantied by the reſpective contracting Powers, who ſhall mutually engage to acknowledge and maintain that neutrality in all caſes of war; whether between each other, or between any of them and any other power, not excepting his Sicilian Majeſty, whoſe rights of Suzerainty ſhall not extend ſo as to enable him to cauſe a departure from the neutrality of the Iſland, as guarantied by the preſent Act.

4. Until the Order ſhall be in a ſituation to provide, by its own reſources, for the maintenance of its independance and neutrality, as ſecured by the preceding article, as well as for the defence of their principal reſidence, the different forts ſhall be occupied by his Sicilian Majeſty's Troops, who ſhall ſend a ſufficient force for the defence of the iſland and its dependencies, the number of which ſhall be agreed upon by his ſaid Majeſty and the two contracting Powers, who ſhall take upon themſelves conjointly, the expence of maintaining the whole of the ſaid troops, ſo long as the defence of the Iſland ſhall continue to be intruſted to them, during which period the ſaid troops ſhall be under the authority of the Grand Maſter and his Government.

5. The preſent additional Act ſhall be conſidered as forming an integral part of the Treaty of Amiens, the ſame as if it had been inſerted therein, word for word, and ſhall be executed in like manner.

6. Their Majeſties the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, the Emperor of the Romans, the King of Spain, the King of the Two Sicilies, and the King of Pruſſia, ſhall be invited to accede to this Act as Guarantees.

(Signed) COMTE ALEXANDRE DE WORONZOW.

No. XXXV.

Paris, January 27, 1803.

My Lord,

I HAVE to report to your Lordſhip the purport of a converſation I had on Tueſday laſt by appointment with M. Talleyrand. He had invited me ſome days ago for this purpoſe. The communication he had to make to me related to two points, both equally important, as he ſaid, to the maintenance of good harmony between the two Countries; with this difference however, that the one originated with himſelf, and was dictated by his anxiety to do away every thing which might feed the mutual irritation of the two Countries; and the other by the expreſs order of the Firſt Conſul. That which came from himſelf related to the Engliſh newſpapers, againſt which he pronounced a moſt bitter Philippic, aſſuring me that the Firſt Conſul was extremely hurt to find that his endeavours to conciliate had

had hitherto produced no other effect than to increaſe the abuſe with which the papers in England continually loaded him. He expatiated much upon this topic, and endeavoured to eſtabliſh a fact, which I aſſured him a reference to any one newſpaper in Paris would inſtantly refute, that during four months not a word of provocation had appeared in any French journal, which could juſtify a retort from thoſe publiſhed in England. For the reſt he advanced nothing but what has been ſaid on more than one occaſion to Mr. Merry, and reported by him to your Lordſhip. I was however given to underſtand, that the Firſt Conſul was in fact highly incenſed, and the more ſo, he was pleaſed to ſay, as it came from a country of whoſe good opinion he was ſo very ambitious.

In my reply, I could but go over the old ground, and endeavour to make M. Talleyrand underſtand—firſt, that whatever was ſaid in the Engliſh papers might be conſidered but as a national retaliation for what was publiſhed in the French papers—ſecondly, that what was *officially* publiſhed here was by no means ſo in England—and thirdly, that although the Government poſſeſſed controul over the preſs in France, the Engliſh Government neither had nor could have, unleſs they purchaſed it at the ſame price, any whatever in England. Upon this he endeavoured to prove to me, that there were papers in England attached to different parties, and went over their names and ſuppoſed connections with great preciſion; and that conſequently his Majeſty's Miniſters might ſo far controul thoſe at leaſt which depended upon them, as to prevent their inſerting that abuſe which muſt be conſidered as having their ſanction. I endeavoured to explain to him what the influence was, which he ſuppoſed Miniſters to poſſeſs in England; that it amounted to nothing more than a preference which your Lordſhip for inſtance might give to one paper rather than to another, by ſending to it any articles of news which it might be wiſhed to make public; but that your Lordſhip's influence went no further; and that if the editor of ſuch a paper conceived it more for his intereſt to continue to write after his own fancy and uncontrouled, than to be the publiſher of ſuch occaſional articles, in that caſe all influence was at an end. I told him, that if he had remarked any abuſive article in any paper of ſuch a deſcription, it was natural and fair to conclude that it did not depend upon Government to prevent it. He perſiſted in his opinion, that his Majeſty's Miniſters might keep certain papers in order, as I did in aſſuring him, that until the Firſt Conſul could ſo far maſter his feelings as to be as indifferent to the ſcurrility of the Engliſh prints, as the Engliſh Government was to that which daily appeared in the French; this ſtate of irritation was irremediable. I told him however, that I would report the ſubſtance of this communication to your Lordſhip, although I could aſſure him that your Lordſhip could add nothing to the explanation which had been given, and in ſuch detail by Mr. Merry from your Lordſhip.

M. Talleyrand, with great ſolemnity, required of me to inform

him, and this by the express order of the First Consul, what were his Majesty's intentions with regard to the evacuation of Malta. He again on this occasion made great professions of his sincere desire to set aside every thing which could interrupt the good understanding between the two Governments; adding, that it was absolutely necessary that the French Government should know what it was meant to do, when that clause in the Treaty of Amiens, which stipulates the cession of Malta, should be fully accomplished. He said that another Grand Master would now very soon be elected; that all the powers of Europe invited so to do, with the exception of Russia, whose difficulties it was easy to remove, and without whom the guaranty would be equally complete, were ready to come forward; and that consequently the term would very soon arrive, when Great Britain could have no pretext for keeping longer possession. I informed him that I would report his conversation to your Lordship, and would have the honor of communicating to him your Lordship's answer as soon as I could receive it.

I have the honor to be, &c.

WHITWORTH.

Right Honorable Lord
Hawkesbury, &c.
&c. &c.

No. XXXVI.

Downing Street, February 9, 1803.

My Lord,

IN answer to your Excellency's dispatch of January 27, relative to the enquiry made of you, by the French Government, on the subject of Malta, I can have no difficulty in assuring you, that his Majesty has entertained a most sincere desire that the Treaty of Amiens might be executed in a full and complete manner; but it has not been possible for him to consider the Treaty as having been founded on principles different from those which have been invariably applied to every other antecedent Treaty or Convention, namely, that they were negociated with reference to the actual state of possession of the different parties, and of the Treaties or public engagements by which they were bound at the time of its conclusion; and that if that state of possession, and of engagements, was so materially altered by the Act of either of the parties as to affect the nature of the compact itself, the other party has a right, according to the law of nations, to interfere for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction or compensation for any essential difference which such acts may have subsequently made in their relative situation; that if there ever was a case to which this principle might be applied with peculiar propriety, it was that of the late treaty of peace; for the negociation was conducted on a basis not merely proposed by his Majesty, but specially agreed to in an official note by the French Government, viz. that his Majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests for the important acquisitions of territory made by France upon the Continent. This is a sufficient proof that the compact was understood to have been concluded with reference to the

then

then existing state of things; for the measure of his Majesty's compensation was to be calculated with reference to the acquisitions of France at that time; and if the interference of the French Government in the general affairs of Europe, since that period; if their interposition with respect to Switzerland and Holland, whose independence was guarantied by them at the time of the conclusion of the treaty of peace; if the annexations which have been made to France in various quarters, but particularly those in Italy, have extended the territory and increased the power of the French Government, his Majesty would be warranted, consistently with the spirit of the treaty of peace, in claiming equivalents for these acquisitions, as a counterpoise to the augmentation of the power of France. His Majesty, however, anxious to prevent all ground of misunderstanding, and desirous of consolidating the general peace of Europe, as far as might be in his power, was willing to have waved the pretensions he might have a right to advance of this nature; and as the other articles of the definitive treaty have been in a course of execution on his part, so he would have been ready to have carried into effect the true intent and spirit of the 10th article, the execution of which, according to its terms, had been rendered impracticable by circumstances which it was not in his Majesty's power to controul. A communication to your Lordship would accordingly have been prepared conformably to this disposition, if the attention of his Majesty's Government had not been attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the report of Colonel Sebastiani to the First Consul. It is impossible for his Majesty to view this report in any other light than as an official publication; for without referring particularly to explanations which have been repeatedly given upon the subject of publications in the Moniteur, the article in question, as it purports to be the report to the First Consul of an accredited agent, as it appears to have been signed by Colonel Sebastiani himself, and as it is published in the official paper, with an official title affixed to it, must be considered as authorized by the French Government. This report contains the most unjustifiable insinuations and charges against the officer who commanded his Forces in Egypt, and against the British Army in that quarter, insinuations and charges wholly destitute of foundation, and such as would warrant his Majesty in demanding that satisfaction, which, on occasions of this nature, independent powers in a state of amity have a right to expect from each other. It discloses, moreover, views in the highest degree injurious to the interests of his Majesty's dominions, and directly repugnant to, and utterly inconsistent with, the spirit and letter of the treaty of peace, concluded between his Majesty and the French Government; and his Majesty would feel that he was wanting in a proper regard to the honor of his Crown, and to the interests of his dominions, if he could see with indifference such a system developed and avowed. His Majesty cannot, therefore, regard the conduct of

the French Government on various occaſions ſince the concluſion of the definitive treaty, the inſinuations and charges contained in the report of Colonel Sebaſtiani, and the views which that report diſcloſes, without feeling it neceſſary for him diſtinctly to declare, that it will be impoſſible for him to enter into any further diſcuſſion relative to Malta, unleſs he receives ſatisfactory explanation on the ſubject of this communication.

Your Excellency is deſired to take an early opportunity of fully explaining his Majeſty's ſentiments as above ſtated to the French Government.

I am, &c.
HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord
Whitworth, K. B.
&c. &c. &c.

No. XXXVII.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Paris, February 17, 1803.

I HAVE the honor to acquaint your Lordſhip, that I ſaw M. de Talleyrand on Tueſday laſt, for the purpoſe of carrying into effect your Lordſhip's inſtructions of the 9th inſtant. I began by telling him that I had nothing new to communicate to him; but merely to confirm officially that which I had already from myſelf premiſed. I did not however paſs over with the ſame indifference, the arguments with which your Lordſhip has furniſhed me. I recapitulated them all; the principle on which the Treaty of Amiens was founded; and the right which naturally aroſe from that principle, of interference on our part for the purpoſe of obtaining ſatisfaction or compenſation, for any eſſential differences which may have ariſen in the relative ſituation of the two Countries. I inſtanced the caſes, beginning with Italy and concluding with Switzerland, in which the territory or Influence of France had been extended ſubſequent to the Treaty of Amiens.

I repreſented to him that this principle of compenſation had been fully and formally admitted by the French Government, in the courſe of the negotiation at Amiens. I then told him that notwithſtanding the indiſputable right which his Majeſty might have derived of claiming ſome counterpoiſe for ſuch acquiſitions, inſtructions would have been given me, by which I ſhould have been empowered to declare his Majeſty's readineſs to carry into effect the full intent of the tenth article of the treaty, if the attention of his Majeſty's Government had not been rouſed by the official publication of Colonel Sebaſtiani's report to the Firſt Conſul. It was uſeleſs to recapitulate the particulars of this very extraordinary report; but I appealed to him whether it was not of a nature, excluſive of the perſonal alluſions it contained, to excite the utmoſt jealouſy in the minds of his Majeſty's Miniſters, and to demand on their part every meaſure of precaution. I concluded with the diſtinct declaration, that it was impoſſible for His Majeſty to enter into any further diſcuſſion relative to Malta, unleſs he receives ſatisfactory explanations on the ſubject of the Firſt Conſul's views.

M. de Talleyrand in his reply, did not attempt to diſpute the drift of my argument. He admitted, with an affected tone of candour, that the jealouſy we felt on the ſcore of Egypt, with a view to our poſſeſſions in India, was natural. But he could not admit that any thing had appeared in the conduct of the French Government in juſtification of the alarm we expreſſed. After repeating what he had ſaid to me in a former converſation on the ſubject of Sebaſtiani's Miſſion, which he aſſerted to be *ſtrictly commercial*, he expatiated at great length on the ſincere deſire of the Firſt Conſul to maintain inviolable the peace which had been ſo lately concluded; adding, that the ſituation of the French finances was ſuch, that were not this deſire of peace in the Firſt Conſul an effect of ſyſtem, it would be moſt imperiouſly dictated to him by the total impoſſibility in which this Country found itſelf of carrying on that extenſive ſtate of warfare, which even a partial rupture would naturally lead to. He expreſſed great ſurprize, therefore, that any ſuſpicion ſhould attach, when the means of diſturbing the public tranquillity were, as muſt be well known in England, ſo completely wanting; and deſired to know what was the nature and degree of ſatisfaction which his Majeſty would require. On this I told him, that I could not pretend to ſay by what means thoſe apprehenſions, which the conduct of this Government had raiſed in England, were to be allayed; but I could aſſure him, that in the diſcuſſion of them, we ſhould be animated ſolely by a ſincere deſire to be convinced of the truth of his aſſertions, ſince on that depended the peace and happineſs of Europe. I took this opportunity of aſſuring him, that although, according to his ſtatement of the ſituation of France, we might poſſeſs in a greater degree the means of ſupporting the expence of a war, ſince thoſe means aroſe from ſources which even a ſtate of warfare did not dry up, yet ſuch was his Majeſty's ſincere deſire of maintaining peace, that nothing but abſolute and unavoidable neceſſity would even induce him to deprive his ſubjects of the bleſſings which they begin to enjoy.

No. XXXVIII.

Paris, February 21, 1803.

My Lord,

MY laſt diſpatch, in which I gave your Lordſhip an account of my conference with M. de Talleyrand, was ſcarcely gone, when I received a note from him, informing me that the Firſt Conſul wiſhed to converſe with me, and deſired I would come to him at the Thuilleries at nine o'clock. He received me in his cabinet, with tolerable cordiality, and, after talking on different ſubjects for a few minutes, he deſired me to ſit down, as he himſelf did on the other ſide of the table, and began. He told me, that he felt it neceſſary after what had paſſed between me and M. de Talleyrand that he ſhould, in the moſt clear and authentic manner, make known his ſentiments to me in order to their being communicated to his Majeſty; and he conceived this would be more effectually done by himſelf than through any medium whatever. He ſaid, that it was a matter of infinite diſappointment to him, that the Treaty of Amiens, inſtead of being

followed by conciliation and friendſhip, the natural effects of peace, had been productive only of continual and increaſing jealouſy and miſtruſt; and that this miſtruſt was now avowed in ſuch a manner as muſt bring the point to an iſſue.

He now enumerated the ſeveral provocations which he pretended to have received from England. He placed in the firſt line our not evacuating Malta and Alexandria as we were bound to do by Treaty. In this he ſaid that no conſideration on earth ſhould make him acquieſce; and of the two he had rather ſee us in poſſeſſion of the Fauxboug St. Antoine than Malta. He then adverted to the abuſe thrown out againſt him in the Engliſh public prints; but this he ſaid, he did not ſo much regard as that which appeared in the French Papers publiſhed in London. This he conſidered as much more miſchievous, ſince it was meant to excite this Country againſt him and his Government. He complained of the protection given to Georges and others of his deſcription, who inſtead of being ſent to Canada, as had been repeatedly promiſed, were permitted to remain in England, handſomely penſioned, and conſtantly committing all ſorts of crimes on the Coaſts of France, as well as in the interior. In confirmation of this, he told me, that two men had within theſe few days been apprehended in Normandy, and were now on their way to Paris, who were hired Aſſaſſins, and employed by the Biſhop of Arras, by the Baron de Rolle, by Georges, and by Dutheil, as would be fully proved in a Court of Juſtice, and made known to the World.

He acknowledged, that the Irritation he felt againſt England increaſed daily, becauſe every wind (I make uſe as much as I can of his own ideas and expreſſions) which blew from England brought nothing but enmity and hatred againſt him.

He now went back to Egypt, and told me, that if he had felt the ſmalleſt inclination to take poſſeſſion of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by ſending twenty-five thouſand men to Aboukir, who would have poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole Country in defiance of the four thouſand Britiſh in Alexandria. That inſtead of that Garriſon being a means of protecting Egypt, it was only furniſhing him with a pretence for invading it. *This he ſhould not do, whatever might be his deſire to have it as a Colony, becauſe he did not think it worth the riſk of a War, in which he might, perhaps, be conſidered as the Aggreſſor, and by which he ſhould loſe more than he could gain, ſince ſooner or later Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling to pieces of the Turkiſh Empire, or by ſome Arrangement with the Porte.*

As a proof of his deſire to maintain peace, he wiſhed to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A deſcent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himſelf at the head of the expedition. But how could it be ſuppoſed, that after having gained the height on which he ſtood, he would riſk his life and reputation in ſuch a hazardous Attempt, unleſs forced to it by neceſſity, when the chances were that he and the greateſt part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the

the ſea. He talked much on this ſubject, but never affected to diminiſh the danger. He acknowledged that there were one hundred chances to one againſt him; but ſtill he was determined to attempt it, if war ſhould be the conſequence of the preſent diſcuſſion; and that ſuch was the diſpoſition of the troops that army after army would be found for the enterprize.

He then expatiated much on the natural force of the Two Countries. France with an army of four hundred and eighty thouſand men, for to this amount, it is, he ſaid, *to be immediately completed*, all ready for the moſt deſperate enterprizes; and England with a fleet that made her miſtreſs of the ſeas, and which he did not think he ſhould be able to equal in leſs than ten years. Two ſuch countries by a proper underſtanding might govern the world, but by their ſtrifes might overturn it. He ſaid, that if he had not felt the enmity of the Britiſh Government on every occaſion ſince the Treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing that he would not have done to prove his deſire to conciliate; participation in indemnities as well as in influence on the Continent; treaties of commerce, in ſhort, any thing that could have given ſatisfaction, and have teſtified his friendſhip. Nothing, however, had been able to conquer the hatred of the Britiſh Government, and therefore it was now come to the point, whether we ſhould have peace or war. To preſerve peace, the Treaty of Amiens muſt be fulfilled; the abuſe in the public prints, if not totally ſuppreſſed, at leaſt kept within bounds, and confined to the Engliſh papers; and the protection ſo openly given to his bittereſt enemies, alluding to Georges and perſons of that deſcription, muſt be withdrawn. If war, it was neceſſary only to ſay ſo, and to refuſe to fulfil the Treaty. He now made the tour of Europe to prove to me, that in its preſent ſtate, there was no power with which we could coaleſce for the purpoſe of making war againſt France; conſequently it was our intereſt to gain time, and if we had any point to gain, renew the war when circumſtances were more favourable. He ſaid, it was not doing him juſtice to ſuppoſe, that he conceived himſelf above the opinion of his Country or of Europe. He would not riſk uniting Europe againſt him by any violent act of aggreſſion; neither was he ſo powerful in France at to perſuade the nation to go to war unleſs on good grounds. He ſaid, that he had not chaſtiſed the Algerines, from his unwillingneſs to excite the jealouſy of other powers, but he hoped that England, Ruſſia, and France would one day feel that it was their intereſt to deſtroy ſuch a neſt of thieves, and force them to live rather by cultivating their land than by plunder.

In the little I ſaid to him, for he gave me in the courſe of two hours but very few opportunities of ſaying a word, I confined myſelf ſtrictly to the tenor of your Lordſhip's inſtructions. I urged them in the ſame manner as I had done to M. de Talleyrand, and dwelt as ſtrongly as I could on the ſenſation which the publication of Sebaſtiani's Report had created in England, where the views of France towards Egypt muſt always command the utmoſt vigilance and jealouſy. He maintained that what

what ought to convince us of his desire of peace, was on the one hand the little he had to gain by renewing the war, and on the other the facility with which he might have taken possession of Egypt with the very ships and troops which were now going from the Mediterranean to St. Domingo, and that with the approbation of all Europe, and more particularly of the Turks, who had repeatedly invited him to join with them for the purpose of forcing us to evacuate their territory.

I do not pretend to follow the arguments of the First Consul in detail; this would be impossible, from the vast variety of matter, which he took occasion to introduce. His purpose was evidently to convince me that on Malta must depend peace or war, and at the same time to impress upon my mind a strong idea of the means he possessed of annoying us at home and abroad.

With regard to the mistrust and jealousy which he said constantly prevailed since the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens, I observed that after a war of such long duration, so full of rancour, and carried on in a manner of which history has no example, it was but natural that a considerable degree of agitation should prevail; but this, like the swell after a storm, would gradually subside, if not kept up by the policy of either party; that I would not pretend to pronounce which had been the aggressor in the paper war of which he complained, and which was still kept up, though with this difference, that in England it was independent of Government, and in France its very act and deed. To this I added, that it must be admitted that we had such motives of mistrust against France as could not be alledged against us, and I was going to instance the accession of territory and influence gained by France since the treaty, when he interrupted me by saying, I suppose you mean Piedmont and Switzerland; "ce sont des Bagatelles:" and it must have been foreseen whilst the Negotiation was pending; "Vous n'avez pas le Droit d'en parler à cette Heure." I then alledged as a cause of mistrust and of jealousy, the impossibility of obtaining justice or any kind of redress for any of his Majesty's subjects. He asked me in what respect: and I told him that since the signing of the treaty, not one British Claimant had been satisfied, although every Frenchman of that description had been so within one month after that period; and that since I had been here, and I could say as much of my my predecessors, not one satisfactory answer had been obtained to the innumerable representations which we had been under the necessity of making in favour British subjects and property detained in the several ports of France and elsewhere, without even a shadow of justice; such an order of things, I said, was not made to inspire confidence; but, on the contrary, must create mistrust. This, he said, must be attributed to the natural difficulties attending such suits, when both parties thought themselves right; but he denied that such delays could proceed from any disinclination to do what was just and right. With regard to the pensions which were granted to French or Swiss individuals, I observed that they were given as a reward for past services during the war, and most certainly

certainly not for preſent ones, and ſtill leſs for ſuch as he had inſinuated, of a nature repugnant to the feelings of every individual in England, and to the univerſally acknowledged loyalty and honour of the Britiſh Government. That as for any participation of indemnites, or other acceſſions which his Majeſty might have obtained, I could take upon myſelf to aſſure him that his Majeſty's ambition led him rather to preſerve than to acquire. And that with regard to the moſt propitious moment for renewing hoſtilities, his Majeſty, whoſe ſincere deſire it was to continue the bleſſings of peace to his ſubjects, would always conſider ſuch a meaſure as the greateſt calamity; but that if his Majeſty was ſo deſirous of peace, it muſt not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies; and the leſs ſo, as thoſe means which it might be neceſſary to afford ſuch allies, for perhaps inadequate ſervices, would all be concentrated in England, and give a proportionate increaſe of energy to our own exertions.

At this part of the converſation he roſe from his chair, and told me that he ſhould give orders to General Andréoſſy to enter on the diſcuſſion of this Buſineſs with your Lordſhip; but he wiſhed that I ſhould at the ſame time be made acquainted with his motives and convinced of his ſincerity rather from himſelf than from his Miniſters. He then, after a converſation of two hours, during the greateſt part of which he talked inceſſantly, converſed for a few moments on indifferent ſubjects, in apparent good humour, and retired.

Such was nearly, as I can recollect, the purport of this conference.

It muſt however be obſerved that he did not, as M. Talleyrand had done, affect to attribute Colonel Sebaſtiani's miſſion *to commercial motives only*, but as one rendered neceſſary in a military point of view, by the infraction by us of the Treaty of Amiens.

I have the honor to be, &c.

WHITWORTH.

P. S. This converſation took place on Friday laſt, and this morning I ſaw M. de Talleyrand. He had been with the Firſt Conſul after I left him, and he aſſured me that he had been very well ſatisfied with the frankneſs with which I had made my obſervations on what fell from him. I told him, that without entering into any farther detail, what I had ſaid to the Firſt Conſul amounted to an aſſurance, of what I truſted there could be no doubt, of the readineſs of his Majeſty's Miniſters to remove all ſubjects of diſcuſſion, where that could be done without violating the laws of the country, and to fulfil ſtrictly the engagements which they had contracted, in as much as that could be reconciled with the ſafety of the ſtate. As this applied to Malta and Egypt, he gave me to underſtand that a project was in contemplation, by which the integrity of the Turkiſh Empire would be ſo effectually ſecured as to do away every cauſe of doubt or uneaſineſs, either with regard to Egypt or any part of the Turkiſh dominions. He could not then, he ſaid, explain himſelf farther. Under theſe circumſtances no one can expect that we ſhould relinquiſh that aſſurance which we have in hand,

hand, till something equally satisfactory is proposed and adopted.

WHITWORTH.

The right honorable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &.

No. XXXIX.

Downing Street, February 18th, 1803.

My Lord,

YOUR Excellency's dispatch, of February 21st, has been received, and laid before the King.

I have great satisfaction in communicating to you his Majesty's entire approbation of the able and judicious manner in which you appear to have executed the instructions which I gave to you in my dispatch of the 9th instant.

The account you have given of your interview with the First Consul, is in every respect important.

It is unnecessary for me to remark on the tone and temper in which the sentiments of the First Consul appear to have been expressed, or to offer any observations in addition to those so properly made by your Excellency at the time upon several of the topics which were brought forward by the First Consul in the course of your conversation; I shall therefore content myself with referring your Excellency to my dispatch to Mr. Merry of August 28, 1802, in which the subject of the complaints of the French Government, respecting the freedom of the press, the Emigrants, &c. are particularly discussed. I cannot however avoid noticing, that nothing approaching to explanation or satisfaction is stated to have been thrown out by the First Consul, in answer to the just representations and complaints of his Majesty, in consequence of the unwarrantable insinuations and charges contained in Colonel Sebastiani's report against his Majesty's Government,—the officer commanding his forces in Egypt, and his army in that quarter: but that on the other hand, the language of the First Consul has tended to strengthen and confirm the suspicions which that publication was peculiarly calculated to excite.

I shall now proceed to give you some farther instructions on the language which it may be proper for you to hold respecting the charge which has been advanced against his Majesty's Government, of their unwillingness to fulfil the Treaty of Amiens. The Treaty of Amiens has been in a course of execution, on the part of his Majesty, in every article in which, according to the spirit of that treaty, it has been found capable of execution. There cannot be the least doubt, that Egypt is at this time completely evacuated. The delay which had arisen in the evacuation of Alexandria, was owing to accidental circumstances, the particulars of which were explained to you in my dispatch of the 30th November last; and I had every reason to believe, from the communication I had with General Andréossy on the subject, that the French Government were perfectly satisfied with the explanation which he was authorized at the time to give them respecting it.

With regard to that article of the treaty which relates to Malta, the stipulations contained in it (owing to circumstances which it was not in the power of his Majesty to controul), have not been found capable

capable of execution. The refusal of Russia to accede to the arrangement, except on condition that the Maltese Langue should be abolished;—the silence of the Court of Berlin with respect to the invitation that has been made to it, in consequence of the treaty, to become a guarantying power;—the abolition of the Spanish Priories, in defiance of the treaty to which the King of Spain was a party;—the declaration of the Portuguese Government of their intention to sequestrate the property of the Portuguese Priory, as forming a part of the Spanish Langue, unless the property of the Spanish Priories is restored to them;—the non-election of a Grand Master:—these circumstances would have been sufficient, without any other special grounds, to have warranted his Majesty in suspending the evacuation of the island, until some new arrangement could be adjusted for it's security and independence. But when it is considered how greatly the dominion, power, and influence of France have of late been extended, his Majesty must feel, that he has an incontestible right, conformably to the principles on which the treaty of peace was negociated and concluded, to demand additional securities in any new arrangement which it might be necessary to make with a view of effecting the real objects of that treaty. And these considerations, sufficient as they might be in themselves to justify the line of conduct which his Majesty had determined to adopt, have received additional force from the views which have been recently and unreservedly manifested by the French Government, respecting the Turkish dominions, and the islands in the Adriatic *(and which have been in a great degree admitted by the First Consul, in his interview with your Excellency)*,—views which are directly repugnant, not only to the spirit, but to the letter of the Treaty of Amiens.

From the postscript in your Excellency's letter, it appears that a project was in contemplation, by which, according to the declaration of Mr. Talleyrand, the integrity of the Turkish territory would be secured so as to do away every cause of doubt or uneasiness either with regard to Egypt or to any other part of the Turkish dominions. His Majesty will consider the communication of such a project as indicating a disposition on the part of the French Government, to afford him explanation and satisfaction respecting some of the points which have been the subject of his representations. But after all that has passed, his Majesty cannot consent that his troops should evacuate the island of Malta, until substantial security has been provided for those objects, which, under the present circumstances, might be materially endangered by their removal.

I am, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord Whitworth, &c. &c. &c.

No. XL.

Paris, 5th March, 1803.

My Lord,

I SAW M. de Talleyrand yesterday, and acquitted myself of your

your Lordſhip's inſtructions. I recapitulated the ſeveral arguments therein contained, dwelling particularly on the open avowal of the Firſt Conſul's views in Egypt; and concluding with the reſolution of his Majeſty not to withdraw his troops from Malta, until ſome ſecurity ſhould be given, that by ſo doing his Majeſty ſhould not expoſe the ſafety of his own dominions.

He heard me with great patience, and in anſwer endeavoured, as before, to convince me that there was no reaſon whatever for the apprehenſions which we entertained. That it was true, the acquiſition of Egypt had been, and perhaps ſtill was, a favourite object of the Firſt Conſul, but that it was not ſo much ſo as to allow him to go to war for its attainment.

I then told him that what had in a particular manner excited the attention of your Lordſhip, in my laſt report, was the aſſurance he had given me of ſome project being in contemplation, whereby the integrity of the Turkiſh Empire would be ſo inſured, in all its parts, as to remove every doubt or apprehenſion. I begged him, therefore, to explain himſelf on this ſubject, which I conceived to be of the utmoſt importance; ſince it was only by ſuch means that both parties could be ſatisfied. He then gave me to underſtand, that what he had termed a project was nothing more than what had been expreſſed in the Firſt Conſul's meſſage to the legiſlative body, when he ſays, that there is a French ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, who is charged to give every aſſurance of the diſpoſition of France to ſtrengthen, inſtead of to weaken, that Government. I expreſſed a doubt whether this, or any other parole ſecurity, would be conſidered as ſufficient in ſuch a tranſaction. Hereupon he repeated the queſtion—what then is the ſecurity which you require, and which the Firſt Conſul can give? This, I told him, muſt be the ſubject of the Negotiation on which we were willing to enter; and I truſted that the French Government would bring into it the ſame temper, and the ſame real deſire to conciliate, which was manifeſted by his Majeſty's miniſters.

M. de Talleyrand now informed me, that the Firſt Conſul had five or ſix days ago, ordered inſtructions to be ſent to General Andréoſſy, by which he was to require an immediate and categorical anſwer to the plain queſtion—whether his Majeſty would, or would not, cauſe Malta, to be evacuated by the Britiſh troops? that he concluded this communication was already made, and that he expected to learn the reſult of it in a very few days; adding, that all the Firſt Conſul wanted was to know preciſely on what he had to depend.

I could not help lamenting this precipitate meaſure, ſince it could anſwer no good purpoſe, and would only tend to introduce into the diſcuſſion ill-humour and offended dignity, in the place of diſpaſſionate reaſoning. I begged him, however, to be prepared, and to prepare the Firſt Conſul, to meet with more oppoſition to his will than he had been accuſtomed to on ſimilar occaſions.

I told him, that his Majeſty was willing to diſcuſs the point in diſpute with fairneſs and candour, but certainly never would be intimidated into acquieſcence; and I repeatedly urged, that if he wiſhed well

well to the peace of the two countries, he ſhould prepare the Firſt Conſul for the conſequences which might naturally be expected from this ſtep, and thus prevent the effect of any ſudden guſt of ill-humour. He was unwilling to admit that there could be any chance of ſatisfying the Firſt Conſul ſhort of a compliance with his wiſhes, founded as he pretended on good faith.

Our converſation ended here, and I wait the reſult of General Andréoſſy's communication with the utmoſt impatience.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

P. S. In the interval between the writing and the tranſcribing the above diſpatch, I have taken another opportunity of ſeeing M. de Talleyrand, and I am glad to find, that (for what purpoſe I know not), he had repreſented the inſtructions to General Andréoſſy as much more abſolute and offenſive than they really are. I found him to-day entirely diſpoſed to give me another opinion, and to convince me that the Firſt Conſul, far from wiſhing to carry matters to extremity, was deſirous to diſcuſs fairly and without paſſion, a point, which he admitted was of importance to both countries. He repeatedly aſſured me, that much as the Firſt Conſul might have the acquiſition of Egypt at heart, he would ſacrifice his own feelings to the preſervation of peace; and henceforth ſeek to augment his glory, by improving and conſolidating the internal ſituation of the country, rather than by adding to its poſſeſſions.

(Signed) W.

Right honorable Lord Hawkeſbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. XLI.

Note from General Andréoſſy to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated March 10, 1803.

THE underſigned ambaſſador and miniſter Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to his Britannic Majeſty, had received from the Firſt Conſul, expreſs orders to require from the Britiſh Government ſome explanations reſpecting the protracted occupation of the iſland of Malta by the Engliſh troops. He had hoped that verbal communications would have been ſufficient to have produced ſatisfactory expoſitions, by preparing the way for the mutual conciliation of minds and intereſts, a conduct which has been preſcribed to him by his ardent zeal for the maintenance of harmony between the two Countries, and of the peace of Europe, objects of the ſolicitude of the French Government: but the underſigned thinks he can no longer delay complying with the inſtructions he had received, and he has therefore the honour of addreſſing the following obſervations to his Excellency Lord Hawkeſbury, which recal to recollection the ſpirit and the leading features of the verbal communications which he has previouſly made to him.

By the conditions of the fourth paragraph of the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens, the Engliſh troops were to evacuate the iſland of

of Malta and its dependencies three months after the exchange of the ratifications.

Ten months have elapsed since the ratifications have been exchanged, and the English troops are still at Malta.

The French troops on the contrary, who were to evacuate the Neapolitan and Papal States have not waited the expiration of the three months, which were granted to them to withdraw, and have quitted Tarentum, the fortifications of which they had re-eftablished, and where they had collected 100 pieces of cannon.

What can be alledged in justification of the delay in evacuating Malta? has not the tenth article of the Treaty of Amiens provided for every thing? and the Neapolitan troops being arrived, under what pretext do those of England still remain there?

Is it because all the powers enumerated in the 6th paragraph have not yet accepted the guaranty which is devolved upon them? but this is not a condition that relates to the evacuation of the island; and besides, Austria has already sent its act of guaranty: Russia itself has made only a single difficulty which is done away by the accession of the First Consul, to the mortifications proposed, unless indeed England itself throws obstacles in the way, by refusing to accede to the proposals of Russia, which after all could not affect the engagements of his Britannic Majesty, who according to the express conditions of the treaty, is to evacuate the island of Malta within three months, placing it, under the guard of the Neapolitans, who are to garrison it, until the definitive arrangements of the order are settled.

It should therefore seem impossible, and it would be without example in the history of Nations, were his Britannic Majesty to refuse to execute a fundamental article of the pacification, of the very one, which, in the drawing up of the preliminaries, was considered as the first, and as requiring to be settled previously to every other point.

Indeed, the First Consul who cordially relies on the intentions of his Britannic Majesty, and cannot suppose them to be less open and generous than those with which he is animated, has hitherto been unwilling to attribute the delay of the evacuation of the island of Malta, to any other than to maritime circumstances.

The undersigned is, therefore, charged to require explanations on this point, and he is persuaded that the British Ministry will be the more anxious to furnish such as will be satisfactory, as they must be sensible how necessary they are for the maintenance of harmony, and how important they are for the honor of the two nations.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity to renew to Lord Hawkesbury the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) F. ANDREOSSY.

Portland Place, 10th March, 1803.

No. XLII.

Paris, March 12, 1803.

My Lord,

THE messenger Mason arrived yesterday morning early, with your Lordship's letter of the 7th, informing me, that in consequence of the preparations in the Ports of France and

and Holland, which, though avowedly intended for colonial ſervice, might, in the event of a rupture, be turned againſt ſome part of the Britiſh dominions, his Majeſty had judged it expedient to ſend a meſſage to both houſes of parliament, recommending in terms void of offence, the adoption of ſuch meaſures as may be conſiſtent with the honour of his crown, and the ſecurity of his dominions, and at the ſame time ſuch as will manifeſt his Majeſty's diſpoſition for the preſervation of peace.

I beg leave to return your Lordſhip my thanks for having apprized me of this circumſtance by a ſpecial meſſenger; I found, however, on going to M. de Talleyrand, at two o'clock, that he was already informed of it. He was juſt ſetting out to communicate it to the Firſt Conſul, and appeared under conſiderable agitation. He returned with me to his cabinet, and though he told me he was preſſed for time, he ſuffered me to relate the circumſtance without interruption. I endeavoured to make him ſenſible that this meaſure was merely precautionary, and not in the leaſt degree intended as a menace. I concluded my obſervations by repeating that it was merely a meaſure of ſelf ſecurity, founded on the armaments which were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, remarking at the ſame time, that had not even the armaments been as notorious as they were, the very circumſtance of the Firſt Conſul's determination to augment ſo conſiderably his army in time of peace, would have been a full and ſufficient motive for ſuch a meaſure of precaution.

M. de Talleyrand now informed me that he was already acquainted with the buſineſs; that a meſſenger had that morning arrived, who had brought him a copy of the meſſage, which he communicated to me. I could draw from him no reply whatever to my obſervations. He confined himſelf ſtrictly to the aſſurance which he has ſo repeatedly made, that there was no foundation whatever for the alarm which was felt by his Majeſty's Miniſters; that the Firſt Conſul was pacific; that he had no thoughts whatever of attacking his Majeſty's dominions, unleſs forced to do ſo by a commencement of hoſtilities on our part; that he ſhould always conſider the *refuſal to evacuate Malta as ſuch a commencement of hoſtilities*; and that as we had hitherto heſitated to do ſo, he was juſtified in adopting the meaſures which might eventually be neceſſary. He diſclaimed every idea of the Armaments fitting out in the Dutch ports having any other deſtination than to the Colonies, and concluded that for his part, he could not comprehend the motives which had neceſſitated a reſort to ſuch a meaſure on the part of his Majeſty's Government.

He then deſired leave to go to the Firſt Conſul, promiſing that he would let me know the reſult when we met at dinner at the Pruſſian Miniſter's. He did not come there till near ſeven o'clock, and when we roſe from dinner, he took me aſide, and informed me, that although the Firſt Conſul had been highly irritated at the unjuſt ſuſpicion which his Majeſty's Government entertained, yet he would not allow himſelf to be ſo far maſtered by his feelings, as to loſe ſight of the calamities which the preſent diſcuſſion might entail upon humanity. He dwelt much on this

topick, and explained the measures to which he should be obliged to resort; he said that if England wished to discuss fairly, he wished the same; that if England prepared for war he would do the same; and that if England should finally determine on hostilities, he trusted to the support of the French nation in the cause of honour and of justice. It was in vain that I repeated that England did not wish for war; that peace was as necessary to us as it could be to France; that all we desired, and all that we were contending for, was security; that every thing proved to us that that security was threatened by the First Consul's views on Egypt; and that consequently our refusal to evacuate Malta, was become as much a necessary measure of precaution, as the defence of any part of his Majesty's dominions. To this kind of reasoning M. de Talleyrand opposed the moderation of the First Consul, his great self-denial, and his determination to sacrifice even the most favourite points to his sincere desire to avoid a rupture.

M. de Talleyrand now told me, that, in order to facilitate my communication of the First Consul's sentiments, he would communicate to me a paper which he had that morning drawn up with him; that it was not to be considered as any thing absolutely official; that it was a memorandum to assist me, but such as I might, if I chose, transmit to your Lordship. I now inclose it.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

Right honorable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

1. IF his Britannick Majesty in his message means to speak of the expedition of Helvoetsluys, all the world knows that it was destined for America, and that it was on the point of sailing for its destination, but in consequence of his Majesty's message, the embarkation and putting to sea are about to be countermanded.

2. If we do not receive satisfactory explanation respecting these armaments in England, and if they actually take place, *it is natural* that the First Consul should march 20,000 men into Holland, since Holland is mentioned in the message.

3. These troops being once in the country, *it is natural* that an encampment should be formed on the frontiers of Hanover; and, moreover, that additional bodies should join those troops which were already embarked for America, in order to form new embarkations, and to maintain an offensive and defensive position.

4. *It is natural* that the First Consul should order several camps to be formed at Calais, and on different points of the coasts.

5. It is likewise *in the nature of things*, that the First Consul, who was on the point of evacuating Switzerland, should be under the necessity of continuing a French army in that country.

6. It is also *the natural consequence of all this*, that the First Consul should send a fresh force into Italy, in order to occupy, in case of necessity, the position of Tarentum.

7. England arming, and arming with so much publicity, will compel France to put her armies on the war establishment, a step so important,

portant, as cannot fail to agitate all Europe.

The result of all these movements will be to irritate the two countries still more. France will have been compelled to take all these precautions in consequence of the English armaments, and nevertheless every means will be taken to excite the English nation by the assertion, that France meditates an invasion. The whole British population will be obliged to put themselves under arms for their defence, and their export trade will, even before the war, be in a state of stagnation throughout the whole extent of the countries occupied by the French arms.

The experience of nations, and the course of events prove, that the distance between such a state of things and actual hostility, is unfortunately not remote.

As to the differences, of which mention is made in his Britannick Majesty's message, we know not of any that we have with England; for it cannot be imagined that a serious intention can have existed in England of evading the execution of the Treaty of Amiens, under the protection of a military armament. Europe well knows that it is possible to attempt the dismemberment of France, but not to intimidate her.

No. XLIII.

Paris, March 14, 1803.

My Lord,

THE messenger Mason went on Saturday with my dispatches of that date, and until yesterday, Sunday, I saw no one likely to give me any further information such as I could depend upon, as to the effect which his Majesty's message had produced on the First Consul. At the court, which was held at the Thuilleries upon that day, he accosted me evidently under very considerable agitation. He began by asking me if I had any news from England. I told him that I had received letters from your Lordship two days ago. He immediately said, and so you are determined to go to war. No! I replied, we are too sensible of the advantages of peace.—Nous avons, said he, déjà fait la Guerre pendant Quinze Ans. —As he seemed to wait for an answer, I observed only, C'en est déjà trop.—Mais, said he, vous voulez la faire encore Quinze Anneés, et vous m'y forcez.—I told him, that was very far from his Majesty's intentions.—He then proceeded to Count Marcow and the Chevalier Azara, who were standing together at a little distance from me, and said to them, Les Anglois veulent la Guerre, mais s'ils sont les premiers à tirer l'Epée je serai le dernier à la remettre. Ils ne respectent pas les Traités. Il faut dorénavant les couvrir de Crepe noir.—He then went his round, in a few minutes he came back to me, and resumed the conversation, if such it can be called, by something personally civil to me. He began again.—Pourquoi des Armêmens? Contre qui des Mesures de Precaution? Je n'ai pas un seul Vaisseau de Ligne dans les Ports de France; mais si vous voulez armer, j'armerai aussi; si vous voulez vous battre, je me battrai aussi. Vous pourrez peut-être tuer la France, mais jamais l'intimider.—On ne voudroit, said I, ni l'un ni l'autre. On voudroit

vivre en bonne Intelligence avec elle.—Il faut donc reſpecter les Traités; replied he; Malheur à ceux qui ne reſpectent pas les Traités; ils en ſeront reſponſable à toute l'Europe.—He was too much agitated to make it adviſeable for me to prolong the converſation; I therefore made no anſwer, and he retired to his apartment, repeating the laſt phraſe.

It is to be remarked that all this paſſed loud enough to be overheard by two hundred people who were preſent, and I am perſuaded that there was not a ſingle perſon, who did not feel the extreme impropriety of his conduct, and the total want of dignity as well as of decency on the occaſion.

I propoſe taking the firſt opportunity of ſpeaking to Mr. Talleyrand on the ſubject.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

Right Honorable Lord Hawkeſbury &c. &c. &c.

No. XLIV.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Hawkeſbury to Lord Whitworth, dated March 15, 1803.

I SEND your Excellency a copy of the note preſented to me by General Andréoſſy on the tenth inſtant*, and a copy of the anſwer which I have this day by his Majeſty's commands returned to it.

NOTE.

No. XLV.

THE underſigned, his Majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, has laid before the King the note of his Excellency the French ambaſſador of the 10th inſtant.

In obeying the commands of his Majeſty, by returning an official anſwer to this note, the underſigned feels it neceſſary for him to do little more than repeat the explanations which have been already given on more than one occaſion by himſelf verbally to General Andréoſſy, and by Lord Whitworth to M. Talleyrand, on the ſubject of the note, and of the points which appear to be connected with it. He can have no difficulty in aſſuring the French ambaſſador, that his Majeſty has entertained a moſt ſincere deſire that the Treaty of Amiens might be executed in a full and complete manner; but it has not been poſſible for him to conſider this treaty as having been founded on principles different from thoſe which have been invariably applied to every other antecedent treaty or convention, namely, that they were negotiated with reference to the actual *ſtate of poſſeſſion* of the different parties, and to the *treaties* or *public engagements* by which they were bound at the time of its concluſion; and that if that ſtate of poſſeſſion and of engagements was ſo materially altered by the act of either of the parties as to affect the nature of the compact itſelf, the other party has a right according to the law of nations, to interfere for the purpoſe of obtaining ſatisfaction or compenſation for any eſſential difference which ſuch acts may have ſubſequently made in their relative ſituation; that if there ever was a caſe to which this principle might be applied with peculiar propriety, it was that of the late treaty of peace; for

* See No. XLI. P. * 225

the

the negotiation was conducted on a basis not merely proposed by his Majesty, but specially agreed to, in an official note, by the French Government, viz. *that his Majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests for the important acquisition of territory made by France upon the continent.* That is a sufficient proof that the compact was understood to have been concluded in relation to the then existing state of things; for the measure of his Majesty's compensation was to be calculated with reference to the acquisitions of France at that time; and if the interference of the French Government in the general affairs of Europe since that period; if their interposition with respect to Switzerland and Holland, whose independence was guarantied by them at the time of the conclusion of the treaty of peace; if the acquisitions which have been made by France in various quarters, but particularly those in Italy, have extended the territory and increased the power of France, his Majesty would be warranted, consistently with the spirit of the treaty of peace, in claiming equivalents for these acquisitions, as a counterpoise to the augmentation of the power of France. His Majesty, however, anxious to prevent all grounds of misunderstanding, and desirous of consolidating the general peace of Europe, as far as might be in his power, was willing to have waved the pretensions he might have a right to advance of this nature; and as the other articles of the definitive treaty have been in a course of execution on his part, so he would have been ready to have carried into effect an arrangement conformable to the true intent and spirit of the tenth article; the execution of that arrangement, according to its terms having been rendered impracticable by circumstances which it was not in his Majesty's power to controul. Whilst his Majesty was actuated by these sentiments of moderation and forbearance, and prepared to regulate his conduct in conformity to them, his attention was particularly attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the report of Colonel Sebastiani to the First Consul. This report contains the most unjustifiable insinuations and charges against his Majesty's Government; against the officer commanding his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter: insinuations and charges wholly destitute of foundation, and such as would have warranted his Majesty in demanding that satisfaction which on occasions of this nature, independent powers, in a state of amity, have a right to expect from each other. It discloses, moreover, views in the highest degree injurious to the interests of his Majesty's dominions, and directly repugnant to, and utterly inconsistent with, the spirit and letter of the treaty of peace concluded between his Majesty and the French Government. His Majesty's ambassador at Paris was accordingly directed to make such a representation to the French Government, as his Majesty felt to be called for by imputations of the nature above described, by the disclosure of purposes inconsistent with good faith, and highly injurious to the interests of his people; and as a claim had recently been made by the French Government on the subject of the evacuation of Malta, Lord Whitworth was instructed to accompany this representation by a

declaration on the part of his Majesty, that before he could enter into any further discussions relative to that island, it was expected, that satisfactory explanations should be given upon the various points respecting which his Majesty had complained. This representation and this claim, founded on principles incontestably just, and couched in terms the most temperate, appear to have been wholly disregarded by the French Government; no satisfaction has been afforded, no explanation whatever has been given; but on the contrary, his Majesty's suspicions of the views of the French Government with respect to the Turkish Empire have been confirmed and strengthened by subsequent events. Under these circumstances his Majesty feels that he has no alternative, and that a just regard to his own honor and to the interests of his people, makes it necessary for him to declare, that he cannot consent that his troops should evacuate the island of Malta, until substantial security has been provided for those objects which, under the present circumstances, might be materially endangered by their removal.

With respect to several of the positions stated in the note, and grounded on the idea of the 10th article being executed in its literal sense, they call for some observations. By the 10th article of the Treaty of Amiens, the island of Malta was to be restored by his Majesty to the order of St. John, upon certain conditions. The evacuation of the island, at a specified period, formed a part of these conditions; and if the other stipulations had been in a due course of execution, his Majesty would have been bound, by the terms of the treaty, to have ordered his forces to evacuate the island: but these conditions must be considered as being all of equal effect; and if any material parts of them should have been found incapable of execution, or if the execution of them should from any circumstances have been retarded, his Majesty would be warranted in deferring the evacuation of the island until such time as the other conditions of the article could be effected; or until some new arrangement could be concluded which should be judged satisfactory by the contracting parties. The refusal of Russia to accede to the arrangement, except on condition that the Maltese langue should be abolished; the silence of the Court of Berlin, with respect to the invitation that has been made to it, in consequence of the treaty, to become a guarantying power; the abolition of the Spanish priories, in defiance of the treaty to which the King of Spain was a party; the declaration of the Portuguese Government, of their intention to sequestrate the property of the Portuguese priory, as forming a part of the Spanish langue, unless the property of the Spanish priories was restored to them,—these circumstances would have been sufficient, without any other special grounds, to have warranted his Majesty in suspending the evacuation of the island. The evacuation of Tarentum and Brundusium is in no respect connected with that of Malta. The French Government were bound to evacuate the Kingdom of Naples by their treaty of peace with the King of Naples at a period antecedent to that at which this stipulation was carried into effect.

The

The French Government were bound likewiſe, by engagements with the Emperor of Ruſſia, to reſpect the independence of the kingdom of Naples; but even admitting that the departure of the French troops from Tarentum depended ſolely on the article of the Treaty of Amiens, the departure is, by the terms of the treaty, to take place at the ſame period as the other evacuations in Europe; namely, one month after the ratification of the definitive treaty; at which period both Porto Ferrajo and Minorca were evacuated by his Majeſty's forces; whereas the troops of his Majeſty were in no caſe bound to evacuate the iſland of Malta antecedent to the period of three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty; and even in that event, it muſt be conſidered as depending upon the other parts of the arrangement being in a courſe of execution. With reſpect to the aſſertion in the note, that the Neapolitan troops were to form the Garriſon of Malta until the period when the arrangements relative to the order could be carried into effect, it will appear, by a reference to the article, that by the preliminary paragraph, the iſland was to be reſtored to the order upon the condition of the ſucceeding ſtipulations, and that it was only from the period when the reſtitution to the order had actually taken place, that by the 12th paragraph the Neapolitan troops were to form a part of the Garriſon.

The underſigned has thus ſtated, with all the frankneſs which the importance of the ſubject appears to require, the ſentiments of his Majeſty on the note delivered to him by General Andréoſſy, and on the points in diſcuſſion between the two countries.

His Majeſty is willing to indulge the hope, that the conduct of the French Government on this occaſion may be influenced by principles ſimilar to thoſe which have invariably influenced his own. That as far as poſſible all clauſes of diſtruſt, and every impediment to a good underſtanding between the two countries, may be completely and effectually removed, and that the peace may be conſolidated on a ſecure and laſting foundation.

The underſigned requeſts General Andréoſſy to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

Downing Street, March 15, 1803.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency General Andréoſſy, &c. &c. &c.

No. XLVI.

Paris, March 17, 1803.

My Lord,

I CALLED yeſterday on M. de Talleyrand, to converſe with him on the ſubject of what had paſſed on Sunday laſt at the Thuilleries. He had been ſince that day ſo fully occupied with his expeditions to different foreign courts, that I had no opportunity of ſeeing him ſooner. I told him, that I had been placed by the Firſt Conſul in a ſituation which could neither ſuit my public nor my private feelings. That I went to the Thuilleries to pay my reſpects to the Firſt Conſul, and to preſent my countrymen, but not to treat of

political subjects; and that unless I had the assurance from him, that I should not be exposed to a repetition of the same disagreeable circumstances, I should be under the necessity of discontinuing my visits to the Thuilleries. M. de Talleyrand assured me, that it was very far from the First Consul's intention to distress me; but he had felt himself personally insulted by the charges which were brought against him by the English Government; *and that it was incumbent upon him to take the first opportunity of exculpating himself in the presence of the Ministers of the different powers of Europe.* He assured me that nothing similar would occur.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

The Right Honorable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. XLVII.

Paris, March 18 1803.

My Lord,

I RECEIVED your Lordship's dispatch, with its inclosures, this morning early; and I learnt at the same time that a messenger had arrived from General Andréossy to M. de Talleyrand; shortly after, M. de Talleyrand sent to desire I would call upon him, which I accordingly did. He told me that he had not only received your Lordship's note to the French ambassador, but also the sentiments of the First Consul upon it, which he was desirous to communicate to me, before he re-dispatched the messenger. This he did, and I refer your Lordship to the communication, which General Andréossy will make, according to his instructions, without loss of time.

From the tenor of this note, it appears that this Government is not desirous to proceed to extremities; that is to say, it is not prepared so to do; and therefore it expresses a willingness to enter on the discussion of the point, which appears according to their conception, or rather to the interpretation they choose to give to it, the most material. This of course is the safety of Egypt. On this the First Consul declares in the note, as M. de Talleyrand did repeatedly to me, that he would be willing to enter into any engagement, by which such a security as would fully quiet our apprehensions, might be given on the part of the French Government. On the subject of Malta, the First Consul maintains that he cannot listen to any compromise; with regard to Egypt he is willing to enter into any engagement which may be thought sufficient.

I told him that he had departed from the letter and the sense of your Lordship's note, by confining the question to Malta alone. That note had comprehended other most important considerations. That the best method of bringing the discussion to a speedy conclusion, such as his Majesty's Government appeared to wish, was to take it up on a broader scale. But that at the same time his Majesty's Government would not refuse to lend itself to any thing reasonable which might be suggested. There was however, I told him, one distinction to be made in the situation of the two Governments, in the discussion of this question. By our possession of Malta, France was not threatened, but the reverse was the case,

eaſe, ſhould the acceſs to Egypt be opened by its evacuation.

I have the honor to be, &c.
(Signed) WHITWORTH.

The Right Honorable Lord Hawkeſbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. XLVIII.

Downing Street, March 22, 1803.

My Lord,

YOUR Excellency's ſeveral diſpatches to No. 26 incluſive, have been received and laid before the King.

With reſpect to the ſubject of your Excellency's diſpatch of March 14, I have it in command to ſignify to you his Majeſty's pleaſure, that you take the earlieſt opportunity to repreſent to Monſieur de Talleyrand, the ſurpriſe with which his Majeſty has learnt the conduct which the Firſt Conſul had obſerved towards your Excellency in the inſtance to which that diſpatch refers; and you will add, that as his Majeſty has a right to expect that his ambaſſador ſhould be treated with the reſpect and attention due to the dignity of the Sovereign whom he repreſents, it will be impoſſible for you to preſent yourſelf on any days of ceremony to the Firſt Conſul, unleſs you receive an aſſurance that you will never be expoſed to a repetition of the Treatment which you experienced on the occaſion.

Although your Excellency appears to have anticipated this inſtruction in one of your moſt recent converſations with Monſieur de Talleyrand, I nevertheleſs think it right to enable your Excellency to ſtate to that miniſter, the ſenſe which the King entertains of this tranſaction.

I am, with great truth and reſpect, &c.
(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord Whitworth, K. B. &c. &c. &c.

No. XLIX.

Downing Street, April 3, 1803.

My Lord,

I INCLOSE to your Excellency for your information, copies of the official note delivered to me on the 29th ultimo by General Andréoſſy, and of the anſwer which by his Majeſty's command, I this day returned to that communication.

I am, with great truth and reſpect, &c.
(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord Whitworth, K. B. &c. &c. &c.

(Inclоſure referred to in No. 49.)

THE underſigned General of Diviſion, Ambaſſador and Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the French Republic, has laid before his Government the note addreſſed to him by his Excellency Lord Hawkeſbury. He has received orders to make the following anſwer to the obſervations therein contained.

The object of this note appears to be to explain his Britannic Majeſty's meſſage; and to give ſome elucidations which had been demanded reſpecting the execution of the Treaty of Amiens.

The Firſt Conſul will not make any complaint relative to the extraordinary and unexpected aſſertions

tions of this act iſſued by his Britannic Majeſty. Not one of them is founded.

His Britannic Majeſty believes that his Kingdom is menaced by preparations made in the ports of Holland and France. He has been deceived: the Firſt Conſul has made no preparation.

There were at the time of the meſſage, but two frigates in the Roads of Holland, and but three Corvettes in the Road of Dunkirk.

How can his Britannic Majeſty's Miniſters have been deceived on facts ſo evident? his Britannic Majeſty's Ambaſſadors at Paris and at the Hague have ſeriouſly to reproach themſelves, if they have credited information ſo evidently falſe, and if they did not foreſee that they thereby expoſed their Government to err in the moſt important deliberations.

Was it not conformable to the uſage practiſed among nations, firſt to demand explanations, and thus to take means for being convinced of the falſhood of the intelligence which the Miniſters might have received? muſt not the leaſt effects of the omiſſion of this practice be, to bring on the ruin of families, and carry confuſion, uncertainty, and diſorder into all the commercial affairs of both nations? the Firſt Conſul knows, both from his own ſentiments, and judging of other people by the French, that a great nation can never be terrified. He believes that good policy and the feelings of true dignity ever inſpire the ſentiment of eſteem for a rival nation, and never the deſign of menacing her. A great nation may be deſtroyed, but not intimidated.

The ſecond part of his Majeſty's meſſage conſiſts of another aſſertion no better founded. His Britannic Majeſty makes mention of diſcuſſions, the ſucceſs of which is doubtful. What are theſe diſcuſſions? what official notes, what protocole prove the opening, the progreſs, the viciſſitudes of a debate? can a ſtate of difficulties, which leads to an alternative of peace or war, ſpring up unawares without commencement, without progreſſion, and lead without diſtinction, to an appeal to arms before all the means of conciliation have been exhauſted.

In this caſe, the appeal has been publicly made before it could be known that there was room for miſunderſtanding. The termination of the diſcuſſions was announced before they had begun. The iſſue of a difficult diſcuſſion has been declared before it aroſe. What would Europe, what would both nations think, if they knew that theſe diſcuſſions, announced by his Britannic Majeſty as ſo difficult to terminate, were unknown to the French Government; and that the Firſt Conſul on reading the meſſage, could not comprehend the meaning of either of the declarations therein contained.

He has alſo abſtained from any oſtenſible ſtep; and whatever may have been the clamour, the activity, the provocations of war, which have taken place in England ſince that meſſage, he has given no orders, he has made no diſpoſitions, no preparations. He places his glory in an affair of this nature, wholly in being taken in an unprovided ſtate. He will continue in this ſyſtem of honeſt frankneſs, until his Britannic Majeſty has reflected fully on the part he propoſes to take.

In

In Lord Hawkeſbury's note, an opinion is expreſſed, that the French Republick has increaſed in power ſince the Peace of Amiens. This is a decided error. Since that epoch, France has evacuated a conſiderable territory. The French Power has received no degree of augmentation. If his Britannic Majeſty is determined to make war, he may allege all the pretexts he pleaſes. He will find few leſs founded.

As to the complaints made reſpecting the publications which may have appeared in France, they are of an order too ſecondary to be capable of influencing ſuch a deciſion. Are we then returned to the age of tournaments? motives of this nature might have authorized, four centuries ago, the combat of thirties; but they cannot, in this age, be a reaſon for war between the two countries.

It might ſuffice in this reſpect to reply to his Excellency, that no repreſentation has been made by him on the ſubject to the Government of the Republick; and that, if it was but juſtice to grant ſatisfaction, the Firſt Conſul had a right to expect that which was required by M. Otto, in his note of the 22d Thermidor laſt, upon grounds more ſerious and more juſt.

Is it poſſible that the Engliſh miniſtry can have been ignorant, that ever ſince the concluſion of the Treaty of Amiens the Engliſh preſs has not ceaſed to ſpread through Europe the rage of war, the diſcredit of peace, and ſhameleſs and boundleſs outrages againſt every thing which is the object of the love and veneration of the French people?

A few days after the ratification of peace, one of his Britannic Majeſty's Miniſters declared that the peace eſtabliſhment muſt be conſiderable; and the diſtruſt excited by this declaration made in parliament with as much bitterneſs as impropriety, furniſhed a commentary for the exaggeration and alarms which were circulated in deſpicable pamphlets, and in newſpapers as contemptible as thoſe libels. Since that time, theſe writers have found themſelves invariably ſupported in their inſolent obſervations by particular phraſes taken from the ſpeeches of ſome leading members of parliament. Theſe ſpeeches, ſcarcely to be exceeded by the news-writers themſelves, have, for theſe eighteen months, tended to encourage inſult againſt other Governments to that degree, that every European muſt be offended, and every reaſonable Engliſhman muſt be humiliated, by ſuch unheard of licentiouſneſs.

What if we connect with theſe ſallies, proceedings more offenſive and ſerious; the indulgence granted to French criminals, publiſhing daily outrages in the French language; the ſtill more inexcuſeable toleration extended to villains covered with crimes, and plotting aſſaſſinations inceſſantly, ſuch as Georges, who ſtill continues to reſide at London protected, and having a conſiderable eſtabliſhment; in a word, the little juſtice which has been ſhewn to all our repreſentations—How are we to account for the publicity of the complaint which his Britannic Majeſty has thought proper to make reſpecting ſome indefinite wrongs which he has hitherto thought unneceſſary to bring before the Firſt Conſul?

The Firſt Conſul has had cauſe to be convinced that all his repreſentations on all theſe points were uſeleſs, and that his Britannick Majeſty,

jesty, regardless of the neighbouring powers, was resolved to authorize every thing within his dominions; but he did not on that account entertain a doubt of the continuance of peace, nor alarm Europe with the notification of war. He confined himself to this principle of conduct, to permit or prevent in France with respect to England whatever should be permitted or prevented in England with regard to France.

He has, however, expressed, and he again expresses his wish, that means should be adopted to prevent in future any mention being made of what is passing in England, *either in the official discussions or in the polemical writings in* France, *as in like manner in the French official discussions and polemical writings no mention whatever should be made of what is passing in England.*

Lord Hawkesbury mentions an article in a newspaper, containing the report of a French colonel. In serious discussions an answer on this point might be dispensed with; but it is neither a long nor difficult matter.

A colonel in the English army has published a work in England, filled with the most atrocious and disgusting calumnies against the French army and its general. The lies it contains have been contradicted by the reception which Colonel Sebastiani experienced. The publicity of his report was at once a refutation and a reparation which the French army had a right to expect. On his arrival in Egypt, this officer, to his great astonishment, found the English army there, although they should have evacuated it, and the Turks prodigiously alarmed at the continuance of the English army, and at its relations with the natives in rebellion and open revolt against the sublime porte.

He must have conceived that the treaties which connect us with the porte, and by which we have guaranteed to it the integrity of its possessions, compelled us to unite ourselves with that power. It was natural to think that England meant to declare war from the instant she refused to execute the articles of the treaty. For after all, France is not reduced to such a state of debasement as to suffer treaties made with her to be executed or not at pleasure.

Hence the researches made by this officer, as to the forces which were in Egypt, and as to the position occupied by the English army.

But Egypt has since been restored to the dominion of its lawful Sovereign, and the idea of a rupture between the two nations, on account of the engagement contracted with the porte, no longer exists.

There remains, therefore, but one object worthy of fixing the attention of the two nations. The execution of the Treaty of Amiens, as far as concerns Malta. His Majesty has engaged to restore it to the order, and to entrust it to the Neapolitan army till the order should be in a condition to guard it. His Majesty will reject all sophistry, every distinction, every mental reservation which might be offered to him, to put in doubt the force and the validity of his engagement. His Britannick Majesty's equity, his conscience in this respect, are guarantees for the French Republick. Were it otherwise, what means in future would the two nations

nations have for coming to an understanding? would not all be chaos? this would indeed be adding another calamity to those which have menaced social order.

The undersigned is directed to declare, in short, that the First Consul will not take up the defiance of war given by England to France; that as to Malta, he sees no subject for discussion, the treaty having provided for every thing, and settled every thing.

The undersigned has the honor, &c.

(Signed) F. Andreossy.

Portland Place, 8 Germinal, year 11. (29th March, 1803.)

(Inclosure referred to in No. 49.)

THE undersigned, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for foreign affairs, has laid before the King the note of his Excellency General Andréossy, of the 29th of last month.

His Majesty has been induced, by that spirit of moderation and forbearance which have invariably governed his conduct in every part of his communications with the French Government, to abstain from making many observations, which the perusal of this note may naturally have suggested to his mind.

His Majesty has perceived with great regret, that the French Government continue to withhold all satisfaction and explanation on the points on which he has complained; and that at the time when they evade all discussion on the subject of his representations, they persist in their requisition that the island of Malta should be forthwith evacuated by his forces.

His Majesty can never so far forget what is due to himself and to his people, as to acquiesce in such a course of proceeding; he has therefore judged it expedient to give instructions to his ambassador at Paris, to ascertain distinctly from the French Government, whether they are determined to persevere in withholding all satisfaction and explanation on the points on which his Majesty has complained,—or whether they are disposed, without delay, to give such satisfaction and explanations upon the present state of affairs as may lead to an arrangement which may be calculated to adjust the differences at present subsisting between the two Governments. It is his Majesty's anxious desire, that by this mode of proceeding an end may be put to that state of suspense and irritation, which must be so injurious to the interests of both countries; and that the two Governments, actuated by the same principles of justice and moderation may be led to concur in such measures as are most likely to conduce to their permanent tranquillity.

The undersigned requests General Andréossy to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

Hawkesbury.

Downing Street, April 3d, 1803.

His Excellency General Andréossy, &c. &c. &c.

No.

No. L.

Downing Street, April 4, 1803.

My Lord,

IT is become eſſential, that the diſcuſſions which have been for ſome time ſubſiſting been his Majeſty and the French Government ſhould be brought to an iſſue within as ſhort a time as is conſiſtent with the deliberation which muſt be given to objects of ſo much Importance.

The laſt note preſented by General Andréoſſy, in the name of his Government, in anſwer to my note of the 15th of laſt month, evades all explanation, and even all diſcuſſion, of the points on which complaint has been made by his Majeſty.

If the French Government ſhould ſeriouſly intend to perſiſt in this courſe of proceeding, there can be no hopes of a ſucceſsful termination to the preſent negotiation. It is important, therefore, that you ſhould aſcertain diſtinctly, in the firſt inſtance, whether they are diſpoſed to enter into explanation on the points on which his Majeſty has complained, and to come to ſuch an arrangement as may be calculated to adjuſt the differences at preſent ſubſiſting between the two countries; and for this purpoſe you will preſent a note to the effect of that which is herewith incloſed. It is poſſible that the French Government may continue to evade all diſcuſſion on the points in queſtion, and confine themſelves to a categorical demand, that Malta ſhould be immediately evacuated. In that caſe, it is his Majeſty's pleaſure, that you ſhould declare the impoſſibility of the relations of amity continuing to ſubſiſt between the two countries, and the neceſſity that you will be under of leaving Paris within a certain time. But if, on the other hand, they ſhould ſhew a readineſs to enter into diſcuſſion, and to give reaſonable ſatisfaction and explanation, it is important that you ſhould be informed, without loſs of time, of the ſentiments of his Majeſty's Government, as to what might be conſidered as an equitable adjuſtment of the differences between the two Governments at this moment.

I have, therefore, by his Majeſty's command, incloſed the project of an arrangement, which, under the preſent circumſtances, would meet the ideas of his Majeſty's Government; which would afford ſecurity for thoſe objects which are conſidered as endangered by the unequivocal diſcloſure of the views of the Firſt Conſul, and which at the ſame time, might entirely ſave the honor of the French Government.

I am, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord Whitworth, &c. &c. &c.

(Firſt incloſure referred to in No. 50.)

THE underſigned, his Britannic Majeſty's Ambaſſador Extraordinary has received the orders of his court to make the following communication to the French Government.

His Majeſty has perceived, with great regret, that the French Government continue to withhold all ſatisfaction and explanation on the points on which he has complained, and

and that at the time when they evade all diſcuſſion on the ſubject of his repreſentations, they perſiſt in their requiſition that the iſland of Malta ſhould be forthwith evacuated by his forces. His Majeſty can never ſo far forget what is due to himſelf, and to his people, as to acquieſce in ſuch a courſe of proceeding. He has therefore commanded the underſigned to aſcertain diſtinctly from the French Government, whether they are determined to perſevere in withholding all ſatisfaction and explanation upon the points on which his Majeſty has complained, or whether they are diſpoſed, without delay, to give ſuch ſatisfaction and explanation upon the preſent ſtate of affairs, as may lead to an arrangement, which may be calculated to adjuſt the differences at preſent ſubſiſting between the two governments.

It is his Majeſty's anxious deſire that by adopting this mode of proceeding, an end may be put to that ſtate of ſuſpenſe and uncertainty which muſt be ſo injurious to the intereſts of both countries; and that the two governments, actuated by the ſame principles of juſtice and moderation, may be led to concur in ſuch meaſures as are moſt likely to conduce to their permanent tranquillity.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

(Second incloſure referred to in No. 50.)

Heads of an Arrangement to be concluded by Treaty or Convention between his Majeſty and the French Government.

MALTA to remain in perpetuity in the poſſeſſion of his Majeſty. The Knights of the Order of St. John to be indemnified by his Majeſty for any loſſes of property which they may ſuſtain in conſequence of ſuch an arrangement.

Holland and Swiſſerland to be evacuated by the French troops.

The iſland of Elba to confirmed by his Majeſty to France, and the King of Etruria to be acknowledged.

The Italian and Ligurian Republics to be acknowledged by his Majeſty, provided an arrangement is made in Italy for the King of Sardinia, which ſhall be ſatisfactory to him.

No. LI.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Paris, April 7, 1803.

I RECEIVED your Lordſhip's diſpatches of the 4th inſtant by the meſſenger Wagſtaff, with their incloſures, yeſterday evening; and ſhall probably in the courſe of the day have an opportunity of communicating to Monſieur de Talleyrand the note, which I ſhall tranſlate for that purpoſe.

No. LII.

Paris, April 7, 1803.

My Lord,

SINCE writing the preceding diſpatch, I have ſeen M. de Talleyrand, and communicated to him the incloſed note, which I truſt your Lordſhip will find as cloſe a tranſlation as poſſible, of that which I received from your Lordſhip. He read it over with much attention, and when he had done he appeared to be in expectation of ſome other communication.

communication. Upon desiring he would explain himself, he said that he was in hopes I should have furnished him with the heads of those points, on which it was affirmed in the note that the French Government had so repeatedly refused all explanation and satisfaction. I told him, that it would have been entirely useless to repeat what had been so often urged in vain; that he could not but know that the explanation required, referred to the conduct of the French Government, and the system of aggrandisement which it had constantly pursued since the conclusion and in direct violation of the Treaty of Amiens, founded as it indisputably was on the state of possession of the two countries at the time; that with regard to the satisfaction, it evidently referred to the unjustifiable insinuations and charges against his Majesty's Government, against the officer commanding his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter, contained in the official report of Colonel Sebastiani. He was by no means disposed to admit, that either of these cases could justify the assertion of the French Government having refused explanation and satisfaction on the ground that no notice had been taken of these transactions but in a very cursory manner; nor had any explanation ever been required as to any particular transaction whether in Italy or elsewhere, and if it had, it would immediately have been given; and that the language of Colonel Sebastiani was not to be put in any comparison with that used by Major Wilson, in his account of the campaign of Egypt. I urged the difference of a common publication like that to which he alluded, and a report to the First Consul published by him in his official paper. On this occasion, M. de Talleyrand was disposed to call in question the authenticity of the Moniteur. In short, the most ungrounded assertions were substituted for arguments; and amongst these, I cannot but place that so often repeated of the First Consul's having entirely given up all idea whatever of Egypt, consequently we could have no pretext for retaining Malta.

He assured me for the rest, that he would communicate it this evening to the First Consul, and that tomorrow he should in all probability have a communication to make in return.

I have the honor to be, &c.

WHITWORTH.

The Right Honorable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

(Inclosure referred to in No. 52.)

LE Soussigné, ambassadeur extraordinaire et plenipotentiare de sa Majesté Britannique, a reçu ordre de sa cour de communiquer ce qui suit au Gouvernement de France.

Sa Majesté a vû à regret que le Gouvernement de France continue à refuser toute satisfaction et toute explication sur les objets dont elle a à se plaindre, et qu'en évitant toute discussion de ce qui fait le sujet de ses representations il persiste néanmoins à demander l'evacuation de l'Isle de Malthe par les forces de sa Majesté. Sa Majesté sait trop ce qu'elle se doit à elle-même et à son peuple pour acquiescer à de pareils procédés. En conséquence elle

elle a ordonné au Soussigné de savoir distinctement du Gouvernement de France, s'il est déterminé à perseverer dans son refus de toute satisfaction et de toute explication sur les objets de plainte de sa Majesté, ou bien s'il est disposé à donner sans delai cette satisfaction et cette explication sur l'etat actuel des affaires de maniere à pouvoir conduire à un arrangement qui seroit de nature à ajuster les differens qui actuellement existent entre les Deux Gouvernemens.

Sa Majesté desire sincerement l'adoption de ce moyen que mettroit fin à un etat de suspension et d'incertitude si nuisible à l'interêt des Deux Nations, et de voir que les Deux Gouvernemens agissant par les mêmes principes de justice et de moderation puissent s'entendre pour concourir aux mesures les plus susceptibles de leur assurer une tranquillité permanente.

Le Soussigné prie son excellence M. de Talleyrand d'agréer l'assurance de sa haute consideration.

WHITWORTH.

No. LIII.

Paris, April 9, 1803.

My Lord,

IN my conversation yesterday evening with M. de Talleyrand, I found him, after he had seen the First Consul, more disposed to contest the substance of the note which I had presented the day before, than to afford any further explanation. He said, that in order to proceed regularly, it would be necessary that the French Government should be informed precisely what were the objects which had created such uneasiness, and on which it was alleged all explanation had been refused. That although this had, perhaps, been touched upon in general conversation, yet no specific charge had been adduced in such a manner as to demand a formal explanation. I told him that if the object of the French Government was to protract the present state of suspence and uncertainty, that object might be answered to the extent indeed of a very few days, by forcing me to such a reference; but I must at the same time declare to him, that it could be productive of no advantage, and would serve only to provoke such a recapitulation of the system and conduct which France had pursued since the Treaty of Amiens, as would have all the appearance of a manifesto, every item of which would carry conviction to every individual in Europe; that it appeared therefore more likely to answer the end which both parties proposed, that of hastening the conclusion of an amicable arrangement, to take up the business on the basis which I should propose, and by which they would admit no more than what was incontrovertible, namely, that if the French Government exercised a right of extending its influence and territory, in violation of the spirit of the Treaty of Amiens, Great Britain had, if she chose to avail herself of it, (which I was confident she would not do further than was necessary as a measure of security,) an undoubted right to seek a counnterpoise. He did not seem inclined to dispute this position, but rather to admit that such a right did exist, and might be claimed in consequence of the acquisitions which had been made by France. On the point of satisfaction I found him much more

obſtinate. He ſaid that the Firſt Conſul was hurt at the expreſſion (*ſatisfaction*), to which he gave an interpretation I had never underſtood belonged to it, as implying ſuperiority; ſo that if the Britiſh Government required ſatisfaction of the French, it arrogated to itſelf a ſuperiority. I told him, what certainly muſt be underſtood by every one, that the demand of ſatisfaction implied that one party had been offended by another, and of courſe had a right to demand ſuch ſatisfaction; that an inferior had an equal right with his ſuperior to demand it; but in the caſe in queſtion there was perfect equality, and conſequently there was no offence to be found but in the conduct which rendered ſuch an appeal neceſſary. The diſcuſſion of this point took up a conſiderable time without producing any thing deciſive.

We at laſt came to the main point of the buſineſs; and on this I cannot ſay any real progreſs has been made. M. de Talleyrand repeated to me that the Firſt Conſul had nothing more at heart than to avoid the neceſſity of going to war, and that there was no ſacrifice he would not make, ſhort of his honor, to obtain this end. Is there, ſaid M. de Talleyrand, no means of ſatisfying both parties; for at the ſame time that the Firſt Conſul inſiſts, and will always inſiſt, on the full execution of the treaty, he will not object to any mode by which you may acquire the ſecurity you think ſo neceſſary. You are not ſatisfied with the independence of Neapolitan troops; what others will anſwer the purpoſe? he then ſtarted the idea of a mixed Garriſon, compoſed of Engliſh, French, Italian, Germans, &c. He begged that I would refer once more to your Lordſhip, and ſubmit the incloſed paper, which he drew up in my preſence. I told him that we were only loſing time by ſuch a reference; that my inſtructions were poſitive, and had certainly not been ſent me without the fulleſt conſideration. I could not, however, refuſe what he ſo earneſtly required; and your Lordſhip will ſee by the paper how the matter reſts after this conference. I will confeſs to your Lordſhip, that my motive for conſenting to forward this ſort of propoſal is that ſuppoſing we ſhould find the Firſt Conſul as obſtinate as he now appears to be on the point of abandoning Malta to us in perpetuity, and that a temporary poſſeſſion might be conſidered as the next beſt thing, ſomething of this kind might derive from it.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

The Right Honourable Lord Hawkeſbury, &c. &c. &c.

(Incloſure referred to in No. 53.)

THE converſation with M. Talleyrand to-day has led us to this reſult: every thing which may tend to violate the independance of the Order of Malta, will never be conſented to by the French Government. Every thing which may tend to put an end to the preſent difficulties, or be agreeable to the Engliſh Government, and which ſhall not be contrary to the Treaty of Amiens, the French Government have no objection to make a particular convention reſpecting it. The motives of this convention ſhall be inſerted

inserted in the preamble, and shall relate to the respective grievances concerning which the two Governments shall think it adviseable to come to an understanding with each other.

No. LIV.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, April 14, 1803.

SINCE my last the negotiation is at a stand, in the expectation, I suppose, of the answer which may arrive, to the overture which I communicated to your Lordship on the 9th instant, and which is expected here to produce a good effect, notwithstanding the litte hope I have given. To-morrow I shall, in all probability, be in possession of this answer from your Lordship, and be enabled to speak still more positively.

No. LV.

Downing Street, April 13, 1803.

My Lord,

HIS Majesty has received from his Chargé d'Affaires at Hamburgh, the most extraordinary account of the conduct of Monsieur Reinhard, the French Minister at that place, with respect to a most gross and unwarrantable libel upon his Majesty's Government. He has been assured that the French Minister, having proposed the insertion of that libel in the official gazette of the town of Hamburgh, and the insertion of it having in the first instance been refused, the French Minister went so far as to demand, in his official capacity, the insertion of that article by order of the Senate. His Majesty is unwilling to believe that the French Government could have authorized so outrageous an attack upon his Majesty and his Government, and so daring a violation of the independence of a Neutral State. It is his Majesty's pleasure, that you should communicate these circumstances to the French Government, and state at the same time the impossibility of bringing the present discussions to an amicable conclusion, unless some satisfaction shall be given to his Majesty for the indignity which has thus been offered to him in the face of all Europe by the French Minister at Hamburgh.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord Whitworth, K. B. &c. &c. &c.

No. LVI.

Downing Street, April 13, 1803.

My Lord,

YOUR Excellency's dispatches have been received, and laid before the King.

His Majesty has observed, with great satisfaction, the admission by the French Government of the justice of his claim to some compensation in consequence of the increased power and influence of France, since the period of the conclusion of the definitive treaty.

Although, under the circumstances of your conversation with M. Talleyrand, and particularly after the note verbale which he gave to you, it might have been

expedient that you ſhould have deferred preſenting the project, contained in my diſpatch No. 7, in the form of a project, it is deſirable that you ſhould communicate without delay in ſome mode or other, the contents of that project, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining diſtinctly whether the conditions are ſuch as to induce the French Government to give way upon the Queſtion of Malta. Theſe conditions appear to His Majeſty ſo well calculated to ſave the honour of the French government on the ſubject of Malta —if the queſtion of Malta is principally conſidered by them as a queſtion of honour—and at the ſame time hold out to them ſuch important advantages, that the ſucceſs of the propoſition is at leaſt worth trying, particularly as the reſult of it might be productive of the moſt eaſy means of adjuſting the moſt material of our preſent differences.

With reſpect to the aſſertion ſo often advanced and repeated by M. Talleyrand in your laſt converſations of the non-execution of the treaty of Amiens relative to Malta, I have only to obſerve again, that the execution of that article is become impracticable from cauſes which it has not been in the power of his Majeſty to controul. That the greateſt part of the funds aſſigned to the ſupport of the order, and indiſpenſably neceſſary for the independence of the order and defence of the iſland, have been ſequeſtrated ſince the concluſion of the definitive treaty, in direct repugnance to the ſpirit and letter of that treaty; and that two of the principal powers who were invited to accede as guarantees to the arrangement, have refuſed their acceſſion, except on the conditions that the part of the arrangement which was deemed ſo material relative to the Malteſe inhabitants ſhould be entirely cancelled. The conduct of the French Government ſince the concluſion of the definitive treaty, gives his Majeſty a right, which is now at length admitted by themſelves, to demand ſome compenſation for the paſt, and ſecurity for the future. Such compenſation could never be conſidered as obtained by the poſſeſſion of an Iſland, which would entail a very heavy expence on this country;—and the degree of ſecurity which would be provided by theſe means, would only be ſuch as his Majeſty, under the preſent circumſtances, is entitled to demand.

I obſerve in the note verbale of Monſieur Talleyrand, he makes uſe of the expreſſion, *the independence of the order of* Malta. If this is meant to apply to the order excluſively, his Majeſty would be willing, for the preſervation of peace, that the civil government of the iſland ſhould be given to the order of St. John; the Malteſe enjoying the privileges which were ſtipulated in their favour in the treaty of Amiens; and that, conformably to principles which have been adopted on other occaſions, the fortifications of the iſland ſhould be garriſoned for ever by the troops of his majeſty.

In the event of either of theſe propoſitions being found unattainable, his majeſty might be diſpoſed to conſent to an arrangement by which the iſland of Malta would

would remain in his poſſeſſion for a limited number of years, and to wave in conſequence his demand for a perpetual occupation, provided that the number of Years was not leſs than ten, and that his Sicilian Majeſty could be induced to cede the ſovereignty of the iſland of Lampedoſa for a valuable conſideration. If this propoſition is admitted, the iſland of Malta ſhould be given up to the inhabitants at the end of that period, and it ſhould be acknowledged as an independent ſtate. In this caſe, his Majeſty would be ready to concur in any arrangement for the eſtabliſhment of the order of St. John in ſome other part of Europe.

You will not refuſe to liſten to any propoſition which the French government may be diſpoſed to make to you with a view to an equivalent ſecurity for thoſe objects in regard to which his majeſty claims the poſſeſſion or occupation of Malta; but the three propoſitions to which I have above alluded, appear, at the preſent moment, to furniſh the only baſis for a ſatisfactory arrangement; and you will decline receiving any propoſition which does not appear to you to offer advantages to his Majeſty as ſubſtantial as that which I have laſt ſtated.

It is very deſirable that you ſhould bring the negociation to an iſſue, if poſſible, without referring to his Majeſty's Government for further inſtructions, after the receipt of this diſpatch; and if you ſhould be of opinion, that there is no hopes of bringing it to a favourable concluſion, you may inform M. Talleyrand of the neceſſity you will be under, after a certain time to leave Paris.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord Whitworth, K. B. &c. &c. &c.

No. LVII.

Paris, April 18, 1803.

My Lord,

I did not fail to put into immediate execution the inſtructions contained in your Lordſhip's diſpatch (No. 11). on the ſubject of the libel inſerted by the French miniſter in the Hamburgh gazette. I repreſented the outrageous and unprecedented conduct of M. Rheinhardt in ſuch terms as it deſerves; and fairly declared to M. de Talleyrand, that, until ſatisfaction ſhall be given to his Majeſty for the indignity which has been offered him by the French miniſter in his official character, there could be no poſſibility whatever of bringing the preſent diſcuſſion to an amicable iſſue. M. de Talleyrand aſſured me, that the French government ſaw the conduct of M. de Rheinhardt in the ſame light as his Majeſty's miniſters, and that they could not be more ſurpriſed than the firſt Conſul had been at ſeeing ſuch an article inſerted by authority; that an immediate explanation had been required of M. Rheinhardt, five days ago, and if his conduct had been ſuch as had been repreſented, he would, doubtleſs, feel the effect of the firſt Conſul's diſpleaſure; and that, in the mean time, I

might inform your lordship that he was completely disavowed. I told M. de Talleyrand, that, as the insult had been public, it would be necessary that the reparation should be so also. He answered me again, that the first Consul considered M. Rheinhardt's conduct as so reprehensible that every satisfaction might be expected.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. LVIII.

Paris, April 18, 1803.

My lord,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's dispatches of the 13th instant.

I saw Joseph Bonaparte immediately on the receipt of your lordship's dispatch; and without troubling your lordship with a repetition of the arguments I used to hasten the conclusion of the negotiation, amongst which I endeavoured to convince him of the importance of preventing the ultimatum which would inevitably follow the rejection of what I had to propose, I will briefly state, that on finding it perfectly impracticable to establish the principle of our keeping possession of Malta in perpetuity, I delivered to him in writing the second proposal I had to make. He did not fail to observe, that by this modification the difficulty which he considered as insurmountable was not removed; that although the order was restored, it could not be considered as independent, and, in fact, Malta would belong to that power which had possession of the forts. I enforced the adoption of this plan by every reason which could serve to recommend it; but the possession in perpetuity was constantly urged as a difficulty which nothing could remove. Our conversation lasted near two hours. I confess that I gained no solid ground of hope that the project, which he assured me he would take to the first Consul at St. Cloud, would be adopted. But he said that he was not without hope that he might be authorized to propose to me the occupation of the fortresses for a term of years. It was my wish, that such a proposal should come from him rather than from me. I told him that I did not well see how such a tenure would suit us; but that I wished too sincerely to avoid the fatal extremities to which I saw the discussion was tending, not to give any reasonable proposal which might be made on their part every assistance in my power. This proposal originated with him, and was therefore received by me merely as a matter which I would refer to your lordship. If however I can bring the matter to an immediate conclusion, and without further reference to your lordship on the principle of our retaining possession of the fortresses of Malta for a term of years not less than that pointed out by your lordship, and with the assurance that this government will not oppose the cession of the island of Lampedosa, I shall have great pleasure in announcing to your lordship such a conclusion.

I do not enter into detail of the con-

converſation which I had the ſame morning with M. de Talleyrand, immediately upon leaving Joſeph Bonaparte, as it differed in no wiſe from what I have above mentioned. He ſuggeſted alſo the poſſibility of coming to an arrangement on the ground of a temporary occupation, and I made him the ſame anſwer.

Such is the ſtate of the diſcuſſion at this moment. I am in expectation of hearing very ſhortly either from Joſeph Bonaparte or M. de Talleyrand; and I am not without hopes that I may be able to announce to your lordſhip, that ſuch an arrangement is made, as may anſwer his Majeſty's expectations, in a very few days. Your lordſhip may be aſſured, that I feel the neceſſity of expedition. Were it leſs urgent, I might perhaps hope to bring the diſcuſſion to even a more favourable iſſue.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

Right Honourable Lord Hawkeſbury, &c. &c. &c.

(*Inclofure referred to in* No. LVIII.)

HIS Majeſty will conſent, for the ſake of preſerving peace, that the government of the iſland of Malta ſhall be given to the order of St. John; the Malteſe enjoying thoſe privileges which have been granted on former occaſions. The fortifications of the iſland ſhall be occupied in perpetuity by the troops of his Majeſty.

No. LIX.

Paris, April 20, 1803.

My Lord,

I HAD hoped that the firſt extraordinary meſſenger I ſhould have had occaſion to ſend, would have been to announce to your lordſhip, that the differences between the two governments were adjuſted on one of the modifications pointed out to me by my laſt inſtructions from your lordſhip. In this expectation I am deceived. I ſaw Joſeph Bonaparte the night before laſt, before I had ſealed up my diſpatches of that evening to your lordſhip; but as all he ſaid, tended only to juſtify the hope I had given your lordſhip in thoſe diſpatches, I added nothing to them. He aſſured me poſitively, that I ſhould hear from M. de Talleyrand in the courſe of yeſterday morning, and that a meeting would be appointed in order to ſettle the term of years for which the firſt Conſul might be induced to conſent to the ceſſion of Malta. It is true that he declared, that in order to gain his conſent, it would be neceſſary to hold out the advantages which the Britiſh government was willing to offer in return, meaning the acknowledgments of the new governments in Italy. I told him that this offer was made only with a view to the poſſeſſion of Malta in perpetuity; but after ſome converſation, I gave him to underſtand, that I would not refuſe to admit the demand, *ſub ſperati*, on the condition, that the ceſſion ſhould be made for a conſiderable term of years; that Holland and Switzerland ſhould be evacuated; and that a ſuitable proviſion ſhould be made for the king of Sardinia. He ſeemed to think there could be no difficulty in this arrangement; and I left him in the perſuaſion, that I ſhould the next day, yeſterday, or this morning, receive the ſummons from M. de Talleyrand,

which he had given me reaſon to expect.

I am ſorry to ſay, that no ſuch ſummons has been received by me, neither has any further notice been taken of the buſineſs. So that I feel, that I ſhould betray the confidence your lordſhip may place in me were I to delay any longer requeſting, that I may be immediately furniſhed with the terms on which his majeſty's miniſters would be willing to conclude, and which probably will not differ much from thoſe above ſtated, in order that I may propoſe them in the form of an ultimatum; and that at the expiration of the period allowed for deliberation, I may be authorized not only to declare that I am to leave Paris, but actually ſo to do, unleſs in the intermediate time, the French government ſhould accede to our demands.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

Right Honourable Lord Hawkeſbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. LX.

Downing-Street, April 23, 1803.

My Lord,

YOUR excellency's diſpatches of the 18th and 20th inſtant have been received, and laid before the king.

It is neceſſary for me to do little more on the preſent occaſion than to refer you to my diſpatch of the 13th of April, in which I ſtated to you the ſeveral propoſitions on which alone, in the judgment of his Majeſty, the differences between this country and France could be ſatisfactorily adjuſted.

If, upon the receipt of this diſpatch, it ſhall not have been in your power to bring the negociation to a concluſion on any of the propoſitions to which I have above referred, it is his Majeſty's pleaſure that you ſhould communicate, officially, to the French government, that you have gone, in point of conceſſion, to the full extent of your inſtructions; and that, if an arrangement, founded upon one of theſe propoſitions, cannot be concluded without further delay, you have received his Majeſty's commands to return to England.

His Majeſty can only conſent to relinquiſh the permanent occupation of Malta by his forces, on the conditions that the temporary poſſeſſion ſhall not be leſs than ten years; that the authority, civil and military, ſhall, during that period, remain ſolely in his Majeſty; and that, at the expiration of that period, the iſland ſhall be given up to the inhabitants, and not to the order; and provided likewiſe, that his Sicilian Majeſty ſhall be induced to cede to his Majeſty the Iſland of Lampedoſa. It is indiſpenſable that, as a part of this arrangement, Holland ſhould be evacuated by the French troops within a ſhort period after the concluſion of a convention by which all thoſe proviſions are ſecured. His Majeſty will conſent to acknowledge the new Italian ſtates, upon the condition that ſtipulations in favor of his Sardinian Majeſty, and of Switzerland, form a part of this arrangement.

It is his Majeſty's pleaſure that, in the event of the failure of the of the negotiation, you ſhould delay your departure from Paris no longer than may be indiſpenſably neceſſary

neceſſary for your perſonal convenience; and that you ſhould in no caſe remain there, after the receipt of this diſpatch, more than ſeven days.

I have the honor to be, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Lord Whitworth, K. B. &c. &c. &c.

No. LXI.

Paris, April 23, 1803.

My Lord,

AS I heard nothing from M. de Talleyrand, I called on him on Thurſday, in order to learn the effect of the propoſal which I had made conformably to your lordſhip's inſtructions, on the baſis of a perpetual poſſeſſion of the forts of Malta, on re-eſtabliſhing the order in the civil government of the iſland. He told me, that if I had called on him ſooner, he ſhould two days ago have communicated to me the firſt Conſul's anſwer, which was, that no conſideration on earth ſhould induce him to conſent to a conceſſion in perpetuity of Malta, in any ſhape whatever: and that the re-eſtabliſhment of the order was not ſo much the point to be diſcuſſed, as that of ſuffering Great Britain to acquire a poſſeſſion in the Mediterranean. I told him that I did not call ſooner becauſe I had been given to underſtand, that he would have himſelf propoſed it to me, for the purpoſe of communicating the anſwer of the firſt conſul; and that it did not in any ſhape become me to put myſelf on the footing of a ſolicitor in this tranſaction. After ſome converſation, and finding (what I moſt ſincerely believe to be the caſe) that the firſt Conſul's determination was fixed on the point of a poſſeſſion of Malta in perpetuity; I repeated to him what I had previouſly ſuggeſted to Joſeph Bonaparte, the modification which I had to propoſe, namely, that for the ſake of peace, his Majeſty would be willing to wave his pretenſions to a poſſeſſion in perpetuity, and would conſent to hold Malta for a certain number of years to be agreed upon, on the condition that no oppoſition ſhould be made on the part of the French Government to any negotiation his ma-majeſty might ſet on foot with his Sicilian Majeſty for the acquiſition of the iſland of Lampedoſa. We diſcuſſed this propoſal in a converſation of ſome length, and I made uſe of all the arguments which have been furniſhed me by your lordſhip, or which occurred to me in its favour. I begged him particularly to recollect that we were in actual poſſeſſion of the object, and that therefore every modification tending to limit that poſſeſſion was in fact a conceſſion on the part of his Majeſty, and a proof of his deſire to ſacrifice to his love of peace, the juſt claim which he had acquired in conſequence of the conduct of France and which had recently been admitted, of a much more conſiderable compenſation and counterpoiſe. M. de Talleyrand did not ſeem diſpoſed to diſpute any of my poſitions, and I left him, I confeſs, fully impreſſed with the idea that the next day (Friday) I ſhould find him prepared to treat on this ground, and that the only difficult point to be arranged would be the number

number of years for which Malta ſhould be ceded to his Majeſty.

Your lordſhip will conceive my ſurpriſe when on ſeeing him the next day, he told me that although he had not been able to obtain from the firſt Conſul all we wiſhed, ſtill the propoſition he had to make would, he truſted, be ſuch as fully to anſwer the purpoſe. He then ſaid that the firſt Conſul would, on no terms hear either of a perpetual or a temporary poſſeſſion of Malta; that his object was the execution of the treaty of Amiens; and that rather than ſubmit to ſuch an arrangement as that I had laſt propoſed, he would even conſent to our keeping the object in diſpute for ever. In the one, there was an appearance of generoſity and magnanimity; but in the other, nothing but weakneſs and the effect of coercion: that therefore his reſolution was taken, and what he had to propoſe was the poſſeſſion we required of the iſland of Lampedoſa, or of any other of the ſmall iſles of which there were three or four between Malta and the coaſt of Africa; that ſuch a poſſeſſion would be ſufficient for the object we had in view, which was a ſtation in the Mediterranean as a place of refuge and ſecurity for any ſquadron we might find it convenient to keep in that ſea. I ſuffered him to expatiate a conſiderable time, and without interruption, on the great advantages we were to derive from ſuch an acquiſition, as well as on the confidence which the firſt Conſul repoſed in our pacific intention in lending a hand to ſuch an eſtabliſhment. He concluded by deſiring I would tranſmit this propoſal to your lordſhip. I told him that I was extremely ſorry indeed to find that we had made ſuch little progreſs in the negotiation; that my orders were poſitive; that I could hear of nothing ſhort of what I had propoſed, neither could I poſſibly undertake to make ſuch a propoſal to his Majeſty, ſince every word of my inſtructions (from which I certainly ſhould not depart) applied poſitively to Malta, unleſs an equivalent ſecurity could be offered, and ſurely he would not pretend to tell me that Lampedoſa could be conſidered as ſuch; that the poſſeſſion of Malta was neceſſary for our ſecurity, and was rendered ſo not from any deſire of aggrandizement on the part of his Majeſty, but by the conduct of the French Government; and that ſo ſtrongly were we impreſſed with the neceſſity, that rather than abandon it, we were prepared to go to war. That it was on this ground I muſt declare to him, that I could neither take upon myſelf to forward ſuch a propoſal as he had made to me, or indeed any thing ſhort of what I had laſt propoſed as a fair equivalent. That in ſo doing, I acted in conformity to his majeſty's views, who would moſt aſſuredly diſapprove of my conduct, were I, by unneceſſarily protracting the negociation, to add one day, or one hour, if it could be avoided, to the ſuſpence and anxiety under which his own ſubjects, and all Europe muſt labour at ſuch a criſis; that I had hoped the French government, actuated by the ſame generous motives, would have acted in the ſame manner; that it might, by purſuing a contrary line of conduct, gain ſtill a few days; but I muſt declare, that

that in a very short time I should have to communicate to him those very terms from which his were so wide, but to draw nearer to which was, perhaps, the object of his negotiating, in the form of an ultimatum, which would at least have one good effect, that of bringing the matter to an issue, and the certainty even of war was preferable to the present state of indecision.

To all I could say M. Talleyrand objected the dignity and honour of the first Consul, which could not admit of his consenting to any thing which might carry with it the appearance of yielding to a threat. I told him that it never could be admitted that the first consul had a right to act in such a manner as to excite jealousy and create alarm in every state of Europe, and when asked for explanation or security, say that it was contrary to his honour or his dignity to afford either. Such arguments might perhaps do when applied to some of those Governments with which France had been accustomed to treat, or more properly to dictate to, but never could be used to Great Britain; that his Majesty had a right to speak freely his opinion, and possessed also the means, whenever he chose to employ them, of opposing a barrier to the ambition of any individual, or of any state which should be disposed to threaten the security of his dominions, or the tranquillity of Europe.

Our conversation concluded by M. de Talleyrand's assuring me that he would report the substance of it to the first Consul in the evening, and that probably he should have occasion to see me on the following day.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

The Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. 62.

Paris, April 25, 1803.

My Lord,

THE conversation I had on Saturday Morning with M. Talleyrand, has produced nothing from which I can draw a more favourable conclusion as to the result of the negotiation, than when I last addressed your lordship. He told me, that although he had seen the first Consul the night before, he had nothing to add to what he had communicated to me on Friday; that the first Consul was determined not to give his consent to our retaining Malta, either in perpetuity or for a term, although of the two he would prefer the former tenure as the less repugnant to his feelings; that he was therefore ordered to repeat the proposal he had lately made me, of acceding to our demand of Lampedosa or any of the neighbouring islands; and that as our object was to obtain a settlement in the Mediterranean, he imagined that which we had ourselves pointed out would answer every purpose we might have in view. But at all events, the first Consul neither could nor would relinquish his claim to the full execution of the treaty of Amiens. To this I could only repeat what I had already said to him on the inadequacy of such a proposal, and of the impossi-

poſſibility in which I found myſelf to tranſmit it to your lordſhip. I lamented the courſe which the negotiation was taking, and that the firſt Conſul ſhould have ſo little regard to the dreadful conſequences which muſt enſue, as to ſuffer them to be outweighed by a miſtaken notion of dignity. And I added, that notwithſtanding the acquieſcence which he might have met with from others, the plea of its being incompatible with the dignity of the French government to give ſatisfaction or ſecurity, when both might with juſtice be demanded, could never be admitted by Great Britain.

M. de Talleyrand heard every thing I could ſay with the utmoſt patience, notwithſtanding he had nothing ſatisfactory to ſay, and ſeemed unwilling to break up the conference. He conſtantly brought forward the ſame inadmiſſible propoſal, requeſting that I would at leaſt communicate it to your lordſhip. This I told him I could not refuſe to do, ſince every thing which paſſed between him and me muſt of courſe make the ſubject of my reports to your lordſhip. I declared however, at the ſame time, that I ſhould not think myſelf by any means authorized to ſuſpend the execution of any inſtructions I might receive, tending to bring the negociation to an iſſue, in the expectation of any change which ſuch a propoſal might produce. All I could do, and that I would certainly do, would be to communicate the ultimatum, if his Majeſty ſhould think proper to furniſh me with it, confidentially to M. de Talleyrand, before I preſented it officially to him, as miniſter for foreign affairs. He aſſured me that he ſhould conſider ſuch a conduct as a further proof of my deſire to conciliate, and that he could not yet forbear hoping that the differences might be adjuſted. I repeated that if his hope was founded on the expectation of his Majeſty's being induced to recede from his demand, it would be deceiving himſelf to cheriſh it.

The remainder of the converſation turned on the calamities which would follow the failure of our endeavour to avoid a rupture. He inſinuated that Holland, Naples, and other countries connected with Great Britain, would be the firſt victims of the war. I aſked him whether he thought that ſuch a conduct would add to the glory of the firſt Conſul, or whether the falling on the innocent and defenceleſs would not rather tarniſh it, and ultimately unite againſt him, not only the honeſt men in his own country, but every government in Europe. That it certainly would excite more deteſtation than terror in England, at the ſame time that it would ſerve to impreſs upon us ſtill more ſtrongly the neceſſity of omitting no means of circumſcribing a power ſo perniciouſly exerted. I could not help adding, that although no act of hoſtility had actually taken place, yet the inveteracy with which our commerce, our induſtry, and our credit had been attacked in every part to which French influence could be extended, did in fact almoſt amount to the ſame, ſince it went to prove, in addition to the general ſyſtem of the firſt Conſul, that his object was to purſue

sue under the mask of peace, the same line of conduct in which the preceding governments had acted.

I now trust entirely to the effect of the ultimatum, which will at least convince him that we are in earnest, and that he has nothing to expect from protraction. I shall not however, as I said before, make use of this officially, until I have tried its effect in a more conciliatory manner.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

The Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

P. S. Your lordship's dispatches of the 23d with their inclosures, were delivered to me by Shaw this evening at nine o'clock. I shall see M. de Talleyrand to-morrow morning; and I trust your lordship will not disapprove my following the line of conduct I had proposed, and which I have mentioned to your lordship of informing him of the nature of my instructions a few hours before I carry them officially into execution.

W.

No. LXIII.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, April 27, 1803.

I AVAIL myself of the opportunity of a messenger passing through from Constantinople and Vienna, to inform your lordship, of the state of the negotiation at this moment. I communicated to M. de Talleyrand the purport of my instructions of the 23d, yesterday at four o'clock. He immediately asked me if the possession of Malta was still insisted upon. I told him most certainly it was; and I repeated to him the particulars of the terms on which it was yet possible to conclude the business. That these were, the possession of Malta, for ten years, during which period the authority, civil and military, was to remain solely in his Majesty, and that at the expiration of that term, it was to be given up to the inhabitants, and not to the order; provided also that his Sicilian Majesty shall be induced to cede to his Majesty the island of Lampedosa; that Holland should be evacuated by the French troops within a month after the conclusion of a convention by which all these provisions shall be secured; and that his Majesty would consent to acknowledge the new Italian states, provided stipulations were made in favour of his Sardinian Majesty and of Switzerland.

I had no sooner made known these conditions than M. de Talleyrand told me it would be perfectly unnecessary to delay the official communication; for, as the possession of Malta was still insisted upon, although for a term, the first consul would not consent to them. I accordingly did repeat them to him in the manner he desired; when he told me that he comprehended perfectly what we required, but that in similar cases it was usual to state the demand in writing, and he desired I would give him a note upon the subject. I told him that I would repeat to him, once more, or as often as he pleased, the express terms which I had stated to him, and that as my communication to him

him was verbal, I ſhould of courſe be content with an anſwer in the ſame form. He conſented at length to receive it, and to communicate to me the firſt Conſul's anſwer as ſoon as poſſible. I deſired that he would recollect that Tueſday next muſt be the day of my departure.

No. LXIV.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated April 29, 1803.

MY laſt letter to your lordſhip was of yeſterday evening. This morning a perſon came to me whom I ſuſpect of being employed by the firſt Conſul for the purpoſe of aſcertaining my ſentiments, and told me that I ſhould, in the courſe of the day, receive a letter from M. de Talleyrand, drawn up under the inſpection of the firſt Conſul, which although not exactly what I might wiſh, was however ſo moderate as to afford me a well-grounded hope, and might certainly be ſufficient to induce me to delay, for a ſhort time, my departure. I told him that it would be a matter of great ſatisfaction to me to perceive a probability of bringing the negotiation to a favourable iſſue; and that I ſhould be extremely ſorry to ſpoil the buſineſs by any uſeleſs precipitation. But it muſt be recollected that I acted in conformity to inſtructions; that thoſe inſtructions were poſitive; that by them I was enjoined to leave Paris on Tueſday next, unleſs in the intermediate time certain conditions were agreed to. Having received no letter in the courſe of the day, about four o'clock I went to M. de Talleyrand; I told him that my anxiety to learn whether he had any thing favourable to tell me, brought me to him, and in caſe he had not, to recall to his recollection that Tueſday was the day on which I muſt leave Paris, and to requeſt that he would have the neceſſary paſſports prepared for me and my family. He appeared evidently embarraſſed, and after ſome heſitation obſerved, that he could not ſuppoſe I ſhould really go away; but that at all events the firſt Conſul never would recall his ambaſſador. To this I replied, his Majeſty recalled me in order to put an end to the negotiation, on the principle that even actual war was preferable to the ſtate of ſuſpenſe in which England, and indeed all Europe, had been kept for ſo long a ſpace of time.

From the tenour of his converſation, I ſhould rather be led to think that he does not conſider the caſe as deſperate. Upon my leaving him he repeatedly ſaid, *J'ai encore de l'Eſpair.*

Saturday Evening.

P. S. This day has paſſed without any occurrence whatever. The letter in queſtion is not yet arrived.

No. LXV.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated May 2, 1803.

ANOTHER Day has paſſed over without producing any change. I de-

I determined to go myself to M. de Talleyrand, and to deliver, instead of sending, the inclosed letter. I told him that it was with great reluctance that I came to make this last application to him. That I had long since informed him of the extent of the term which had been assigned for my stay at Paris, and that as I had received to this moment no answer whatever to the proposal I had repeatedly made, I could no longer delay requiring him to furnish me with the necessary passports for the return of myself, my family, and the remainder of the mission to England. Upon this I gave him the letter, a copy of which I inclose, and on reading it he appeared somewhat startled. He lamented that so much time had been lost; but said that enough remained, if I was authorized to negotiate upon other terms. I could of course but repeat to him, that I had no other terms to propose, and that therefore unless the first Consul could so far gain upon himself as to sacrifice a false punctilio to the certainty of a war of which no one could foresee the consequence, nothing could possibly prevent my departure to-morrow night. He hoped, he said, this was not so near; that he would communicate my letter, and what I had said to the first Consul immediately, and that in all probability I should hear from him this evening. I thought it, however, right to apprize him, that it was quite impossible I could be induced to disobey his Majesty's orders, and protract a Negociation on terms so disadvantageous to ourselves, unless he should furnish me with such a justification as would leave me no room to hesitate; and that I did not see any thing short of a full acquiescence in his Majesty's demands could have that effect.—He repeated that he would report the conversation to the first Consul, and that I should shortly hear from him.

In this state the business now rests; I am expecting either a proposition or my passports, and am consequently taking every measure for setting out to-morrow-night.

(Inclosure referred to in No. 65.)

Paris, May 2, 1803.

Sir,

WHEN I had the honor on Tuesday last of communicating to you officially the last propositions which I was instructed by my Court to submit to the French Government, for the sake of removing the present difficulties, I had the honor to announce to you, that in case the First Consul should not consent to these propositions I should find myself under the necessity of leaving Paris in eight days. We are nearly arrived at the end of this period, without my having received any answer to this communication. It remains for me only, therefore, to obey the orders of the King my master to return to him; and for this purpose I entreat you, Sir, to have the goodness to furnish me with the necessary passports.

I seize this opportunity of renewing to your Excellency the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

His Excellency M. de Talleyrand.

No. LXVI.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Paris, Wedneſday Morning, May 4, 1803.

SOON after I had diſpatched the meſſenger the night before laſt, with my diſpatches of the 3d, I received a communication from M. de Talleyrand, of which I incloſe a copy, the purport of which was ſo completely ſhort of every thing which could be ſatisfactory, that I did not think myſelf authorized to enter into any diſcuſſion upon it; and as early as I could on the following morning I returned the anſwer of which the incloſed is a copy.

After this I concluded, of courſe, that there was an end to the negotiation. I had for ſome days paſt been preparing for my departure; every meaſure was taken for ſetting out at four o'clock this morning, and we were expecting only the paſſports which I had demanded, for the purpoſe of ordering the poſt horſes. The day and the evening paſſed without the paſſports having been ſent; and whilſt we were deliberating on the motives of ſuch a delay, about 12 o'clock at night, a gentleman who was with me received a communication which convinced me that it was not meant to give me my paſſports without another attempt, and I was, therefore, not ſurprized when about one o'clock I received the incloſed note from M. de Talleyrand.

In this ſituation I am waiting the hour of rendezvous with M. de Talleyrand.

(Firſt Incloſure referred to in No. 66.)

THE underſigned has reported to the Firſt Conſul the converſation which he had with his Excellency Lord Whitworth on the 6th of this month, and in which his Excellency announced, that his Britannic Majeſty had ordered him to make, verbally, in his name, the following demands:

1ſt. That his Britannic Majeſty ſhould retain his troops at Malta for ten years.

2d. That the iſland of Lampedoſa ſhould be ceded to him in full poſſeſſion.

3d. That the French troops ſhould evacuate Holland.

And that if no convention on this baſis ſhould have been ſigned within a week, his Excellency Lord Whitworth had orders to terminate his miſſion, and to return to London.

On the demand made by the underſigned, that Lord Whitworth would, in conformity to the uſage of all ages and of all countries, give in writing what he himſelf called the *ultimatum* of his Government, his Excellency declared, that his inſtructions expreſsly forbad him to tranſmit on this object any written note.

The intentions of the Firſt Conſul being entirely pacific, the underſigned diſpenſes with making any obſervation on ſo new and ſo ſtrange a manner of treating on affairs of this importance.

And, in order to give a freſh teſtimony of the value which he attaches to the continuance of peace, the Firſt Conſul has directed the underſigned to make the following notification in the accuſtomed ſtyle and forms.

As

As the Iſland of Lampedoſa does not belong to France, it is not for the Firſt Conſul either to accede to or to refuſe the deſire teſtified by his Britannic Majeſty, of having this iſland in his poſſeſſion.

With regard to the Iſland of Malta, as the demand made reſpecting it by his Britannic Majeſty would change a formal diſpoſition in the treaty of Amiens, the Firſt Conſul cannot but previouſly communicate it to his Majeſty the King of Spain, and to the Batavian Republic, contracting parties to the ſaid treaty, in order to know their opinion; and beſides, as the ſtipulations relative to Malta have been guaranteed by their Majeſties the Emperor of Germany, the Emperor of Ruſſia, and the King of Pruſſia, the contracting parties to the treaty of Amiens, before they agree to any change in the article of Malta, are bound to concert with the guaranteeing powers.

The Firſt Conſul will not refuſe this concert, but it belongs not to him to propoſe it, ſince it is not he who urges any change in the guaranteed ſtipulations.

With regard to the evacuation of Holland by the French troops, the Firſt Conſul has no difficulty in directing the underſigned to repeat that the French troops ſhall evacuate Holland at the inſtant that the ſtipulations of the treaty of Amiens ſhall be executed in every quarter of the globe.

The underſigned avails himſelf of this opportunity to renew to his Excellency the Engliſh Ambaſſador, the aſſurance of his high conſideration.

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

Paris, 12 Floreal, Year 11, (2d May 1803.)

(Second Inclosure referred to in No. 66.)

THE underſigned, in anſwer to the note which M. de Talleyrand tranſmitted to him yeſterday evening, has the honour to obſerve to him, that the king has had no other motive in ſeeking to accelerate the proceedings of the negotiation, than to relieve as ſoon as poſſible the two countries the moſt intereſted, and Europe in general, from the ſtate of ſuſpence in which they are placed. It is with great regret that he perceives nothing in his Excellency's note which can correſpond with this intention, and conſequently nothing that can juſtify him in delaying to obey the orders of his court. It remains, therefore, only to requeſt the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to give him the means of obeying them, by furniſhing him with the neceſſary paſſports for his return. It is, however, neceſſary for him to rectify a miſtake which has crept into M. de Talleyrand's note. The underſigned did not ſay he was expreſsly forbidden to tranſmit any written note on the object of the diſcuſſion, but that he was not authorized to do it, and that he would not take that reſponſibility on himſelf.

He avails himſelf on this opportunity to renew to his Excellency M. de Talleyrand the aſſurances of his higheſt conſideration.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

Paris, 3d May 1803.

(Third Inclosure referred to in No. 66.)

Paris, May 3, 1803.

My Lord,

HAVING to-morrow morning to make to you a communication of the greateſt importance, I have the honor to inform you of it without delay, in order that you may not expect this evening the paſſports which you had demanded. I propoſe that you ſhould call to-morrow at half-paſt four at the foreign department.

Receive, my Lord, the aſſurance of my high conſideration.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

No. LXVII.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Paris, Wedneſday Evening, May 4, 1803.

I AM this moment come from M. de Talleyrand. The incloſed note will ſhew your lordſhip, that the idea which has been thrown out, is to give Malta to Ruſſia.

My only inducement for having undertaken to refer again to your lordſhip, is to avoid every reproach of precipitation. The difference will be but five days, and I have declared, that I ſee ſo many objections to the plan, that although I would not refuſe their ſolicitation to ſend it, I could give no hope whatever of its being accepted as a ground of negotiation.

(Inclosure referred to in No. 67.)

THE underſigned has ſubmitted to the Firſt Conſul his Britannic Majeſty's Ambaſſador's note of the 3d inſtant.

After the laſt communication addreſſed to his excellency, it is more difficult than ever to conceive how a great, powerful, and enlightened nation, can be willing to take upon itſelf to declare a war which would be accompanied by ſuch heavy calamities, and the cauſe of which would be ſo inſignificant, the object in queſtion being a miſerable rock.

His excellency muſt have been aware that the two-fold neceſſity of making an agreement with the guarantying powers of the treaty of Amiens, and of not violating a compact in the execution of which the honor of France, the ſecurity for the future, and the good-faith of the diplomatic intercourſe between the nations of Europe, were ſo deeply intereſted, had impoſed a law upon the French Government of diſcarding every propoſition diametrically contrary to the Treaty of Amiens. Nevertheleſs the Firſt Conſul, accuſtomed for two months to make every ſpecies of ſacrifice for the maintenance of peace, would not reject a Mezzo-termino of a nature to conciliate the intereſts and dignity of the two countries.

His Britannic Majeſty appears to have been of opinion, that the Neapolitan Garriſon which was to be placed at Malta, would not afford a ſufficient force for ſecuring the actual independence of the iſland.

This

This motive being the only one which can explain his Majesty's refusal to evacuate the island, the First Consul is ready to consent that the island of Malta shall be placed in the hands of one of the three powers who have guarantied its independence, either Austria, Russia, or Prussia, with a proviso that as soon as France and England shall have come to an agreement upon this article, they shall unite in their requisitions to engage the other powers, either contracting, or acceeding to the Treaty of Amiens, to consent to it.

Were it possible that this proposition should not be accepted, it would be manifest not only that England never intended to comply with the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, but that she has not been actuated by good-faith in any of her demands, and that in proportion as France conceded one point, the British Governmefit advanced another. If this should be demonstrated, the First Consul will at least have given another proof of his sincerity, of his anxiety to devise the means of avoiding war, of his eagerness to embrace them, and of the value which he would place on their being adopted.

The undersigned embraces this opportunity of renewing to his Excellency Lord Whitworth the assurance of his high consideration.

CHA. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

Paris 14th, Floréal xi.

No. LXVIII.

Downing Street, May 7, 1803.

My Lord,

YOUR Excellency's Dispatches have been received, and laid before the king.

The propositions which have been made to you on the part of the French Government, and which have induced your excellency to delay your departure until the return of the Messenger Sylvester, are in every respect so loose, indefinite, and unsatisfactory, and fall so far short of the just pretensions of his Majesty, that it is impossible that the French Government could have expected them to have been accepted. During the whole of the discussions which have lately occurred, his Majesty has had a right to consider himself in the character of the injured party. No means have been omittted on his part to induce the French Government to make a full and early explanation of their views, and to afford to his Majesty that satisfaction and security to which he considered himself to be intitled. It was in consequence of the apparent determination of the French Government to evade all discussion on the points of difference between the two countries, that his Majesty was induced to state the grounds on which, according to his views, an arrangement might be concluded satisfactory to both Governments; and he accordingly authorized your excellency to communicate the three projects which at different times I had forwarded to you.

Until the very moment when your excellency was about to leave Paris, the French Government have avoided making any distinct proposition for the settlement of the differences between the two countries, and when at the very instant of your departure, the French Government felt themselves compelled to bring forward some proposition,

they confined that propoſition to a part only of the ſubject in diſcuſſion, and on that part of it, what they have brought forward is wholly inadmiſſible.

The French Government propoſe that his Majeſty ſhould give up the Iſland of Malta to a Ruſſian, Auſtrian, or Pruſſian Garriſon. If his majeſty could be diſpoſed to wave his demand for a temporary occupation of the Iſland of Malta, the Emperor of Ruſſia would be the only ſovereign to whom, in the preſent ſtate of Europe, he could conſent that the iſland ſhould be aſſigned; and his Majeſty has certain and authentic information, that the Emperor of Ruſſia would on no account conſent to garriſon Malta. Under theſe circumſtances his majeſty perſeveres in his determination to adhere to the ſubſtance of his third project as his Ultimatum: As, however, the principal objection ſtated by the French Government to his Majeſty's propoſition is underſtood to be confined to the inſertion of an article in a public treaty by which his Majeſty ſhall have a right to remain in the poſſeſſion of the Iſland of Malta for a definite number of years, his Majeſty will conſent that the number of years *(being in no caſe leſs than ten)* may be ſtated in a ſecret article; and the public articles may be agreed to conformably to the incloſed project. By this expedient, the ſuppoſed point of honour of the French Government might be ſaved. The independence of the Iſland of Malta would, in principle, be acknowledged, and the temporary occupation of his Majeſty would be made to depend *alone on the preſent ſtate of the Iſland of Lampedoſa.*

You may propoſe this idea to M. Talleyrand, at the ſame time aſſuring him, that his Majeſty is determined to adhere to the ſubſtance of his Ultimatum. And if you ſhall not be able to conclude the minute of an arrangement on this principle, you will on no account remain in Paris more than thirty-ſix hours after the receipt of this diſpatch.

I obſerve by your diſpatch, you did not conſider yourſelf as authorized to deliver to the French Government any note or project in writing. The words of my diſpatch were, that you were to communicate the terms *officially*, which left it at your own diſcretion to communicate them verbally or in writing, as you might judge moſt expedient. You were certainly right in communicating them, in the firſt inſtance, verbally; but as ſo much ſtreſs has been laid by M. Talleyrand on this diſtinction, it is important that I ſhould inform you, that his Majeſty neither had nor has any objection to your delivering the incloſed project as an Ultimatum, accompanied by a ſhort note in writing.

I cannot conclude this diſpatch without recalling again your attention to the conduct of the French Miniſter at Hamburgh, and referring you to my inſtructions, by which you ſhould abſtain from concluding the arrangement, unleſs you have received from M. Talleyrand an aſſurance that his conduct would be publicly diſavowed.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

To his Excellency Lord Whitworth, &c. &c. &c.

No.

No. LXIX.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, May 9, 1803.

THE Messenger Sylvester is arrived with your Lordship's Dispatch, No. 15, of the 7th of May.

As soon as I received your Lordship's instructions, I prepared a translated copy of the project furnished me by your Lordship, and a short note with which it is my intention to accompany the communication. I then sent a person to Monsieur de Talleyrand, to know when I could see him, and I was informed that he was at St. Cloud. I soon after learnt, that he was gone there in consequence of the accident which happened yesterday to the First Consul. I understand that no bad consequences are likely to ensue, and that he is able to transact business. I cannot, however, expect to see M. Talleyrand before to-morrow morning. Although this circumstance may cause a delay of a few hours, your Lordship may be assured, that the execution of those instructions with which you have furnished me, shall not be protracted. I shall leave Paris most assuredly, or have concluded a satisfactory arrangement, within the time specified by your Lordship, reckoning from the moment of my being able to make an official communication, rather than from that of the receipt of your Lordship's letter.

No. LXX.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, May 12, 1803.

THE Messenger Sylvester, as I mentioned in my last dispatch, returned on the 9th at 12 o'clock; and I wrote to M. de Talleyrand informing him of it, and desiring him to name an hour when I might wait upon him in order to communicate to him the purport of my instructions. To this letter I received no answer that evening or the following morning. Anxious to execute my orders, and to lose no time, I inclosed the project furnished me by your Lordship, accompanied by an official note and a private letter to M. de Talleyrand, and sent it to the Foreign Department by Mr. Mandeville, with directions to deliver it to M. de Talleyrand, or in his absence to the *Chef du Bureau*. He delivered it accordingly to M. Durand, who promised to give it to his chief as soon as he came in, which he expected, he said, shortly. At half past four, having waited till that time in vain, I went myself to M. de Talleyrand; I was told that the family was in the country, and that they did not know when the minister would be in town. Half an hour after I had returned home, the packet which Mr. Mandeville had given into the hands of M. Durand, was brought to me, I believe by a servant, with a verbal message that as M. de Talleyrand was in the country it would be necessary that I should send it to him there. In order to defeat as much as depended upon me, *their intention of gaining time*, I wrote again to M. de Talleyrand, recapitulating the steps I had taken since the return of the messengers; and desired Mr. Talbot, the secretary of the embassy, to take it himself at nine o'clock at night, when I thought M. de Talleyrand would be at

home, to his house at Meudon, He was, however, not at home. Mr. Talbot was told that he was at St. Cloud, where he had been all day, and that he would not be back until very late. He therefore left my private letter, with his name, and returned with the packet. It was my intention to have sent it on the following morning to the Bureau, with orders that it should be left there; at one o'clock in the morning I received a note from M. de Talleyrand accounting for his not having been able to answer me sooner; and appointing me at twelve o'clock at the *Bureau des Rélations Extérieures*. I went at the appointed time. He began by apologizing for having so long postponed the interview, which he attributed to his having been the whole day with the First Consul. We then entered upon business. I told him that, limited as I was by your Lordship's instructions, he could not be surprized at my impatience to acquit myself of my duty. I explained to him the nature of your Lordship's observations on the proposal of the 4th, and that it was considered as on one hand impracticable from the refusal of the Emperor of Russia to take charge of Malta, and on the other, as being wholly inadequate to his Majesty's just pretensions. I gave him the note in which this was expressed, and the project, on which alone a satisfactory arrangement could be framed. He read them with apparent attention, and without many remarks; and after some time he asked me if I felt myself authorized by my instructions to conclude with him a Convention, framed on the basis of my project, or indeed extending that basis, since the first article of it would be the perpetual possession of Malta to England, in return for a consideration. I told him I most certainly was not authorized to enter into any engagement of such a nature, which would make the negotiation one of exchange, instead of a demand of satisfaction and security. To this he replied, that the satisfaction and security which we required was Malta, and that this we obtained. That the First Consul could not accede to what he considered, and what must be considered by the public and by Europe, as the effect of coercion, but if it were possible to make the draft palatable, did I think myself justifiable in refusing to do so. I told him that acting in strict compliance with my instructions, I could have no need of justification, and that I came to him with the determination of abiding strictly by them. He contended, that by communicating a project, I merely stated on what grounds we would be willing to conclude; and that a counter-project, founded on the basis of giving us what we required, could not be refused a fair discussion. To this, I urged the resolution of his Majesty's Ministers, to avoid every thing which could protract the negotiation. That I saw no other means of acting up to those views, than by making my stand on the project at all events. I urged him repeatedly to explain himself more fully on the nature of the demand which he should make for Malta, *but he could not, or would not explain himself*. After much contest, it was agreed that the proposal should be submitted to me in the course of a few hours, and that I should determine on the line of conduct I might feel myself justified in pursuing, either to sign it, to send it home, or to leave Paris.

The

The remainder of this day passed without receiving any communication from M. de Talleyrand. Upon this, I determined to demand my passports, by an official note, which I sent this morning by Mr. Mandeville, in order that I might leave Paris in the evening.

At two, I renewed my demand of passports, and was told I should have them immediately. They arrived at five o'clock, and I propose setting out as soon as the carriages are ready.

(First Inclosure referred to in No. 70.)

THE undersigned, his Britannic Majesty's Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the French Republic, having transmitted to his court the proposal which was made to him by the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 3d instant, has just received orders to transmit to his excellency the accompanying project of a Convention, founded on the only basis which his Majesty conceives, under the existing circumstances to be susceptible of a definitive and amicable arrangement. The Minister for Foreign Affairs will not fail to observe to what degree his Majesty has endeavoured to conciliate the security of his interests with the dignity of the First Consul. The undersigned flatters himself, that the First Consul, doing justice to these sentiments, will adopt in concert with his Majesty an expedient so suitable for restoring permanent tranquillity to both nations, and to all Europe.

The undersigned avails himself of this opportunity, to renew to his excellency the assurance of his highest consideration.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

(Second Inclosure referred to in No. 70.)

PROJECT.

I.

THE French Government shall engage to make no opposition to the cession of the Island of Lampedosa to his Majesty by the king of the two Sicilies.

II.

In consequence of the present state of the Island of Lampedosa, his Majesty shall remain in possession of the Island of Malta until such arrangement shall be made by him as may enable his Majesty to occupy Lampedosa as a naval station; after which period the Island of Malta shall be given up to the inhabitants, and acknowledged as an independent state.

III.

The territories of the Batavian Republic shall be evacuated by the French forces within one month after the conclusion of a Convention founded on the principles of this projet.

IV.

The king of Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian Republics, shall be acknowledged by his Majesty.

V.

Switzerland shall be evacuated by the French Forces.

VI.

A suitable territoral provision shall be assigned to the King of Sardinia in Italy.

SECRET ARTICLE.

His Majesty shall not be required by the French Government to evacuate the Island of Malta until after the expiration of ten years.

Articles IV. V. and VI. may be entirely omitted, or must all be inserted.

(Third Inclosure referred to in No. 70.)

Paris, May 10, 1803.

Sir,

IN order not to lose an instant of so precious a time, I have the honor to convey to you the project which I have received from my court, with the note which accompanies it. I shall have the honor of calling on your excellency at any hour you may appoint, in consequence of the request I made yesterday. But in the mean while, you will be in possession of the contents of my instructions. I hope to God that they may be of a nature to insure the tranquillity of both countries and of Europe.

I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to your excellency the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

To his Excellency M. de Talleyrand, &c. &c. &c.

(Fourth Inclosure referred to in No. 70.)

Paris, May 10, 1803.

Sir,

HAVING yesterday morning received some important instructions to communicate to you, I wrote to you that evening to ask your excellency at what hour I could have the honour to acquit myself of this duty. That letter has not been answered. At two o'clock this afternoon, I sent Mr. Mandeville, attached to the embassy, to the office for Foreign Affairs, in order to deliver to your excellency, or in your absence to your First Secretary, a sealed packet, containing the papers which I had to communicate to you, and I added a second letter to your excellency. Mr. Mandeville delivered this packet into the hands of M. Durand, who assured him, that it should be communicated to you without delay. At half past four, not having received any answer to my letters, I went to the foreign office, and I there learnt that you were in the country, and that it was not known when you would return to town.

Half an hour afterwards having returned home, the papers which my secretary had taken and delivered to M. Durand were brought to me, with a message that I must send them to the minister in the country.

In this state of things, since your excellency does not give me an opportunity of making you this communication, I have no other alternative than to give it in charge to Mr. Talbot, secretary to the embassy. He will have the honour to deliver to you the project of a Convention, which, I hope, will serve as a basis to an amicable arrangement between our two governments.

I have only to add, that the term of my stay in Paris is limited, and I must set out on my journey for England on Thursday morning, if the negotiation is not favourably terminated before that time.

I request

I requeſt you, Sir, to accept the aſſurance of my high conſideration.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

(Fifth Incloſure referred to in No. 70.)

IT being impoſſible for the underſigned to delay any longer executing the orders of his court, he finds himſelf obliged to requeſt the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs to have the goodneſs to expedite the neceſſary paſſports for his return to England.

He requeſts his excellency to accept the aſſurance of his high conſideration.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

Paris, 12th May 1803.

No. LXXI.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Sir. George Rumbold Bart. to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Hamburgh, March 29, 1803.

LATE laſt night it was determined that the ſenate ſhould be convened extraordinarily on this day, in order to conſider of a requiſition from the French Miniſter, to inſert in the Hamburgh Paper a moſt offenſive article, intended as a juſtification of the Firſt Conſul, and an attack on the meaſures of the Britiſh Government. It is with great regret that I inform your Lordſhip, that the ſenate have judged it prudent to comply with this demand; and that the article will be inſerted in the paper of to-morrow; it is now in the hands of the publiſher for that purpoſe. It was the wiſh of the ſenate that they might at leaſt be allowed to omit or qualify the moſt offenſive paſſages, but Mr. Rheinhardt ſaid his orders were poſitive, for the *full and exact* inſertion of the whole.

No. LXXII.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Mr. Hill to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Copenhagen, April 2, 1803.

THE French Miniſter at Hamburgh received orders from his government to have inſerted in the public papers of that city, an article which was ſent to him, containing a commentary upon his Majeſty's communication to Parliament, reſpecting the neceſſity of increaſing the military forces of the country in the preſent circumſtances. The ſenate of Hamburgh conſented with much repugnance to the inſertion of this paragraph. The French Miniſter deſired that the ſame ſhould be publiſhed in the papers at Altona; but the Daniſh Magiſtrates ſaid that they could not poſſibly permit it without an expreſs order from this government. In conſequence of this refuſal, M. Dagueſſeau, the French Miniſter at this court, received from his colleague at Hamburgh a copy of the article, with a requeſt that he would ſolicit the permiſſion of its publication in the Daniſh Papers. To my knowledge he had no anſwer yeſterday, and I have every reaſon to ſuppoſe that this government will ſhow the greateſt reluctance in acceding to the French Miniſter's requeſt.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Report made to the French Conful by Colonel Sebaftiani, extracted from the Moniteur of the 30th of January 1803.

ON the 16th of September I embarked at Toulon on board the Cornélie; and on the 30th I arrived at Tripoli. I immediately wrote to Baron Cederftrom, the Swedifh Rear-Admiral, as well as to the Miniftet of the Pacha, to offer them my mediation to terminate the differences exifting between the Swedifh Court and the Regency. My mediation was accepted: the Miniſter and the Rear-Admiral repaired to the Commiffarial Houfe of France, and we entered on the negociation. The two parties were far afunder; the Pacha demanded a conſiderable ſum, and an augmentation of the annual tribute. He urged a treaty made two years ago by an Envoy of the King of Sweden, which aſſured the payment of 245,000 heavy piaſtres, and of an annuity of 20,000; he added, that two years of war had ſubjected him to extraordinary expences, and that he uſed great moderation in conforming himſelf to the treaty in queſtion. M. de Cederſtrom only offered in the name of his court, 100,000 piaſtres for the redemption of the Swediſh ſlaves, who were to the number of a hundred and fifty, and an annuity of 5000 piaſtres. After much debate, I ſucceeded in making them ſign a treaty which fixed the payment of the ranſom at 150,000 piaſtres, and the annuity at 8000. —On the 1ſt of October I was preſented with much pomp to the Pacha, who received me in the moſt diſtinguiſhed manner. The exchange of the ratification of the treaty of peace took place, and the Italian Republic was formally acknowledged. I cauſed its flag to be hoiſted on the Commiſſarial Houſe of France, and it was ſaluted by the frigate and the place with 21 guns.—It was not without difficulty that the Pacha conſented to acknowledge that Republic. He feared that all Italy was comprized in this new Republic, and that, in conſequence, he would be obliged to reſpect indiſcriminately all the ſhips of commerce of that part of Europe:—this would deſtroy his marine. I gave him the neceſſary explanations, and particularly thoſe which related to the object of his apprehenſions, and he replied to me, 'Certainly I wiſh to be at peace with the Italian Republic, without too much injuring my intereſt; but if it were ſtill more difficult, I would do it, ſince the great Bonaparte deſires it.'—The Pacha of Tripoli is a brave and enterprizing man, the friend of France. The Engliſh have furniſhed ſuccours to his brother, who is at preſent at Derue, without means or credit. His plan is to raiſe the country againſt the Bey. The political and adminiſtrative affairs of the regency are conducted by Seid-Muhammed-el-Deghais, Miniſter of the Pacha. This man is full of ſagacity, and has even ſome notions of European politics. He has been in France, and preſerves for our country a predominant ſentiment of affection. On the 2d of October I ſet out from Tripoli, and on the 16th arrived at Alexandria: the ſame day I waited upon General Stuart, Commandant

mandant of the Engliſh forces by land and ſea. I communicated to him the order of the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, which enjoined me to proceed to Alexandria, and if the Engliſh ſtill occupied that place, to demand a ſpeedy evacuation, and the execution of the treaty of Amiens. General Stuart then told me, that the evacuation of the place would ſhortly be effected; but ſeeing that I inſiſted, and that I deſired an anſwer leſs vague, he declared to me, that he had no orders from his Court to quit Alexandria, and that he even believed he ſhould paſs the winter there. General Stuart is a man of *médiocre* talents: he has for his aide-de-camp a French emigrant, called the Chevalier de Sades, a man of talent, and an enemy of France, who has much influence over the General. I went the ſame day to ſee Khourchid-Ahmid, the Pacha of Alexandria and the Capitan Bey, Commander of the Forces of the Ottoman Porte. After the cuſtomary compliments, and ſome language agreeable to the Sublime Porte, I announced to them, that the agents of French commerce would aſſemble in Egypt. This communication gave them the greateſt pleaſure, and they did not conceal that they ſaw with grief the ſtay of the Engliſh in the country. I told them, that their ſtay could not be much longer, and that the general peace left no doubt of their approaching departure. On the 17th I viſited the Cheik El-Meſſiry. The ſame day I alſo viſited the Cheik Ibrahim Mufti. On the 18th I viſited the Coupure du Khalidj, which has formed the Lake Mareotis. The current of the waters of the Lake Madié is ſtill very ſtrong, and if the Porte does not make haſte to re-eſtabliſh this important canal, the overflows which take place on the little tongue of land that ſeparates the two lakes, will render the opening ſo conſiderable, that it will be impoſſible to travel. I do not think that the Swediſh engineer ſent by the Porte to direct theſe labours, has the neceſſary talents. The formation of the Lake Mareotis appears to have contributed to the ſalubrity of the air. The city has no other water than what it draws from the wells of Marabouf. This little fort I found guarded by an Engliſh and Turkiſh garriſon, in order to protect the inhabitants who came to draw water. I employed the day of the 19th in perambulating the town, and receiving different individuals who came to viſit me. On the 20th, I ſet out for Cairo, eſcorted by two Turkiſh officers, and ſix French ſoldiers, whom I had taken on board the frigate, but contrary winds obliged me to return to the port. The next day I was at Aboukir, where I paſſed the night. I profited by this opportunity to viſit the fort, which is in a very ruined ſtate. On the 22d I arrived at Roſetta, after having viſited the fort Julien; I ſaw the ſame day Oſman, Aga, and Duvanny of the town, as well as all the chriſtians who reſide there. The 23d I was at Faoné, where I viſited the commandant of the place, the cadi, and the Cheiks; I received from the latter, and from all thoſe whom I entertained, proteſtations of attachment to the Firſt Conſul. I paſſed the next day at Raſimanie, where I viſited the Cheik Muhammed Abou-Aly; the fort of

of the town is almoſt entirely deſtroyed. I viſited on the 25th, at Menouf, the Cheik Abdin, whom the Firſt Conſul had appointed cadi. The other Cheiks of that town who came to viſit me, held the ſame language as thoſe of Faoné. I ſaid to them, "The Firſt Conſul loves your country much, he ſpeaks of it often; he intereſts himſelf in your happineſs; he did not forget you, and recommended you to the Porte. He has made peace with Europe, and this country will feel the intereſt which he takes, and the recollection which he has preſerved of the poor Cheiks of Egypt'—Muhammed Kachef-Zourba Matzellem, who commanded at Menouf on my journey through that town, has been beheaded in conſequence of being accuſed of communications with the Mamelouks. The two forts of Menouf are deſtroyed. I arrived the ſame day at Boulak. I ſent immediately Citizen Joubert to inform the Pacha of Cairo of my arrival. The next morning, the 26th, the Pacha ſent 300 cavalry and 200 infantry, commanded by the principal officers of his houſehold, to accompany me to him, amidſt a great many diſcharges of artillery. Having arrived at the Pacha's, I ſaid to him, 'Peace has been concluded between the French Republic and the Sublime Porte; the ancient relations of amity and commerce have been re-eſtabliſhed, and I am charged by the Great Conſul Bonaparte, to aſſure you of his benevolence, and to announce to you the arrival of commiſſaries of the French commerce in Egypt.' The Pacha anſwered me, 'The benevolence with which the Firſt Conſul has honoured me, penetrates me with gratitude, and his commercial agents ſhall meet here the moſt friendly reception.' I proceeded then to the houſe which the Pacha had prepared for me. I received the ſame day the viſits of all the principal men of the country, and of the Copt intendants. On the 27th I again repaired to the Pacha, with whom I had a long conference. I ſpoke to him in theſe words: 'The Firſt Conſul takes in you, and the country which you govern, a very lively intereſt, and deſires to contribute to your happineſs; he has charged me therefore to offer you his mediation, in order to make peace between you and the Beys.'

The Pacha thanked me warmly and ſincerely for the intereſt which the Firſt Conſul took in his behalf, but he proteſted to me, that he had the moſt poſitive orders from his Court to make a war of extermination upon the Beys, and not to enter into any arrangement with them. I obſerved, that the unfortunate circumſtances which had happened to the Ottoman troops (they had been beaten five times ſucceſſively by the Mamelouks), rendered their poſition very critical, and that obſtinacy expoſed them to the loſs of the Province. He then communicated to me the order of the Porte, and I ſaw beyond a doubt that it was not poſſible for him to enter into any accommodation. I informed him that I intended to viſit the different Cheiks of Cairo, and alſo Madame Murad Bey, and to inſpect the environs and fortifications of the city. He ordered immediately that the guard which he had ſent ſhould accompany me wherever I wiſhed to go, informing me, that he would uſe every means

means in his power to render my ſtay at Cairo agreeable. — The ſame day I commenced my viſits, beginning with the Cheik Abdallah-el-Cheſcanoi, of the Great Moſque. As I was expected by him, he had aſſembled a conſiderable number of Cheiks. The converſation turned upon the intereſt which the Firſt Conſul took in Egypt, on his power, his glory, and on his eſteem and benevolence for the learned Cheiks of Cairo. Their anſwers expreſſed their attachment to his perſon. He muſt have been a witneſs like myſelf to the enthuſiaſm excited at the view of the portrait of the Firſt Conſul, to form an idea of the exaltation of their ſentiments. I have given it to all the principal Cheiks of Cairo, and of the towns where I have travelled.—On the 28th I invited the Cheik Omar El-Berky, Prince of the Shirifs: he was ill, and I ſaw only his ſon.—The Cheik Suleiman El-Fargoumy received me with much friendſhip, and aſſured me of his boundleſs admiration for the Firſt Conſul.—The citizen Joubert and Beye have certified to me that the inhabitants of Cairo never teſtified ſo much attachment to France as on my arrival.—When we paſs along the ſtreets, every body ſalutes us. Their aſtrologers make predictions every day as to what concerns the the Firſt Conſul. On the 29th, I went to viſit Madame Murad Bey: her intendant had already prayed of me that I would grant her an interview. I informed her, that the Firſt Conſul had charged me to interpoſe my mediation, in order to make their peace with the Sublime Porte; but that the Pacha had ordered that no negociation ſhould be entered into. I employed that day and the following in viſiting the citadel, the Iſle of Ro da Gizé, Boulak, and all the other little forts which ſurround the city. The Turkiſh ſoldiers murmured to ſee me viſit their forts, but I feigned not to hear them, and continued my courſe and my obſervations.—On the 29th, in returning to Fort Dupuy, a ſoldier menaced me with his Attagan; but as the inhabitants of the city teſtified highly their indignation againſt him, I did not ſtop at his menaces, and continued my route. A moment afterwards Muſtapha Oukil, one of the chiefs of the city, paſſed before me on horſeback. In paſſing, he reproached my guides with marching before a chriſtian, and above all, before a Frenchman, and menaced them with the baſtinado after my departure. I could not be ſilent under ſuch an inſult; and upon my return I ſent Citizen Joubert to the Pacha, to make my complaint, and demand a prompt redreſs. I declared to him that I expected this man would come publicly to me to aſk my pardon, place himſelf at my diſpoſal, and implore my pity. He found that Muſtapha was greatly protected by the Pacha, and wanted to arrange it otherwiſe; but I perſiſted by declaring formally to the Pacha; that if this reparation was not made in the manner in which I demanded it, I ſhould inſtantly depart, and immediately write to Paris and Conſtantinople to ſtate my complaint. This declaration produced all the effect which I expected; and Muſtapha, alarmed, came on the following day to me, conducted by Roſetti, and he publicly aſked my pardon, and put himſelf at my diſpoſal. I told him that my firſt intention had been to cut off his head, and that I only gave him his life

at

at the solicitations of the Pacha and M. Rosetti; but if in future he should ever insult the French, or those in their suite, his destruction would be inevitable. This affair, which was instantly spread through out the whole city, produced the best effect.—The same day an attempt was made to excite the Albanese against me. Two letters from Rosetta, written by English Protegées, assured that there had been seen upon the coasts of Narolia a French Fleet of 300 sail; that we were marching against Constantinople, and that my visit to Egypt had no other object but to deceive them, and blind them to their dangers. I made the merchant come to me who had received the letter: I made him give it me—I instantly sent it to the Pacha himself, telling him that this absurd news was spread to occasion disorders, and to endeavour to alter the good understanding which existed between France and the Sublime Porte; and I guaranteed the falsehood of it with my head. The Pacha had discovered the snare, and did not fall into it. He even communicated to me a letter from General Stuart, which he had just received, and to which was joined an order of the day, of the First Consul, when he commanded the Army of Egypt. This order of the day was dated in August 1799, and recalled to the recollection of the Egyptians, that Constantinople was tributary to Arabia, and that the time was now come to restore Cairo to its supremacy, and to destroy the Eastern Empire of the Ottomans. General Stuart begged the Pacha to consider the spirit of that order, and to judge from it of our attachment, and of our peace with the Turks. I was indignant to find that a soldier of one of the most polite nations of Europe should degrade himself so far as to instigate assassination, by means of such an insinuation—the Pacha treated me with the greatest politeness, and the English at Cairo were witnesses of the attachment of that city to the French. I received a deputation from the Monks of Mount Sinai, whom I recommended to the Pacha: I wrote to their superior, to assure them of the friendship and protection of the First Consul. The Monks of the Propaganda at Cairo, whom I placed under the national protection which they enjoyed before the war, celebrated a Te Deum for the prosperity of the First Consul. I assisted at this ceremony, at which all the christians of Cairo were present. The evening before my departure (the 2d of November) I had another interview with the Pacha, and recommended all the christians of Cairo to his protection, as well as the Turks, who during the residence of the French in Egypt, were connected with them. He not only promised to respect them, but even to treat them with bounty. On the 3d, I set out in a conveyance of the Pacha's in order to repair to Damietta. The Pacha ordered me to be escorted to Boulak, with the same honours that I received on the day of my arrival. I had written to Captain Gourdin, to repair to Damietta with the frigate, in order to convey me to Syria. On the 5th I stopped a short time at Simenoud, and afterwards at Mansoura, where I saw the commandant of the city and the Cheik Esseid-Muhammed-El-Chenaoni, who came to see me, as well as all the other Cheiks. I spoke to them in the same manner

as the other Cheiks of Egypt, and received the same promises of attachment. The Tower of Mansoura is destroyed. The same day I arrived at Damietta. The next day I went to Ahmed-Pacha-Behil, a creature of the Grand Vizier's; he returned my visit the same day. He conducted himself perfectly well to me during my stay in that city. On the 7th I went to visit the Fort of Lesbe and the Towers of Bogaz. They have not continued the works of that Fort, which is in a bad state: those of Bogaz are in a good condition. There is a garrison of 200 men in the Fort and in the towers. On the 8th I received the visit of Hassan Toubar: His influence over the inhabitants of Mensale is still the same. On the 9th I went to Senenie, where I saw the Cheik Ibrahim-El-Behlout, he who behaved so well to the French under the orders of General Vial, when they were taken and imprisoned. The First Consul had exempted his village from all contributions. I saw all the Chieks at Damietta, particularly Ali Khasaki, whom the First Consul had invested with a pelisse: He is possessed of great credit, and is much attached to the French. There are at Damietta two christians, who are men of merit, and may be very useful to us: They are M. Bazile and Don Bazile. They are possessed of good information, have very considerable fortunes, and are very highly respected. In Egypt, chiefs, merchants, people, all like to talk of the First Consul—all offer up prayers for his happiness. All the news which concerns him spread from Alexandria or Damietta to the pyramids and the grand cataracts with astonishing rapidity. On the 14th the frigate arrived at Bogaz from Damietta: I immediately set out for Acre, at which place I arrived on the 19th.

The 20th of November, in the morning, I dispatched Citizens Joubert and Legrange to Dgezzar-Pacha, with a letter, in which I stated to him, that peace being concluded between France and the Porte, the relations of commerce should be re-established on the footing they stood before the War, and that I was charged by the First Consul to confer with him on these objects. I begged of him to answer me in writing, if he was inclined to treat with me. In some hours the messengers returned: Dgezzar had received them coldly. He expressed his desire to see me personally, but was unwilling to write. Every body advised me not to see him, without an assurance written by himself; but this he appeared unwilling to do: But notwithstanding this cautionary advice, and his obstinate refusal to write, I determined to repair myself immediately to Acre.—I repaired to the house of the commissary of the Seven Isles. Very soon after, the Drogoman of the Pacha, informed of my arrival, came to conduct me to the Pacha, who received me in an apartment where he was unattended, and which was without any other furniture than a carpet. He had on one side of him a pistol with four barrels, a small air-gun, a Sabre, and a hatchet. After inquiring as to my health, he asked me, whether I was not persuaded that our end is preordained in heaven, and that nothing could change our destiny. I answered that I believed, as he did, in predestination. He continued to speak for some time on that subject.

ject. I perceived, however, that he affected a degree of ſimplicity, but that, at the ſame time, he wiſhed to paſs for a man of wit, as well as for a juſt man. He repeated ſeveral times, 'It is ſaid, that Dgezzar is barbarous: this is falſe; he is but juſt and ſevere. Requeſt of the Firſt Conſul, not to ſend me, as commiſſary of Commercial Relations, a lame or a blind man; becauſe ſuch a perſon would be ſure to ſay, that Dgezzar had made him ſo.' Soon after he ſaid, 'I deſire that the commiſſary you may ſend ſhall reſide at Seide, as that is the moſt commercial port in my dominions: beſides, it is not neceſſary he ſhould reſide here, where I ſhall be myſelf the French Commiſſary, and ſhall take care that your countrymen be well received. I highly eſteem the French. In ſtature Bonaparte is ſmall, but he is nevertheleſs the greateſt of mankind. I know that he is greatly regretted at Cairo, where they wiſh to ſee him again.' I made a few obſervations on the peace between France and the Porte; to which he anſwered, 'Do you know why I have thus received, and feel ſo much pleaſure at ſeeing you? It is becauſe you come unauthorized by a *Firman*, and without any orders from the Divan. I have the greateſt contempt for its blind Vizier. They ſay that Dgezzar is a Boſnian, a man of ſtraw, and cruel to exceſs; but nevertheleſs, I can ſtand the ordeal. I was once poor. My father had nothing to bequeath me but courage. I have achieved my own elevation by dint of exertion. This, however, does not make me proud, and Dgezzar, perhaps, will ſoon finiſh his career; not that he is old, as his enemies report, (he then performed ſome of the manœuvres of the Mamelukes, in their mode of riſing their arms, &c. which he really executed with ſurpriſing adroitneſs and agility,) but becauſe, moſt likely, God will have it ſo. The King of France, once ſo powerful, has periſhed. Nebuchadnezzar, the greateſt of all kings, was, when his time was come, killed by a fly, &c.' He made ſeveral other obſervations in this ſtrain, and afterwards ſpoke of the motives which induced him to make war upon the French army: from the whole of his demeanour it could eaſily be ſeen, that he wiſhed to be on good terms with the Firſt Conſul, and that he ſtifled his reſentments. The following is the Apologue, which he uſed to demonſtrate the cauſes of his reſiſtance. 'A black ſlave,' he ſaid, 'after a long journey, in which he had ſuffered the greateſt privations, arrived at a little field of ſugar canes: he ſtopped therein, and indulged himſelf in partaking of the delicious liquor they afforded; and at length was determined to remain on the ſpot. Very ſoon after, two travellers, who had followed him, came up. The firſt ſaid to him, Salamallee (the mode of wiſhing health.) The devil take it, anſwered the black. The ſecond traveller then approached, and inquired why he had anſwered in ſuch a way to ſo good a wiſh. I had very good reaſon for it, replied he; if I had anſwered in a friendly manner, the man would have entered into converſation with me, and afterwards ſat down beſide me; he would have partaken of my refreſhments, and finding them deſirable, would have endeavoured to obtain excluſive poſſeſſion.' I recommended to the favourable attention of Dgezzar the chriſtians and

and the Convents at Nazareth and Jeruſalem: He aſſured me that he would treat them with much regard. I did not forget the Mutuales, and received the ſame aſſurance in their behalf. Dgezzar frequently obſerved to me, that his word was with him, more ſacred than treaties. Our converſation was interrupted for ſome moments by a kind of military muſic, which he performed in a very agreeable ſtyle. The Palace of Dgezzar is built with much taſte and elegance; but, in order to arrive at the apartments, a number of turnings are neceſſary. At the foot of the ſtaircaſe, however, is ſituated a Priſon, the gate of which is allowed to be open from noon till evening. I ſaw a number of the unfortunate inhabitants. In the courts I obſerved twelve field pieces well mounted, and in admirable order. Never did I encounter a ſight more hideous or repulſive than that of the miniſter of Dgezzar, whom I met in going out. The Pacha had cauſed one of his eyes to be put out, and his noſe and ears to be cut off. I ſaw in the town more than a hundred individuals in the ſame ſtate. On beholding the domeſtics of Dgezzar, and even the inhabitants of Acre, one would imagine himſelf in the reſorts of brigands ready to aſſaſſinate. This monſter has imprinted the mark of his atrocious character upon every thing within the limits of his power. I had an opportunity of ſeeing, while at Acre, the procurateur of the Propaganda, as well as that of the Holy Land. Of the former, and of the commiſſary of the Seven Iſles, I collected ſome information concerning the preſent ſtate of Syria, and the fortifications of Acre, of which I had ſeen but a part: I was not ſuffered to viſit them. The procurateur of the Holy Land is grateful to the firſt Conſul for the protection he had afforded the Monks. He aſſured me that my recommendation to Dgezzar would be very uſeful. He hinted to me Dgezzar's earneſt wiſhes to be on good terms with the firſt Conſul. It is certain that the former behaved very well to the crew of a French veſſel which put into Acre ſhortly before my arrival. Dgezzar occupies all Paleſtine, with the exception of Jaffa, where Aboumarak Pacha has been beſieged nearly five months, by a force of 9000 Men. This operation prevents Dgezzar from carrying on hoſtilities with the deſired vigour againſt the emir of the Druſes, who, for the ſpace of a year, had paid him no tribute. Tripoli is tranquil at preſent: it is different at Aleppo, whence the Pacha has been driven. Damaſcus is in open rebellion againſt the Porte:—not only has the Pacha of the Divan been expelled, but the Aga, who commanded the citadel for the Turks, has been delivered up by the ſoldiers to the inſurgents, who have decapitated him. Tripoli is now under a rebellious Pacha, who is a creature of Dgezzar; who has lately ordered him to protect the pilgrims from Mecca. In a word, all Syria, is with Dgezzar, and the Ottomans are as much deteſted here as in Egypt. The Mutuales live peaceably in their villages; they have, however, been obliged to retire from the borders of the ſea. Aboumarak is now at the laſt extremity; this man is equally inconſiderate and cruel, and is ſur-

passed only by Dgezzar. The Christians are even more in dread of him, and tremble for their future situation. The Monks of the Convent of Jaffa have withdrawn to Jerusalem. The 21st November I quitted Acre. As the winds were unfavourable to a Voyage to Jaffa, I set sail for Zante, where I arrived the 4th December. I landed the same day, but the ship's company were put under Quarantine. I repaired to the house of the French commissary, escorted by the officers of health. I soon learned that the Isle and the Republic were split into different parties, and that even the tranquillity of the place was threatened. I assembled the members of the constituted authorities, and the principal persons of the town, at the house of the Governor M. de Calishipode. After having represented to them the interest which the first Consul took in their welfare, I induced them to lay aside that spirit of party which distracted them, and to wait without passion, and in silence, the new constitution. These few words were received with enthusiasm, and all of them exclaimed, 'France for ever! Bonaparte for ever!' These cries were reiterated on my going out by more than 1000 Men, who followed me to the door. The Governor and the Russian commandant were alarmed at it; and I learned by the French commissary, on the following day, that two of the leading men were sent to prison, but that, on his solicitations, and fearful of my reproaches, they were set at liberty in the course of the night. I went to the Conciergerie, and had the Governor brought there. I spoke to him strongly on the irregularity of his conduct: he was alarmed, and promised that he would look upon those who cried out, 'Live the first Consul!' as good citizens, and should in future treat them as such. As he sent, in the course of the night, a courier to his Government, and I had reason to believe he had made a wrong report, I immediately wrote to the Charge d'Affairs of the Republic at Corsou, to inform him what had passed, and that I was setting off for Messina. I do not stray from the truth in assuring you, that the Islands of the Ionian Sea will declare themselves French, as soon as an opportunity shall offer itself.

English Army in Egypt.—That army, commanded by General Stuart, consists of 4430 Men. They wholly and exclusively occupy Alexandria and the neighbouring forts. The Turks, who formed the Garrison of some of these forts, have been removed. Lately the English General has occupied Demanhour with 100 infantry and 100 horse, under the pretext of curbing the Arabs. The English have made no necessary works for the maintenance of the forts; the palisades are almost entirely destroyed, and the branches occasioned by the rains have very much damaged all the new fortifications. They occupy none of the works which are beyond the line of the Arabs, and all the redoubts which existed at the departure of the French Army are destroyed. The Pacha of Cairo furnishes to the English Army corn, rice, wood, and provisions, without any payment. The consumption is treble what it should be: they commit great waste. A great misunderstanding reigns between General Stuart and the Pacha.

STATE

STATE OF THE ARMY.

Dillon's Regiment—Emigrants	450
Britiſh Chaſſeurs—Ditto	550
Role's Regiment—Swiſs	600
Wetteville's—Ditto	680
The 10th Regiment of Infantry—Engliſh	600
The 61ſt Regiment Infantry—Ditto	650
The 88th Regiment Infantry—Ditto	400
Dragoons of the 26th Light—Ditto	350
Artillery—Ditto	150
Total	4430

The Turkiſh Army.—Muhammed, Pacha of Cairo, who has taken, it is not known why, the title of Viceroy of Egypt, does not command the troops in perſon. Muhammed Aly-Serr-Cherſme, who had the command ſince my arrival, was killed before Gaza; they are now under the orders of Juſſef Kiahia. Tair is Pacha of the Arnaoutes, who compoſe the greateſt part of this army, amounting to about 16,000 Men. They from time to time receive reinforcements.—Chourchid-Ahmed, a Pacha of two tails, is at Alexandria with 600 men, who occupy no fortification. This Pacha is, as one may ſay, a priſoner with the Engliſh. The Turkiſh Army conſiſts of 7640 Men, and that of the Arnaoutes of 8500, making a whole of 16140.—It is uſeleſs to add, that this is not an army, they are men ill armed, without diſcipline, without confidence in their chiefs, and enervated by exceſſive debauchery. The chiefs are in every thing like their ſoldiers; ignorant even of the firſt principles of the military art; and uniformly actuated by the love of wealth, they think of nothing but of obtaining it, and of finding the means of caarying it off in ſafety. Six thouſand French would at preſent be enough to conquer Egypt.

Army of the Mamelukes.—The Army of the Beys is compoſed of 3000 Mamelukes, of 3500 Arabs of the Tribe of Ababde of Chark, and of 3500 of the Tribe of Binialy. Muhammed Bey Elfy married the daughter of the Cheik of the firſt, and Maarzouk Bey ſon of Ibrahim Bey, the daughter of the Cheik of the Tribe of Binialy. The power in this Army is divided between Ibraham Bey, who is the chief, Eley Bey and Oſman Bey, who has ſucceeded Murad Bey. Their head-quarters are at Djergé. They have 80 French deſerters, which form a ſmall Corps of Artillery. To the preſent time they have beat the Turks in every action, and the Egyptians prefer them to the Oſmanlis. The whole of Upper Egypt has ſubmitted to them.

Syria.—Acre. The body of this place has been repaired; the Port has been covered with a ſmall horned work, and the Tower of the angle by a half-moon. They have likewiſe made a ſmall Fleche, in front of the Palace of the Pacha. —All the works are well kept. The weakeſt part is that towards the Sea, and particularly the point which defends the entrance of the Port. The forces of Degezzar are at preſent 13 or 14,000 Men, of which 9,000 are employed at

the ſiege of Jaffa. Jeruſalem and Nazareth are occupied by the troops of the Pacha of Acre. The Naplonſains ſerve againſt Aboumarſk.—Jaffa. The Vizier, after the taking of Egypt, cauſed the body of the place to be re-conſtructed, which is at preſent in a very good ſtate. Aboumarak, Pacha of Paleſtine, who defends this place, has a garriſon of 4000 men.—Gaza is occupied by 400 troops of Aboumarak.—The Emir of the Druſes has refuſed to Degezzar, his annual contribution, and has raiſed a reſpectable Armament. The Pacha waits till the fall of Jaffa to attack him. The Engliſh wiſhed to interfere as mediators between the Emir and Degezzar, but the laſt refuſed their mediation. The Porte has, at this moment, little connexion with Syria.

(Signed) HORACE SEBASTIANI.

No. II.

Paris, 3 Ventoſe, Feb. 22.

ACTS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Decree of the Government of the 21ſt February.

THE Government of the Republic decrees, that a view of the preſent ſituation of the Republic ſhall be carried to the legiſlative body by the meſſengers of the Government, and alſo the ſame be inſerted in the bulletin of the laws.

(Signed)

BONAPARTE, Firſt Conſul.

By Order of the Firſt Conſul,

(Signed)

H. B. MARET, Secretary of State.

VIEW OF THE STATE OF THE REPUBLIC.

EVENTS have neither fruſtrated the wiſhes, nor diſappointed the expectations of Government. The legiſlative body, on reſuming its labours, has the ſatisfaction of finding the republic ſtrengthened by the union of its citizens, more active in its purſuits of induſtry, and more confident in its proſpects of proſperity.

The execution of the Concordat, from which the enemies of public order ſtill ventured to conceive criminal hopes, has almoſt every where produced the moſt beneficial effects. The principles of an enlightened religion, the voice of the ſovereign Pontiff, the firmneſs and perſeverance of Government have triumphed over every obſtacle. Mutual ſacrifices have re-united the miniſters of religion; enlightened reaſon, and cordial unanimity have revived the Gallican Church; and the happieſt change has already manifeſted itſelf in the public morals. Every day produces a more perfect coincidence of opinion and of ſentiment. Childhood is more docile to the inſtructions of parents, and youth more ſubmiſſive to the authority of Magiſtrates. The Conſcription goes on ſmoothly in thoſe very places, where the mere name of Conſcription was ſufficient to ſtimulate inſurrection, and to ſerve the Country is now become a duty of religion.

In thoſe departments which the firſt Conſul viſited, he every where received pledges, and obſerved proofs of a return to thoſe principles which

which conſtitute the ſtrength and the happineſs of ſociety.

In the departments of the Eure, the Lower Seine, the Oiſe, the inhabitants proudly exult in the national glory. They are ſenſible to their full extent of the advantages of equality. They hail with bleſſings the reſtoration of Peace; they receive with bleſſings the re-eſtabliſhment of public worſhip. Theſe are the ties that bind down every heart to the ſtate and the conſtitution.

It is the duty of Government to cheriſh and direct theſe auſpicious diſpoſitions.

Other forms of worſhip have been regularly organized. Conſiſtories are formed of enlightened citizens, tried and acknowledged defenders of public order, of civil and religious liberty.

Public inſtruction, that indiſpenſible ſupport of ſociety, is every where ſought after with eagerneſs and alacrity. Several Lyceums have already been opened; already, as government had well foreſeen, a number of private ſchools aſpire to the rank of the ſecondary ſchools. The whole body of citizens ſhew their conviction that there can be no happineſs without the light of education; that, without talents and information, there can be no equality but that of miſery and ſervitude.

A military School is opened to receive the young defenders of the country. Soldiers, they will learn to ſupport the life of Camps, and endure the fatigues of War. By long habits of obedience they will be trained up to the art of commanding, and they will bring to the armies courage and diſcipline, united with talents and with knowledge.

In the Lyceums, as well as in the military School, the youth of the departments, newly incorporated with the Republic, will live mingled without any diſtinction with the youth of Old France. From this confuſion of minds and manners, from this communication of habits and of diſpoſitions, from this commixture of intereſts, of projects, and of hopes, will ſpring up that fraternity, which of ſeveral nations will make but one people, deſtined by their poſition, by their courage, and by their virtues, to form the centre of union, and the examples of Europe.

The National Inſtitute, which has its aſcendency over public inſtruction, has received a more uſeful direction, and henceforward will exert a more active influence over the National Character, over the language of the country, and over the arts, ſciences, and literature.

In order to inſure the ſtability of our infant Inſtitutions, in order to remove from the eyes of the public the ſpectre of diſcord which appeared to them in the periodical return of elections to the ſupreme magiſtracy, the friends of the country called for the conſulate for life to be granted to the firſt Magiſtrate. The people upon being conſulted anſwered to their call, and the ſenate proclaimed the will of the people.

The ſyſtem of liſts of eligibility could not reſiſt the teſt of experience, and the force of public opinion.

The organization of the Senate was incomplete.

The National Juſtice was left to be adminiſtered by tribunals without harmony, and without dependence on each other. There was no authority to protect or to

reform them; no tie of reſtraint to ſubject them to one common diſcipline.

In fine, there was wanting to France a power to reclaim Juſtice itſelf, the power of granting pardon. How often theſe twelve years paſt has that power been implored! How many unfortunates have fallen the victims of an inflexible ſternneſs with which wiſe men reproached our laws! How many criminals have been acquitted through a falſe indulgence, becauſe our puniſhments were too ſevere!

A Senatus Conſultum has reſtored to the people the exerciſe of thoſe rights which the Conſtituent Aſſembly had acknowledged; but it has reſtored them ſurrounded with precautions, which preſerve the people from errors or precipitation in their choice; with precautions which guard the influence of property, and the preponderance of enlightened talents.

Should the firſt magiſtracy become vacant, the duties and the proceedings of the ſenate are traced out for ſuch an emergency: forms of certain operation guide the wiſdom and the liberty of their choice; and the quick deciſion of that choice deprives ambition of the means of conſpiring, and anarchy of the means of deſtroying.

The cement of time will every day conſolidate, more and more, this tutelary inſtitution. It will be not only the term of all diſquietudes, and the object of all hopes, but likewiſe the faireſt recompence that can be held out to public ſervices and public virtues.

Juſtice embraces all the tribunals with one common bond. They have each their ſubordinate ſtation and their cenſor: they are always free in the exerciſe of their functions; always independent of power, but never independent of the laws.

The privilege of granting pardon when the intereſt of the republic requires it, or when circumſtances preſcribe indulgence, is entruſted to the hands of the firſt Magiſtrate; but it is only confided to him under the guard of juſtice itſelf; he is to exerciſe it only under the eyes of a Council, and after having conſulted the ſevereſt oracles of the law.

If inſtitutions may be appreciated by their effects, never was any inſtitution more important in its reſult than the organic Senatus Conſultum. From that moment the French people began to confide in their deſtiny; property began to reſume its former value, and ſpeculations of diſtant view to be multiplied;—until that moment every thing ſeemed to float in uncertainty. The preſent moment was cheriſhed; the next was a ſubject of alarm, and the enemies of the country continue to cheriſh hopes. Since that moment they are reduced to impotence and to deteſtation.

The Iſland of Elba has been ceded to France; that acquiſition gives her a mild and induſtrious people; two fine ports, a productive and precious mine: but being ſeparated from France, it could not be intimately united with any of her departments, or ſubjected to the regulations of a common adminiſtration. Principles have been made to bend to the neceſſity of circumſtances; exceptions have been eſtabliſhed for the Iſland of Elba, which its poſition, and the public intereſt preſcribed.

The abdication of the ſovereign, the will of the people, and the neceſſity

neceſſity of exiſting circumſtances, had placed Piedmont under the power of France. Amidſt the nations that ſurrounded it, with the elements that compoſed its population, Piedmont was unable to ſupport either the weight of its own independence, or the expences of a Monarchy. United to France, it will reap the benefits of its ſecurity, and its greatneſs; its laborious and enlightened citizens will exert their induſtry and their talents in the boſom of the arts, and under the ſhade of peace.

Security and tranquillity prevail in the interior of France. The vigilance of the magiſtracy, the ſeverity of juſtice, and a Gendarmerie vigorouſly appointed, and directed by a commander, grown grey in the career of honour, has every where impreſſed terror on the minds and the attempts of the brigands.

Private intereſt has raiſed itſelf to a ſentiment of public intereſt. Citizens have not ſhrunk from attacking thoſe whom they formerly dreaded, even when they were chained down at the foot of the tribunals of Juſtice. Whole communes have taken up arms and deſtroyed the brigands. Foreigners envy the ſecurity of our public roads, and that public force, which, though often inviſible, is always preſent, attend on their footſteps, and watch for their protection, without any neceſſity of imploring its aid.

During the courſe of a difficult year, amidſt the exigencies of a general ſcarcity, the poor looked with confidence to the care of Government. They ſupported with courage the privations which neceſſity impoſed; and they received with gratitude the ſuccours which they were taught to expect.

The crime of forgery is no longer encouraged by the hope of impunity. The zeal of the tribunals appointed to proſecute and puniſh it, and the juſt ſeverity of the laws, have at length checked the progreſs of an evil which threatened both the public treaſure, and the fortunes of individuals.

Our cultivation daily improves, and defies the moſt boaſted agricultural ſyſtems of Europe. In every department are to be found enlightened farmers, who afford both inſtruction and example.

Premiums have been held out for improving the breed of horſes; and ſimilar encouragements are propoſed for the improvement of wool by the introduction of a foreign breed of ſheep. Zealous adminiſtrators are every where occupied in tracing out and revealing the richneſs of our ſoil, and in diſſeminating the uſeful plans and the happy reſults which experience daily diſcovers.

Our manufactures multiply and receive new ſpirit and improvement. While they emulate each, they will ſoon, no doubt, become the rivals of the moſt renowned manufactures of foreign countries. Henceforth there will be nothing wanting to their proſperity but capitals leſs dearly purchaſed. But capitaliſts begin already to give up the hazardous ſpeculations of ſtock-jobbing, and devote their attention to the improvement of land and the purſuit of uſeful enterprizes. More than twenty-thouſand workmen, who were diſperſed throughout Europe, have been recalled by the attention and by the favours of Government, and will ſoon be reſtored to our manufactures.

Among our manufactures there is one which is almoſt peculiar to France, which Colbert kindled up by his genius. It was buried under the ruins of Lyons: Government has exerted all its endeavours to extricate it. Lyons is again reſtored to ſplendour and opulence; already do its manufactures impoſe a tribute on the luxury of Europe. But the principle of their ſucceſs is to be found in the luxury of France itſelf; it is in the changefulneſs of our taſte, and the mutability of our faſhions, that foreign luxury muſt look for its aliment, it is that gives motion and life to an immenſe population, who, without that encouragement, muſt loſe itſelf in corruption and miſery.

There will ſoon be at Compiegne, there will ſoon ariſe on the confines of La Vendee, a number of Prytanees, where our youth will be brought up in habits of induſtry, and inſtructed in the mechanical arts. From that ſource our dock-yards and our manufactures will one day draw inſpectors to direct their labours.

Fourteen millions ariſing out of the Barrier Tax, and ten millions out of the Extraordinaries, have been employed during the year 10 in improving the public roads, in keeping up the old communications. New communications have alſo been opened. The Simplon, Mount-Cenis, and Mount-Genevre, will ſoon open a triple and eaſy acceſs to Italy—a high road will lead from Genoa to Marſeilles—a road is chalked out from Saint Eſprit to Gap—another from Rennes to Breſt, through Pontivy. At Pontivy eſtabliſhments are to be raiſed which will have a powerful influence over the public mind of the departments of which ci-devant Brittany was compoſed—a Canal will introduce into it new ſources of commerce and proſperity.

On the banks of the Rhine from Bingen to Coblentz, a neceſſary road is cut through inacceſſible rocks. The neighbouring communes aſſociate their labours to the ſacrifices of the public treaſury, and the people of the other bank, who ridiculed the folly of the enterprize, are aſtoniſhed and confounded at the rapidity of the execution.

A great number of workmen are employed on the Canal of Saint Quintin.

The Canal of Ourcq is opened, and ſoon will Paris people enjoy the benefit of its waters, and the ſalubrity and the embelliſhments which they promiſe.

The Canal intended to unite the navigation of the Seine and the Saone, of the Danube and the Rhine, is almoſt entirely finiſhed as far as Dole, and the public treaſury already receives in the increaſed price of wood, to which that Canal opens the approach, a ſum equal to that which it has furniſhed for the continuance of the work.

The Canals of Argues, Mortes, and the Rhone, the draining of the marſhes of the Lower Charante, are begun, and will open up new channels to commerce, and afford new lands for cultivation. Works are going forward for the reparation of the dykes of the Iſle of Cadſand, of Oſtend, of the Cotes du Nord, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the navigation of our rivers. This navigation is no longer given up ſolely to the labours and the cares of Government. The owners of boats plying on theſe rivers have already

already felt that it was their patrimony, and they fix on themſelves the taxes by which the works are to be kept in proper repair. On the Ocean Forts are erecting to cover the roads of the Iſle of Aix, and to protect the veſſels of the Republic. Every where funds are raiſed for the reparation and improvement of our ports. A new baſon and locked ſluices will terminate the harbour of Havre, and will form an excellent port for the commerce of La Manche. A company of Pilots is formed to ſecure the ſafe navigation of L'Eſcaut, and to free foreign Pilots from the danger to which an unknown navigation muſt expoſe them.

At Antwerp labours are begun, which will have the effect of reſtoring to its commerce its ancient celebrity, and the Government has in contemplation a plan for forming Canals to unite the navigation of the Eſcaut, the Meuſe, and the Rhine, to give to our docks thoſe materials of wood which grows in our own ſoil, and to our manufactures a perfection which the manufacturers of other countries diſpute with us on our own territory.

The Iſlands of Martinique, Tobago, and St. Lucie, have been reſtored to us with all the elements of proſperity. Guadaloupe, re-conquered and pacified, returns to cultivation. Guiana riſes from a long protracted infancy, and aſſumes a flouriſhing appearance.

St. Domingo had ſubmitted, and the author of its troubles was in France. Every thing announced the return of proſperity, but a cruel malady delivered it up to new miſeries. At length the ſcourge which deſolated our Army has ceaſed its ravages. The Forces which now are on the Iſland, and thoſe which will ſpeedily arrive from our different ports, guarantee the proſpect of its ſpeedy return to peace and to commercial purſuits.

Veſſels are ſetting ſail for the Iſles of France and Re-union, and for India.

Our maritime commerce is ſeeking to renew its ancient connections, to form new relations; and by theſe efforts it gains new ſtrength. Already happy experience and wiſe encouragements have reanimated a ſpirit for engaging in the Fiſhery which was long the patrimony of France. Commercial Expeditions ſtill more important are formed or projected for the Weſt India Colonies, the Iſle of France, and the Eaſt Indies.

Marſeilles reſumes in the Mediterranean its antient aſcendancy.

Chambers of commerce have been reſtored in the cities where they formerly exiſted. New ones have been eſtabliſhed in thoſe places, which, by the extent of their operations and the importance of their manufactures, have appeared to deſerve them. In theſe aſſociations, formed by perſons whoſe ſituation entitles them to the honour of chooſing the members, the ſpirit as well as the ſcience of commerce will revive. There its intereſts will be developed, inſeparable from the intereſts of the ſtate. The merchant will there learn to place, in preference to riches, the conſideration which honours them, and before the enjoyments of a vain luxury, that wiſe economy which fixes the eſteem

eſteem of his fellow-citizens and the confidence of ſtrangers.

Deputies, choſen from the different chambers, will diſcuſs, in the preſence of government, the intereſts of commerce and manufactures, and the laws and regulations which circumſtances may require.

In our forces, by ſea and land, inſtruction and the love of diſcipline are ſedulouſly inculcated. Reſponſibility becomes more rigid in our military corps. An economical adminiſtration has ſucceeded to the dilapidating ſyſtem of contracts. The ſoldier, better fed and better clothed, underſtands economy, and his ſavings, which he throws into the common ſtock, attach him to his ſtandard as well as to his family.

Every branch of our finances becomes more productive. The collection of direct contribution is leſs rigorous with regard to the contributors. In the year ſix it was reckoned that about fifty millions were in the hands of the collectors of Taxes, and payments were three or four years in arrear. At this moment the ſum in the hands of the collectors is not above three millions, and the contributions are paid even before they are due.

All the rules which have been made, and all the plans of adminiſtration which have been formed, give a produce ſtill increaſing. The rules applicable to the regiſtering of commercial tranſactions is productive to a degree, which atteſts the rapid movements of capital and the multiplicity of buſineſs which is tranſacted.

In the midſt of ſo many ſigns of proſperity, the exceſs of the direct contributions is ſtill made a ground of complaint.

The Government has learnt from every one verſed in the principles of taxation, that the ſurcharge conſiſted chiefly in the inequality of the mode in which the taxes were impoſed. Meaſures have been taken, and are carrying into effect, to aſcertain the real inequalities which exiſt in the different departments. In the courſe of the year 12, regular and ſimultaneous operations will have aſcertained what is the relation which ought to exiſt betwixt the contributions of the different departments, and what in each department is the juſt rate of the land tax. The moment that a certain reſult has been fixed, the Government will give orders for thoſe alterations which juſtice requires. But in the courſe of this year, and without waiting for thoſe reſults, it will propoſe an important diminution in the Land Tax.

Innovations are ſtill propoſed in our financial ſyſtem; but every change is an evil, if it cannot be ſatisfactorily demonſtrated that certain advantage would reſult from it. The Government will ſeek from time and from diſcuſſions, weighed with all poſſible care, the maturity of theſe projects which inexperience often hazards; which they ſupport by thoſe paſt examples, the memory of which has been almoſt effaced from the public mind, and on the financial doctrines of a nation which, by unnatural and exaggerated efforts, has broke through every meaſure of public contribution and expenditure.

With an increaſe of revenue which no one ventured to calculate, extraordinary circumſtances have led to wants which it was impoſſible to foreſee.

It was neceſſary to reconquer

two

two of our colonies, and to re-eſtabliſh in all the power and the Government of the mother country.

It was neceſſary, by means ſudden and too extended to admit of rigid economy, to procure ſubſiſtence for the capital and ſeveral of the departments. At leaſt, however the ſucceſs of the government has been equal to its efforts, and after theſe vaſt exertions, reſources remain henceforth to guarantee the capital againſt the return of want, and to diſconcert the projects of monopoly.

In the methodized ſtatement of the miniſter of finance, will be found a general view of the annual contributions and the different branches of the public revenue, what was their amount during the laſt year, what proſpect of amelioration exiſted; whether from the mode of adminiſtration or the progreſs of public proſperity, what have been in the different departments of the miniſtry, the elements of expenditure during the year ten; what are the ſums ſtill remaining to be paid for that and former years; what reſources exiſt to cover them, whether ariſing from outſtanding arrears of taxes, or from the extraordinary funds appropriated to pay off the debts contracted in theſe years, and which have not yet been exhauſted; what is the actual amount of the public debt; what has been its increaſe, how it has been diminiſhed by natural cauſes, and how its extinction has been affected by the ſinking fund.

In the account of the miniſter of the public treaſury will be ſeen a ſtatement of the receipts, the payments of the year ten; what belongs to the different branches of the revenue; what is chargeable in each year and on each part of the adminiſtration.

The united account of the two miniſters will form a complete table of our financial ſituation. The Government hold up with equal ſatisfaction the picture which it preſents to its friends and its detractors, to citizens and to foreigners.

After authorizing the foreſeen expence of the year 12, and appropriating the neceſſary revenue, objects of the greateſt intereſt will occupy the attention of the legiſlative body. It is neceſſary to introduce a change into our ſyſtem of coinage. The cuſtom-houſe duties muſt be re-organized, ſo as more effectually to check the progreſs of contraband trade. It is at length eſſential to give to France that civil code ſo long promiſed and ſo long expected.

Above all, projects of laws have been formed under the obſervation of government, and matured in conferences where commiſſions from the council of ſtate and the tribunate were animated only by the love of truth and regard for the public intereſt. The ſame ſentiments, the ſame principles will guide the deliberation of the legiſlators, and ſecure to the republic the wiſdom, and the impartiality of the laws which are adopted.

On the continent, every thing offers us pledges of repoſe and tranquillity.

The Italian Republic, ſince the proceedings at Lyons, has been daily ſtrengthening itſelf by the more intimate union of the people of whom it is compoſed. The happy harmony among the authorities by which it is governed, its internal

internal adminiſtration, its military force already give it the character and the attitude of a ſtate long eſtabliſhed; and if wiſdom preſerve them, they guarantee to it a deſtiny of uninterrupted proſperity.

Liguria, placed under a mixed conſtitution, ſees at its head; and in the boſom of its authorities, all thoſe of its citizens, the moſt eſtimable for their virtues, by their illumination and their fortune.

New ſhocks have convulſed the Helvetic republic. The Government owed its ſupport to neighbours, whoſe repoſe was eſſential to the repoſe of France, and it will uſe every exertion to enſure the ſucceſs of its mediation, and with it the happineſs of a people whoſe habits, and whoſe intereſts, make it the neceſſary ally of France.

Batavia ſucceſſively takes poſſeſſion of the colonies which the peace reſtored to her.

She will ever remember that France muſt ever be her moſt uſeful friend or her moſt deſtructive foe.

In Germany the laſt ſtipulations of the treaty of Luneville are carrying into effect.

Pruſſia, Bavaria, all the ſecular princes who had poſſeſſions on the left bank of the Rhine, will obtain on the right bank ſuitable indemnities.

The Houſe of Auſtria finds in the biſhopricks of Salzburgh, Aiſchtett, Trent, and Brixen, and the greateſt part of Pau, more than it had loſt in Tuſcany. Thus, by the happy co-operation of France and Ruſſia, all permanent intereſts are conciliated, and from the boſom of that tempeſt which ſeemed ready to overwhelm it the Germanic empire, that empire ſo neceſſary to the equilibrium and the repoſe of Europe, riſes more powerful, compoſed of elements more homogeneous, better combined and more adapted to the circumſtances, and opinions of the preſent age.

A French ambaſſador is at Conſtantinople, charged with renewing and fortifying the ties which attach us to a power which ſeems to be threatened with deſtruction, but which it is our intereſt to ſuſtain and to ſupport the foundations by which it is upheld.

The Britiſh Forces are ſtill in Alexandria and Malta. The Government had a fair right of complaint, but it has received intelligence that the veſſels which are to convey them to Europe are already in the Mediterranean.

The Government guarantees to the nation the peace of the continent, and it is permitted to entertain a hope of the continuance of maritime peace. This peace is the want, as well as the deſire of all nations. For its preſervation, the Government will do every thing compatible with national honour, eſſentially connected with the ſtrict execution of the treaties.

But in England, two parties maintain a conteſt for power. One of thoſe parties has concluded peace, and appears deſirous of maintaining it. The other has taken an oath of eternal hatred to France. Hence that fluctuation of opinion and of counſels which prevail.—Hence that attitude, at the ſame time pacific and menacing.

While this conteſt of parties continues, meaſures of precaution are what the Government is called upon to adopt. Five hundred thouſand men ought to be, and ſhall be ready to undertake its defence, and avenge its

its injuries. Strange neceſſity which miſerable paſſions impoſe on two nations, whom intereſt and inclination mutually prompt to the cultivation of peace.

Whatever ſucceſs intrigues may experience in London, no other people will be involved in new combinations—the Government ſays, with conſcious pride, that England alone cannot maintain a ſtruggle againſt France.

But we have better hopes, and we believe that in the britiſh cabinet, nothing will be liſtened to but the counſels of wiſdom and the voice of humanity.

Yes, doubtleſs, the peace will daily be more conſolidated. The relations of the two Governments will aſſume that character of goodwill which is ſuitable to their mutual intereſts. A happy repoſe will bury the recollection of the long calamities of a diſaſtrous war, and France and England, rendering their happineſs reciprocal, will deſerve the gratitude of the whole world.

The Firſt Conſul,

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

By Order of the Firſt Conſul,

The Secretary of State,

H. B. MARET.

No. III.

Paris, 26, Brumaire, 10th year (17th November, 1802.

I FORWARD to you, Citizen, a ſeries of queſtions, concerning which I am deſirous of having your anſwers. You will have the goodneſs to place them oppoſite the queſtions on the ſame ſheet of paper, doubled in two, ſimilar to the one which I have the honour to ſend to you. I ſhall be obliged to you to ſend me this paper as ſoon as poſſible, without, however, ſuffering your too great haſte to be prejudicial to your accuracy. If you are doubtful upon any point, you will have the goodneſs to mention it. You will probably find no difficulty in conſulting with ſome well informed merchants or clerks in the Cuſtom-Houſe, who you think may have it in their power to give you ſome poſitive information, and you will declare the ſources from whence you have drawn that information. You will not conſider this buſineſs as forming a part of your official correſpondence. You muſt not number it, but you muſt content yourſelf with putting at the Top of it, as in the projet which I encloſe to you *Private Correſpondence.*

To Citizen Fauvelet, at Dublin.

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

No. IV.

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE.

Queſtions.

1. WHAT number of veſſels have entered and cleared out of the ports within your diſtrict within each year from 1792 to 1801 incluſive?

2. What is their tonnage or their admeaſurement in ſea tons of 2000 4 P?

3. Under what flag do they navigate?

4. From whence they come?

5. Whither bound?

6. With

6. With what merchandize freighted?

7. What was the price of freight to the principal ports of Europe, each ſea ton of 2000 4 P.S.?

8. What French productions are moſt in requeſt in the market of the town where you reſide, as well as of the other conſiderable towns in your diſtrict?

9. What is the merchandize which can be exported to France with greater advantage from the ſaid markets than from any other?

10. What are the courſe of exchange, and the current prices of merchandize from three months to three months from the year 1792 to 1801?

11. *You are required to furniſh a plan of the ports of your diſtrict, with a ſpecification of the ſoundings for mooring veſſels.*

12. *If no plan of the ports can be procured, you are to point out with what wind veſſels can come in and go out, and what is the greateſt draught of water with which veſſels can enter therein deeply laden?*

13. What are the principal commercial houſes?

If the heads of theſe houſes are foreigners, you are to point out of what country they are; and in all caſes you are to ſtate with what countries they are principally connected, and what is their chief line of commerce.

14. What is the uſual courſe of exchange?

15. Whether there is a public bank, and what is its organization?

16. Whether there are any Inſurance Companies, public or private, and what are their cuſtoms and rules, and the prices of inſurance, for European and long voyages?

17. In caſe there exiſts any other public eſtabliſhment which relates to commerce, you are to give every poſſible detail concerning it, eſpecially in whatever regards manufactures and fiſheries.

18. You are to point out the relative conformity of weights and meaſures with thoſe of France, antient and modern, as ſoon as you ſhall have obtained practical and exact information on thoſe points.

19. You are to add to all this the moſt extenſive information, as well general as particular, which you may be able to obtain from authority, eſpecially with regard to commerce, and particularly reſpecting falſe accounts of purchaſes and ſales of different merchandizes, in order to aſcertain the expences, rights, and local cuſtoms, in caſes of purchaſes and ſales.

20. Whether there are any fairs in your diſtrict; what ſpecies of traffic is carried on there, and to what amount.

No. V.

From the Hamburgh Correſpondenten of March 30, 1803.

The following article is inſerted by Deſire.

Paris, March 15.

FOR ſome months a war of newſpapers and of the preſs has been kept up between France and England. This ſeemed merely the dying embers of an extinguiſhed conflagration; the laſt conſolation of a deſperate party; the food of ſome low paſſions and a few hungry ſcribblers. The French Government was far from attaching importance to ſuch matters. Notwithſtanding ſome difficulties in the complete

complete execution of the Treaty of Amiens, they ſtill believed they might rely on the good faith of the Britiſh Government, and directed their attention ſolely to the re-eſtabliſhment of the colonies. Relying upon the ſacredneſs of treaties, they ſecurely diſperſed the remains of the French naval force, which had been given a prey to the Engliſh Fleet. In this ſituation, ſuddenly appeared a ſolemn meſſage from the cabinet of St. James's, and informed all Europe that France was making conſiderable preparations in the ports of Holland and France; an addreſs was voted by Parliament, promiſing to the King of England ſuch extraordinary means of defence as the ſecurity of the Britiſh Empire and the honour of the three crowns might require.

From the ſudden appearance of this meſſage, people doubted whether it was the effect of treachery, of lunacy, or of weakneſs. Let any one caſt his eye over the ports of France and Holland, where he will find only detached naval preparations deſtined for the colonies, and conſiſting only of one or two line of battle ſhips and a few frigates. On the other hand, let him look at the ports of England, filled with a formidable naval force; on ſuch a review one could be tempted to believe that the meſſage of the King of England was mere irony, if ſuch a farce were not unworthy the majeſty of a government. If one conſiders the influence of factions in ſo free a country, one might ſuppoſe that the King of England had only had the weakneſs to yield, if weakneſs were compatible with the firſt quality of a king. In ſhort, no national motives remain to which it can be aſcribed, except bad faith—except a ſworn enmity to the French nation—except perfidy, and the deſire of openly breaking a ſolemn treaty, for the ſake of advantages which will be maintained, and the ſacrifice of which the honour of France and the faith of treaties forbid.

When a man reads this meſſage he thinks himſelf tranſported to the times of thoſe treaties which the Vandals made with the degenerate Romans, when force uſurped the place of right, and when, with a haſty appeal to arms, they inſulted the antagoniſt they meant to attack. In the preſent ſtate of civilization there is a reſpect which a great monarch, which a poliſhed people owe to themſelves, were that reſpect no more than to ſeek a plauſible pretext for an unjuſt war. But in this inſtance every thing is precipitate, and repugnant to decency and to juſtice. An eternal war would ſucceed a dreadful conteſt; and the more unjuſt the attack, the more irreconcileable would be its animoſity.

Such a novelty will doubtleſs excite the diſapprobation of Europe. While even the Engliſh, whoſe national pride had not entirely blinded them, ſighed at this proſpect, did the TIMES call the peace of Amiens an Armiſtice, and in doing ſo, paſſed the ſevereſt ſatire on the government it defended; and the rapid fall of the national funds is the firſt prelude to the misfortunes which may follow as the revenge due for the wound given to all ſocial rights.

The French are leſs intimidated than irritated by the threats of England. They have neither been diſpirited by their reverſes, nor elated by their victories; in a war

to

to which there appeared no termination, they saw all Europe confederated against them. Their constancy, their courage, and the prompt activity of their Government, brought it to a conclusion. *This* war would have a different object. France would contend for the liberty of the states of Europe, and the sacredness of their treaties; and if the English Government be determined to make it a national war, perhaps her boasted formidable naval strength would not be sufficient to decide the result, and to secure the victory.

The French, strong in the justice of their cause, and in the confidence they repose in their Government, do not dread the new expences and new sacrifices which such a war might render necessary. Their system of finance is more simple and less artificial than that of London, and so much the more solid. It all lies in their soil and in their courage.

On the first news of the English message, all eyes were turned to the cabinet of the Thuilleries. As most trifling motions received a character of importance, its most unpremidated words were eagerly caught up. Every one impatiently expected the assembly for the presentation of foreigners, which Madame Bonaparte holds once a month. Every one was prepared to draw some inferences from it. It was as splendid as usual. The first Consul made his appearance, and said, on his entrance, to the English ambassador, who was standing beside M. Markoff, "We have been at war for twelve years. The king of England says, that France is making immense naval preparations. He has been led into an error. In the French ports there are no preparations of any magnitude. The whole fleet is gone to St. Domingo and the Colonies. With regard to the ports of Holland, to which the message likewise alludes, there are only the preparations for the expedition under General Victor, and all Europe knows its destination is for Louisiana. The king says farther, that between the cabinets of Paris and London differences continue. I know of none. It is true that England ought to have evacuated Malta, and Malta is not evacuated; and as his Britannic Majesty has bound himself by the most solemn treaty ever entered into, it is impossible to doubt of the speedy evacuation of that island; and," added the first Consul, "those who would attempt to frighten the French people should know, that it is possible, to kill but not to intimidate them."

During the course of the evening, when the first Consul happened to be near M. Markoff, he said aloud, "that the British ministry wished to keep Malta for five years more. Such a proposal was insulting, and no treaties should be entered into which it was not resolved to observe." At the conclusion of the assembly, when the English ambassador was about to retire, the first Consul said to him, "Madame the Duchess of Dorset has spent the unpleasant part of the year at Paris. It is my sincere wish that she may also spend the agreeable season. But if it should happen that we really must go to war, the responsibility is exclusively with those who deny the validity

validity of their own contracts, since they refuse to observe treaties which they had concluded."

These words of the first Consul require no comment. They explain completely his present opinions, his past conduct, and his resolution for the future. It is sufficient to compare them with the tergiversations, the duplicity, the evasions, and the message, of the English Government, in order to be enabled to decide on the justice of the dispute.

No. VI.

Corfu, Dec. 10, 1802.

My Lord,

THE last letters from my agent at Zante furnish me with the information, that the Cornelia French Frigate, having on board Horatio Sebastiani, Chief of Brigade, and charged with a public mission on the part of the first Consul of the French Republic, came to anchor there on the 3d Instant. The Envoy, finding that a vessel coming from Alexandria was subject to a long quarantine, and could not permitted to communicate freely with the shore, applied to the Delegate of that Island for permission to land, which being granted him, he was conducted to the Delegate's apartments. He then requested that a meeting of the three orders might be called, which was also complied with, and twelve persons, four of each order, met in the Delegate's house. The Envoy Sebastiani then harangued them nearly in the terms of the address, which I have herewith the honour of inclosing to your lordship. His Speech, however, contained some additional observations, importing, that *Bonaparte had been the first to break the chains of the Islanders.* When he had done speaking a tumultuous cry was uttered, of *Viva la Liberta! Viva l'Uguaglianza!*

Before his departure, however, he caused to be forwarded to the Delegate of Cephalonia, and to the Senate of Corfu, copies of the inclosed address, expressing a wish that it might be generally circulated among the people of each island.

I have the honor to be, &c.
(Signed) SPIRIDION FORESTI.

Right Honorable Lord Hawkesbury &c. &c. &c.

No. VII.

Corfu, January 2, 1803.

My Lord,

IN my letter of the 10th ultimo, your lordship will perceive that I inserted the arrival of the Cornelia French frigate at Zante, and that Horatio Sebastiani harangued the people of that island. At that time I was not in possession of his exact oration, but since then the Delegate of Zante transmitted his Speech to the Senate of Corfu; a copy of which I beg leave to submit to your lordship's attention.

Monsieur Romieu, the French minister here, communicated to the prince of the Senate, that the first Consul of the French republic had taken under his protection the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman churches of this republic; and on the 19th December wrote to the

vicar general of Corfu to inform him of the ſame; a copy of which permit me to incloſe for your peruſal.

From the proceedings of the French Commiſſary here, and thoſe of the other iſlands, together with the diſpoſition of the natives, I am afraid that this republic will be a conſtant theatre of French intrigue. The aforeſaid Commiſſaries occaſion Count Mocénigo and this government an infinite deal of trouble.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) SPIRIDION FORESTI.

Right Honorable Lord Hawkeſbury, &c. &c. &c.

(Firſt Incloſure referred to in No. 7.)

(Tranſlation.)

Horace Sebaſtiani, Chief of Brigade of a Regiment of Dragoons, and Envoy of the Firſt Conſul in the Levant.

To His Excellency the Delegate of Zante.

Sir,

THE firſt Conſul Bonaparte has charged me to viſit theſe iſlands which compoſe your Republic, and to aſſure the inhabitants that he takes a lively intereſt in their proſperity.

I know that the difference of political opinions divides this riſing Republic into various parties, and that without the wiſe meaſures taken by your Government, its tranquillity will be deſtroyed. I could wiſh you to make known to your adminiſtrators and fellow-citizens how much the firſt Conſul wiſhes to ſee a ſtop put to thoſe inteſtine diviſions which afflict theſe iſlands.

Your political independency has been guaranteed by France, Ruſſia, and the Sublime Porte. Theſe powerful nations, united together by the bonds of the trueſt friendſhip, are occupied, in concert with your moſt enlightened and moſt virtuous fellow-citizens, to give you a form of government ſuitable to your ſituation and the genius of your inhabitants. Wait with confidence and moderation the reſult of theſe important operations, and be aſſured that you will ſee the end of your ills, and the beginning of your proſperity. All exaggerations of political opinions are inimical to the general proſperity: abſolute democracy, always tempeſtuous, ſacrifices to vain chimeras the ſecurity, the property, civil liberty, and, in ſhort, all that conſtitutes the happineſs of a ſtate: Ariſtocracy which is not moderated is always tyrannical, and the elevation of a ſmall number of families, is preferred to talents and to virtue. In order that a Government may be proſperous, it is neceſſary that it ſhould have in its formation a happy combination of the advantages of different forms of Government; the power and promptitude of monarchy, the vigilance and intelligence of ariſtocracy, and the vigour and elevation of democracy; that the citizens may find the ſecurity enjoyed under the firſt, the tranquillity of the ſecond, and the equality of rights fixed by the laws which are found in the third.

Recollect that the man who forms a part of ſociety only preſerves the liberty of doing that which is not prejudicial to the rights of others; and that equality only conſiſts in the exact execution of the laws, and

in

in the protection which they afford to every member of the political body. As the quarantine prevents communication, I beg you will communicate this my letter to all the authorities, and also to the principal inhabitants.

I avail myself of this opportunity to assure you of the sentiments of esteem and consideration which I entertain for your person.

(Second Inclosure referred to in No. 7.)

(Translation.)

Liberty. Equality.

Corfu, 29th Frimaire, 11th year of the French Republic.

The Adjutant Commandant Romieux, Commissary General of Commercial Relations, and Chargé d'Affaires to the Republic of the Seven Islands, to the Vicar General of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Churches at Corfu.

Mr. Vicar General,

I HASTEN to inform you, with the greatest joy, that I have just received the express orders of my Government to place the church of the Roman religion in the Republic of the Seven Islands, under its special protection. I make this communication to the Prince of the senate. This proof of the good will of the French towards this church, will be a powerful motive, Mr. Vicar General, for addressing, through the faithful in your communion, the most ardent vows to Heaven for the prosperity of the French Republic, and the preservation of the lives of its Consuls, in the same way as the Roman churches practise in the French Republic.

With the most distinguished consideration, Mr. Vicar General, I have the honour to salute you.

(Signed.) A. Romieux.

A true copy, Spiridon Foresti.

Declaration of His Majesty.

HIS Majesty's earnest endeavours for the preservation of peace having failed of success, he entertains the fullest confidence that he shall receive the same support from his parliament, and that the same zeal and spirit will be manifested by his people, which he has experienced on every occasion when the honour of his crown has been attacked, or the essential interests of his dominions have been endangered.

During the whole course of the negociations which led to the preliminary and definitive treaties of peace between his Majesty and the French Republick, it was his Majesty's sincere desire, not only to put an end to the hostilities which subsisted between the two countries, but to adopt such measures, and to concur in such propositions, as might most effectually contribute to consolidate the general tranquillity of Europe. The same motives by which his Majesty was actuated during the negotiations for peace, have since invariably governed his conduct. As soon as the treaty of Amiens was concluded, his Majesty's courts were open to the people of France for every purpose of legal redress; all

ſequeſtrations were taken off their property; all prohibitions on their trade which had been impoſed during the war were removed, and they were placed, in every reſpect, on the ſame footing with regard to commerce and intercourſe, as the inhabitants of any other ſtate in amity with his Majeſty, with which there exiſted no treaty of commerce.

To a ſyſtem of conduct thus open, liberal, and friendly, the proceedings of the French government afford the moſt ſtriking contraſt. The prohibitions which had been placed on the commerce of his Majeſty's ſubjects during the war have been enforced with increaſed ſtrictneſs and ſeverity; violence has been offered in ſeveral inſtances to their veſſels and their property; and, in no caſe, has juſtice been afforded to thoſe who may have been aggrieved in conſequence of ſuch acts, nor has any ſatisfactory anſwer been given to the repeated repreſentations made by his Majeſty's miniſters or ambaſſador at Paris. Under ſuch circumſtances, when his Majeſty's ſubjects were not ſuffered to enjoy the common advantages of peace within the territories of the French republick, and the countries dependent upon it, the French government had recourſe to the extraordinary meaſure of ſending over to this country a number of perſons for the profeſſed purpoſe of reſiding in the moſt conſiderable towns of Great Britain and Ireland, in the character of commercial agents or conſuls. Theſe perſons could have no pretenſions to be acknowledged in that character, as the right of being ſo acknowledged, as well as all the privileges attached to ſuch a ſituation, could only be derived from a commercial treaty; and as no treaty of that deſcription was in exiſtence between his Majeſty and the French Republick.

There was conſequently too much reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the real object of their miſſion was by no means of a commercial nature, and this ſuſpicion was confirmed, not only by the circumſtance that ſome of them were military men, but by the actual diſcovery that ſeveral of them were furniſhed with inſtructions to obtain the ſoundings of the harbours, and to procure military ſurveys of the places where it was intended they ſhould reſide. His majeſty felt it to be his duty to prevent their departure to their reſpective places of deſtination, and repreſented to the French government the neceſſity of withdrawing them; and it cannot be denied that the circumſtances under which they were ſent, and the inſtructions which were given to them, ought to be conſidered as deciſive indications of the diſpoſitions and intentions of the government by whom they were employed.

The conduct of the French government, with reſpect to the commercial intercourſe between the two countries, muſt therefore be conſidered as ill ſuited to a ſtate of peace, and their proceedings in their more general political relations, as well as in thoſe which immediately concern his Majeſty's dominions, appear to have been altogether inconſiſtent with every principle of good faith, moderation, and juſtice. His Majeſty had entertained hopes, in conſequence of the repeated aſſurances and profeſſions of the French government, that they might have been induced to adopt

adopt a ſyſtem of policy which, if it had not inſpired other powers with confidence, might at leaſt have allayed their jealouſies. If the French government had really appeared to be actuated by a due attention to ſuch a ſyſtem; if their diſpoſitions had proved to be eſſentially pacific, allowances would have been made for the ſituation in which a new government muſt be placed after ſo dreadful and extenſive a convulſion as that which has been produced by the French revolution. But his Majeſty has unfortunately had too much reaſon to obſerve and to lament that the ſyſtem of violence, aggreſſion, and aggrandizement, which characterized the proceedings of the different governments of France during the war, has been continued with as little diſguiſe ſince its termination. They have continued to keep a French army in Holland againſt the will, and in defiance of the remonſtrances of the Batavian government, and in repugnance to the letter of three ſolemn treaties. They have, in a period of peace, invaded the territory, and violated the independence of the Swiſs nation, in defiance of the treaty of Luneville, which had ſtipulated the independence of their territory, and the right of the inhabitants to chuſe their own form of government. They have annexed to the dominions of France, Piedmont, Parma, and Placentia, and the iſland of Elba, without allotting any proviſion to the King of Sardinia, whom they have deſpoiled of the moſt valuable part of his territory, though they were bound, by a ſolemn engagement to the Emperor of Ruſſia, to attend to his intereſts and to provide for his eſtabliſhment. It may, indeed, with truth be aſſerted, that the period which has elapſed ſince the concluſion of the definitive treaty, has been marked with one continued ſeries of aggreſſion, violence, and inſult, on the part of the French government.

In the month of October laſt, his Majeſty was induced, in conſequence of the earneſt ſolicitation of the Swiſs nation, to make an effort, by a repreſentation to the French government, to avert the evils which were then impending over that country. This repreſentation was couched in the moſt temperate terms; and meaſures were taken by his Majeſty for aſcertaining, under the circumſtances which then exiſted, the real ſituation and wiſhes of the Swiſs cantons, as well as the ſentiments of the other cabinets of Europe. His Majeſty learned, however, with the utmoſt regret, that no diſpoſition to counteract theſe repeated infractions of treaties and acts of violence, was manifeſted by any of the powers moſt immediately intereſted in preventing them; and his Majeſty therefore felt that, with reſpect to theſe objects, his ſingle efforts could not be expected to produce any conſiderable advantage to thoſe in whoſe favour they might be exerted.

It was about this time that the French government firſt diſtinctly advanced the principle, that his Majeſty had no right to complain of the conduct, or to interfere with the proceedings of France, on any point which did not form a part of the ſtipulations of the treaty of Amiens. That treaty was unqueſtionably founded upon the ſame principle as every other an-

tecedent treaty or convention, on the aſſumption of the ſtate of poſſeſſion and of engagements ſubſiſting at the time of its concluſion; and if that ſtate of poſſeſſion and of engagements is materially affected by the voluntary act of any of the parties, ſo as to prejudice the condition on which the other party has entered into the contract, the change, ſo made, may be conſidered as operating virtually as a breach of the treaty itſelf, and as giving the party aggrieved a right to demand ſatisfaction or compenſation for any ſubſtantial difference which ſuch acts may have effected in their relative ſituations; but whatever may be the principle on which the treaty is to be conſidered as founded, there is indiſputably a *general law of nations*, which, though liable to be limited, explained, or reſtrained by *conventional law*, is antecedent to it, and is that law or rule of conduct to which all ſovereigns and ſtates have been accuſtomed to appeal, where conventional law is admitted to have been ſilent. The treaty of Amiens, and every other treaty, in providing for the objects to which it is particularly directed, does not therefore aſſume or imply an indifference to all other objects which are not ſpecified in its ſtipulations, much leſs does it adjudge them to be of a nature to be left to the will and caprice of the violent and the powerful. The juſtice of the cauſe is alone a ſufficient ground to warrant the interpoſition of any of the powers of Europe in the differences which may ariſe between other ſtates, and the application and extent of that juſt interpoſition is to be determined ſolely by conſiderations of prudence. Theſe principles can admit of no diſpute; but if the new and extraordinary pretenſion advanced by the French government, to exclude his Majeſty from any right to interfere with reſpect to the concerns of other powers, unleſs they made a ſpecific part of the ſtipulations of the treaty of Amiens, was that which it was poſſible to maintain, thoſe powers would have a right, at leaſt, to claim the benefit of this principle, in every caſe of difference between the two countries. The indignation of all Europe, muſt ſurely then be excited by the declarations of the French government, that, in the event of hoſtilities, theſe very powers who were no parties to the treaty of Amiens, and who were not allowed to derive any advantage from the remonſtrances of his Majeſty in their behalf, are nevertheleſs to be made the victims of a war which is alledged to ariſe out of the ſame treaty, and are to be ſacrificed in a conteſt which they not only have not occaſioned, but which they have had no means whatever of preventing.

His Majeſty judged it moſt expedient, under the circumſtances which then affected Europe, to abſtain from a recurrence to hoſtilities on account of the views of ambition and acts of aggreſſion manifeſted by France on the continent; yet an experience of the character and diſpoſitions of the French government could not fail to impreſs his Majeſty with a ſenſe of the neceſſity of increaſed vigilance in guarding the rights and dignity of his crown, and in protecting the intereſts of his people.

Whilſt his Majeſty was actuated by theſe ſentiments, he was called upon

upon by the French government to evacunte the iſland of Malta. His Majeſty had manifeſted, from the moment of the ſignature of the definitive treaty, an anxious diſpoſition to carry into full effect the ſtipulations of the treaty of Amiens relative to that iſland. As ſoon as he was informed that an election of a Grand Maſter had taken place, under the auſpices of the Emperor of Ruſſia, and that it had been agreed by the different priories aſſembled at St. Petersburgh, to acknowledge the perſon whom the court of Rome ſhould ſelect out of thoſe who had been named by them to be Grand Maſter of the order of St. John, his Majeſty propoſed to the French Government, for the purpoſe of avoiding any difficulties which might ariſe in the execution of the arrangement, to acknowledge that election to be valid: And when in the month of Auguſt, the French government applied to his Majeſty to permit the Neapolitian troops to be ſent to the iſland of Malta, as a preliminary meaſure for preventing any unneceſſary delay, his Majeſty conſented without heſitation to this propoſal, and gave directions for the admiſſion of the Neapolitan troops into the iſland. His Majeſty had thus ſhewn his diſpoſition not only to throw no obſtacle in the way of the execution of the treaty, but on the contrary, to facilitate the execution of it by every means in his power. His Majeſty cannot, however, admit that at any period ſince the concluſion of the treaty of Amiens the French government have had a right to call upon him, in conformity to the ſtipulations of that treaty, to withdraw his forces from the iſland of Malta. At the time when this demand was made by the French government, ſeveral of the moſt important ſtipulations of the arrangement reſpecting Malta remained unexecuted: The election of a Grand Maſter had not been carried into effect. The tenth article had ſtipulated that the independence of the iſland ſhould be placed under the guarantee and protection of Great Britain, France, Auſtria, Ruſſia, Spain, and Pruſſia. The Emperor of Germany had acceded to the guarantee, but only on condition of a like acceſſion on the part of the other powers ſpecified in the article. The Emperor of Ruſſia had refuſed his acceſſion, except on the condition that the Malteſe Langue ſhould be abrogated; and the King of Pruſſia had given no anſwer whatever to the application which had been made to him to accede to the arrangement. But the fundamental principle, upon the exiſtence of which depended the execution of the other parts of the article, had been defeated by the changes which had taken place in the conſtitution of the order ſince the concluſion of the treaty of peace. It was to the order of St. John of Jeruſalem that his Majeſty was, by the firſt ſtipulation of the tenth article, bound to reſtore the iſland of Malta. The order is defined to conſiſt of thoſe langues which were in exiſtence at the time of the concluſion of the treaty: The three French langues having been aboliſhed, and a Malteſe langue added to the inſtitution. The order conſiſted, therefore, at that time, of the following langues, viz. the langues of Arragon, Caſtile, Germany, Bavaria, and Ruſſia.

Since the concluſion of the definitive treaty, the langues of Arragon and Caſtile have been ſeparated from the order by Spain, a part of the Italian langue has been aboliſhed by the annexation of Piedmont and Parma to France. There is ſtrong reaſon to believe that it has been in contemplation to ſequeſtrate the property of the Bavarian langue, and the intention has been avowed of keeping the Ruſſian langues within the dominions of the Emperor.

Under theſe circumſtances the order of St. John cannot now be conſidered as that body to which, according to the ſtipulations of the treaty, the iſland was to be reſtored; and the funds indiſpenſably neceſſary for its ſupport, and for the maintenance of the independence of the iſland, have been nearly, if not wholly, ſequeſtered. Even if this had ariſen from circumſtances which it was not in the power of any of the contracting parties to the treaty to controul, his Majeſty would nevertheleſs have had a right to defer the evacuation of the iſland by his forces, until ſuch time as an equivalent arrangement had been concluded for the preſervation of the independence of the order and of the iſland. But if theſe changes have taken place in conſequence of any acts of the other parties to the treaty; if the French government ſhall appear to have proceeded upon a ſyſtem of rendering the order whoſe independance they had ſtipulated, incapable of maintaining that independance, his Majeſty's right to continue in the occupation of the iſland under ſuch circumſtances, will hardly be conteſted. It is indiſputable that the revenues of the two Spaniſh langues have been withdrawn from the order by his Catholic Majeſty; a part of the Italian langue has in fact been aboliſhed by France, through the unjuſt annexation of Piedmont, and Parma, and Placentia, to the French territory. The elector of Bavaria has been inſtigated by the French government to ſequeſtrate the property of the order within his territories; and it is certain that they have not only ſanctioned but encouraged the idea of the propriety of ſeparating the Ruſſian langues from the remainder of the order.

As the conduct of the governments of France and Spain have, therefore, in ſome inſtances directly, and in others indirectly, contributed to the changes which have taken place in the order, and thus deſtroyed its means of ſupporting its independance, it is to thoſe governments, and not to his Majeſty, that the non-execution of the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens muſt be aſcribed.

Such would be the juſt concluſion if the tenth article of that treaty were conſidered as an arrangement by itſelf. It muſt be obſerved, however, that this article forms a part only of a treaty of peace, the whole of which is connected together, and the ſtipulations of which muſt, upon a principle common to all treaties, be conſtrued as having a reference to each other.

His Majeſty was induced by the treaty of peace to conſent to abandon, and to reſtore to the order of St. John, the iſland of Malta, on condition of its independance and neutrality. But a further condition which muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed to have had conſiderable influence

fluence with his Majesty in inducing him to make so important a concession was the acquiescence of the French government in an arrangement for the security of the Levant, by the eighth and ninth articles in the treaty, stipulating the integrity of the Turkish empire, and the independance of the Ionian islands. His Majesty has, however, since learnt, that the French government have entertained views hostile to both these objects; and that they have even suggested the idea of a partition of the Turkish empire. These views must now be manifest to all the world, from the official publication of the report of Colonel Sebastiani; from the conduct of that officer, and of the other French agents in Egypt, Syria, and the Ionian islands, and from *the distinct admission of the First Consul himself, in his communication with Lord Whitworth.* His Majesty was, therefore, warranted in considering it to be the determination of the French government, to violate those articles of the treaty of peace, which stipulated for the integrity and independence of the Turkish empire, and of the Ionian islands, and consequently he would not have been justified in evacuating the Island of Malta, without receiving some other security, which might equally provide for these important objects. His Majesty accordingly feels that he has an incontestible claim, in consequence of the conduct of France since the treaty of peace, and with reference to the objects which made part of the stipulations of that treaty, to refuse, under the present circumstances, to relinquish the possession of the island of Malta.

Yet notwithstanding this right so clear and so unquestionable, the alternative presented by the French government to his Majesty, in language the most peremptory and menacing, was the *Evacuation of Malta, or the Renewal of War.*

If the views of ambition and aggrandizement, which have thus been manifested by the French Government since the conclusion of the treaty of peace, have in so very particular a manner attracted the attention of his Majesty, it has been equally impossible for him not to feel, and not to notice, the repeated indignities which have been offered by that government to his crown, and to his people.

The report of Colonel Sebastiani contains the most unwarrantable insinuations and charges against his Majesty's Government, against the officer who commanded his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter. This paper cannot be considered as the publication of a private individual; it has been avowed, and indeed bears evidence upon the face of it, that it is the official report of an accredited agent, published by the authority of the government to which it was addressed, who thereby have given it their express sanction.

This report had been published but a very short time, when another indignity was offered to this country in the communication of the First Consul of France to the Legislative body. In this communication he presumes to affirm, in the character of Chief Magistrate of that country, "*That Great Britain cannot singly contend against the Power of France*;" an assertion as unfounded as it is indecent, disproved by the events of many wars, and by

by none more than by thoſe of the war which has been recently concluded. Such an aſſertion, advanced in the moſt ſolemn official act of a government, and thereby meant to be avowed to all the powers of Europe, can be conſidered in no other light than as a defiance publicly offered to his Majeſty, and to a brave and powerful people, who are both willing and able to defend his juſt rights, and thoſe of their country, againſt every inſult and aggreſſion.

The conduct of the Firſt Conſul to his Majeſty's Ambaſſador at his audience, in preſence of the miniſters of moſt of the Sovereigns and States of Europe, furniſhes another inſtance of provocation on the part of the French Government which it would be improper not to notice on the preſent occaſion, and the ſubſequent explanation of this tranſaction may be conſidered as having the effect of aggravating inſtead of palliating the affront.

At the very time when his Majeſty was demanding ſatisfaction and explanation on ſome of the points above mentioned, the French miniſter at Hamburgh endeavoured to obtain the inſertion in a Hamburgh paper of a moſt groſs and opprobrious libel againſt his Majeſty, and when difficulties were made reſpecting the inſertion of it, he availed himſelf of his *official character of miniſter of the French Republic* to require the publication of it by order of his Government in the Gazette of the ſenate of that town. With this requiſition ſo made, the ſenate of Hamburgh were induced to comply; and thus has the independence of that town been violated, and a free ſtate made the inſtrument, by the menace of the French Government, of propagating throughout Europe, upon their authority, the moſt offenſive and unfounded calumnies againſt his Majeſty and his Government. His Majeſty might add to this liſt of indignities, the requiſition which the French Government have repeatedly urged, that the laws and conſtitution of his country ſhould be changed relative to the liberty of the preſs. His Majeſty might likewiſe add the calls which the French Government have on ſeveral occaſions made upon him, to violate the laws of hoſpitality with reſpect to perſons who had found an aſylum within his dominions, and againſt whoſe conduct no charge whatever has at any time been ſubſtantiated. It is impoſſible to reflect on theſe different proceedings, and the courſe which the French Government have thought proper to adopt reſpecting them, without the thorough conviction that they are not the effect of accident; but that they form a part of a ſyſtem which has been adopted for the purpoſe of degrading, vilifying, and inſulting his Majeſty and his Government.

Under all theſe inſults and provocations, his Majeſty, not without a due ſenſe of his dignity, has proceeded with every degree of temper and moderation to obtain ſatisfaction and redreſs, while he has neglected no means conſiſtent with his honour and the ſafety of his dominions to induce the Government of France to concede to him, what is, in his judgment, abſolutely neceſſary for the future tranquillity of Europe. His efforts in this reſpect have proved abor-

abortive, and he has therefore judged it neceſſary to order his Ambaſſador to leave Paris. In having recourſe to this proceeding, it has been his Majeſty's object to put an end to the fruitleſs diſcuſſions which have too long ſubſiſted between the two Governments, and to cloſe a period of ſuſpence peculiarly injurious to the ſubjects of his Majeſty.

But though the provocations which his Majeſty has received might entitle him to larger claims than thoſe which he has advanced, yet anxious to prevent calamities which might thus be extended to every part of Europe, he is ſtill willing, as far as is conſiſtent with his own honour, and the intereſts of his people, to afford every facility to any juſt and honourable arrangement, by which ſuch evils may be averted. He has, therefore, no difficulty in declaring to all Europe, that notwithſtanding all the changes which have taken place ſince the treaty of Peace, notwithſtanding the extenſion of the power of France, in repugnance to that treaty, and to the ſpirit of peace itſelf, his Majeſty will not avail himſelf of theſe circumſtances, to demand in compenſation all that he is entitled to require, but will be ready to concur, even now, in an arrangement by which ſatisfaction ſhall be given to him, for the indignities which have been offered to his crown and to his people, and ſubſtantial ſecurity afforded againſt *further* encroachments on the part of France.

His Majeſty has thus diſtinctly and unreſervedly ſtated the reaſons of thoſe proceedings to which he has found himſelf compelled to reſort. He is actuated by no diſpoſition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other ſtate; by no projects of conqueſt and aggrandizement; but ſolely by a ſenſe of what is due to the honour of his crown, and the intereſts of his people, and by an anxious deſire to obſtruct the further progreſs of a ſyſtem which, if not reſiſted, may prove fatal to every part of the civilized world.

No. I.

Papers preſented, by his Majeſty's Command to both Houſes of Parliament, 24th of May, 1803.

London, May 20, 1803.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to incloſe to your Lordſhip an official note, which I received from Monſieur de Talleyrand on the day of my departure from Paris, and my anſwer.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.

The Right Honorable Lord Hawkeſbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. II.

Tranſlation of a Note from M. Talleyrand to Lord Whitworth, dated Paris, May 12th, 1803 (22 Floreal, An. 11.)

THE underſigned is charged to ſignify to his Excellency Lord Whitworth, his Britannic Majeſty's ambaſſador, that the Firſt Conſul having, in the note of the 14th of this month, made a propoſal, that the iſland of Malta ſhould be put into the poſſeſſion of either of the three guaranteeing powers, namely Ruſſia, Auſtria, or Pruſſia, it would be inſufficient to evade this propoſition, by pleading the refuſal of his Majeſty the Emperor of

of Russia to accept the trust, since the intentions of their Majesties the Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia in that respect remain to be ascertained.

That, moreover, the assertion contained in his Excellency's note of the 20th of this month, as expressed in the following terms, "*by the refusal of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia to listen to it,*" is directly contrary to the guarantee which his Imperial Majesty has formerly offered, on condition of making some trifling alterations that the First Consul has no difficulty to adopt, but which he knows that the English ministry have refused, with the view, without doubt, at the time, of the strange pretension of keeping Malta.

That, moreover, this assertion is in absolute contradiction to the assurances which the First Consul has received from Petersburg since his Britannic Majesty's message has been known there, and which have lately been renewed to him by an authentic communication which Count Markoff made yesterday of the intentions of his court.

From whence it results, that it is impossible to reconcile the last communication made by his Excellency Lord Whitworth with the fresh confirmation which has just been acquired of the dispositions of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia; and that one cannot help believing that his Britannic Majesty, when better informed, will himself hasten to give to his Excellency instructions differing from those which he has received and communicated in the name of his government.

The undersigned seizes this opportunity to renew to his Excellency Lord Whitworth the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed)
CH. HAU. TALLEYRAND.

Paris, 22d Floreal, year 11.
(12th May 1803.)

No. III.

Translation of a Note from Lord Whitworth to M. Talleyrand, dated Paris May 1803.

THE undersigned has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the Minister for Foreign Affairs sent to him this day, and he will not fail to transmit it to his court.

In the mean while, he requests the Minister for Foreign Affairs to send him the passports which he required of him.

He seizes this opportunity to renew to his Excellency the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) WHITWORTH.
Paris, 12th May 1803.

Papers presented to the House of Commons by Lord Hawkesbury, respecting Commercial Commissioners from France. Ordered to be printed 1st June 1803.

No. I.

Translatson of a Letter from M. Otto to Lord Hawkesbury, dated May 23, 1802.

Portman Square, May 23, 1802.

My Lord,

HIS Britannic Majesty's government having often manifested to me a desire to concert some particular arrangements for the establishment

bliſhment or the maintenance of ſeveral relations of commerce between the two nations; I have the ſatisfaction to inform your Excellency, that the Firſt Conſul, penetrated with the ſame ſentiments, and having a particular deſire to conſolidate the relations of friendſhip ſo happily re-eſtabliſhed between the two nations, has determined to ſend without delay to London, Citizen Coquebert Montbret, who has lately reſided at Amſterdam with the character of commiſſary-general of commerce. He has received orders to repair to London as ſoon as poſſible, to co-operate with me on every thing relative to this important negotiation; and I am particularly directed to aſſure the Britiſh government, that the Firſt Conſul deſires to conduct it promptly to a termination mutually advantageous.

I have the honour to be, &c.

OTTO.

Right Honorable Lord
Hawkeſbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. II.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Hawkeſbury to M. Otto, dated 24th May 1802.

Downing Street, 24th May 1802.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yeſterday, and to inform you, that his Majeſty's government have learnt with peculiar ſatisfaction, the diſpoſition of the Firſt Conſul to conclude ſome arrangement with reſpect to the commercial intercourſe between this country and France. Whenever Mr. Coquebert Montbret ſhall arrive, I ſhall be happy to enter into an immediate negotiation on this important object, in concert with you and that gentleman; and I truſt, that by our conjoint exertions, we ſhall be enabled to bring it ſpeedily to a concluſion reciprocally beneficial to both countries.

I have the honour to be, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

M. OTTO, &c. &c. &c.

No. III.

Tranſlation of a Letter from M. Otto to Lord Hawkesbury, dated 24th June 1802.

London, 24th June 1802.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour herewith to tranſmit to you the original commiſſion appointing Citizen Coquebert Montbret commiſſary-general of the commercial relations of the French republic at London. I requeſt you to give to this act the accuſtomed formalities, in order to enable Citizen Coquebert freely to fulfil his duties, on the condition of perfect reciprocity towards the perſon whom his Majeſty may think fit to ſend to France with the ſame character.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) OTTO.

His Excellency Lord Hawkeſbury,
Miniſter and Secretary of State
for the Foreign Department,
&c. &c. &c.

(Tranſlation.)

M. Coquebert Montbret's Commiſſion, as Commiſſary-general for commercial relations at London.

(In-

the French republic within his dominions, until some commercial arrangement, either definitive or provisional, can be agreed upon by the two governments.

The expectation of receiving more satisfactory information upon this important subject, has hitherto induced me to defer returning an answer respecting the commission of M. Coquebert Montbret, as commissary-general of commercial relations on the part of the French republic. But having been disappointed in that expectation, I request you, Sir, to consider the determination of his Majesty, as stated in this letter, to be equally applicable to M. Coquebert's nomination.

I desire you to accept the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

No. VI.

Translation of a Letter from M. Talleyrand to General Andreossy; dated Paris, the 9th Nivose, An 11 (Dec. 30th, 1802); communicated by the latter to Lord Hawkesbury, in Answer to a verbal Representation, which had been made by him to the French Ambassador.

Paris, the 9th Nivose, Year 11.

I received with your letter of the 2d of this month, Citizen Ambassador, a copy of a circular letter, and of a series of questions that I had directed to several commissaries of French commercial relations, residing in foreign parts; and this letter is merely in reply to that part of yours which relates to this circumstance. You inform me, that the passages underlined are those which appear to have excited the mistrust of the English government, by whom my packet was opened. You will readily have observed, that the part of my letter which was the most strikingly underlined, was the close of it, wherein I recommended the commissaries not to consider the task I required of them as forming a part of your official correspondence, but to write at the top of their answers, Private Correspondence.

To enable you to judge of my motives, and to give every satisfaction to Lord Hawkesbury, if you think it of sufficient importance, it will be sufficient to tell you, that the informations I am desirous of collecting, are intended for the completion of a work in the nature of that intitled the "Balance of Commerce."

This object forms no part of the labours of any of the branches of the department for foreign affairs; it is entirely the business of men of letters.

The questions which I have put, are with a view to verify the information already obtained by other information; and the commissaries of commercial relations are better qualified to furnish me with it than any one. This trifling matter forms no part of their ordinary employment; and for that reason is not classed with their communications, which ought always to be made in the regular form. My design rather is to enforce the execution of it, than to allow a departure from it. This is an invariable principle with me. But the mere reading of my letter, and of the questions annexed thereto, sufficiently

ficiently prove how faſtidious it would be to attach to them any greater importance than what is due to a work ſtrictly literary; and I was ſo little deſirous of avoiding their publicity, that I at firſt entertained the idea of having them printed.

I have the honour to ſalute you.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

No. VII.

Minute of a Verbal Communication from Lord Hawkeſbury to General Andreoſſy; dated January 11, 1803.

LORD Hawkeſbury informed the French Ambaſſador, that, in conſequence of the repreſentations which had been made on the ſubject of the French commiſſaries of commercial relations, by his Majeſty's government, it was their determination, not to allow thoſe perſons to execute any of the functions aſſigned to them by their reſpective commiſſions, nor to proceed to the nominal places of their deſtination; and in the event of their attempting to proceed thither, to direct them to quit the King's dominions. In order, however, to obviate the neceſſity of having recourſe to theſe meaſures, his Majeſty's government truſted that the French government would, of their own accord, direct theſe perſons to return to France.

No. VIII.

Memorandum. June 1ſt, 1803.

NO order to quit his Majeſty's dominions was ſent to any of the perſons ſtyling themſelves "commiſſaries of commercial relations," except to M. Chépy, at Guernſey.

June 1ſt, 1803.

Paper preſented, by his Majeſty's Command, to both Houſes of Parliament, 20th May 1803.

Inſtructions to Lord Whitworth.

Downing Street, Nov. 14, 1802.

My Lord,

I TAKE the firſt opportunity of communicating to your Excellency, for the regulation of your conduct, the inſtructions which his Majeſty is pleaſed to give you on ſuch points as may become ſubjects of diſcuſſion between his Majeſty and the French government; and to deſire that you will endeavour to conform yourſelf to them in all your converſations with the French miniſters.

You will loſe no proper opportunity of expreſſing his Majeſty's earneſt ſolicitude for the preſervation of the peace which ſubſiſts between the two countries; his diſpoſition to do every thing in his power for that purpoſe which is conſiſtent with the honour of his crown and the intereſts of his dominions; and his regret at any circumſtances which may have ariſen to interrupt that harmony and good underſtanding which are ſo important to the welfare and happineſs of both countries. You will, however, ſtate moſt diſtinctly his Majeſty's determination never to forego his right of interfering in the affairs of the Continent, on every occaſion in which the intereſts of his own dominions, or thoſe of Europe in general, may appear

to him to require it. This right, his Majesty possesses in common with every other independent power; it rests upon general principles, and does not require the confirmation of any particular treaty. It is nevertheless important that you should observe, that the circumstances which led to the conclusion of the last peace, and the principles upon which the negotiation was conducted, would give his Majesty a special right to interpose in any case which might lead to the extension of the power or influence of France. In the communications which took place between the two governments previous to the signature of the preliminary articles, his Majesty proposed, as the basis of negotiation, that if the French government would not relinquish the continental acquisitions which they had obtained from other powers in the course of the war, his Majesty would claim the right of keeping a part of his conquests, as a compensation for the important acquisitions of territory made by France upon the Continent. This principle was formally recognized by the French government in an official note, in the following words:—"Cependant on reconnoit que les grands événemens survenus en Europe, et les changemens arrivés dans les limites des grands états du Continent, peuvent autoriser une partie des demandes du gouvernement Britannique." The terms of the treaty of peace were negotiated in conformity to this basis; and it appears, therefore, clear, that the then existing state of possession and of engagements, as respect the Continent, were the foundation of the peace itself, and that his Majesty has, therefore, an undoubted right to interpose, in consequence of the treaty, in every case in which the state of possession may appear to him to have undergone any material alteration, or in which the engagements which were then subsisting had been violated, to the prejudice of his Majesty, or of the other powers of Europe. You will proceed to observe, that the annexation of Piedmont to France, since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, makes a most material difference in the state of the fixed and permanent possessions of France:—That the renunciation of the dutchy of Parma in favour of France (a circumstance which was concealed at the time of negotiating the peace, and which is become of the greatest importance, from its furnishing an additional instance of that system of *secret cession* which is totally inconsistent with any system of security for Europe), makes a most essential difference likewise in the relative circumstances of the two countries:—That, at the time of concluding the peace, the French government were bound by the most sacred engagements to respect the independence of the Helvetic and Batavian republics, and to allow the people of those countries to choose whatever form of government they might think proper:—That the violation of this right in the Swiss people, and the invasion of their territoty, notwithstanding the representation which was made in their favour by his Majesty, makes a most material alteration in the state of engagements contracted since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, and adds most considerably to the influence and

power

power of France, to the prejudice of a ſtate which was then acknowledged as independent:—That the conduct of the French government to the Batavian republic was not leſs objectionable:—That the independence of this republic was acknowledged both by the treaty of Luneville, and by the treaty of the Hague of the year 1795:—That, by the treaty of the Hague, the French government were permitted to keep a garriſon in that country *only* till the time of general peace:—That by a convention ſigned in Auguſt 1801, the French troops were to remain there till the concluſion of the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and France:—That the French troops have not, to this period, evacuated the country; and that the Firſt Conſul is repreſented lately to have declared, that in the event of any differences amongſt the people of that country on the ſubject of their internal government, he would march with his whole army to ſuppreſs them:—That this is an obvious violation of the independence of the Batavian republic; and that his Majeſty would have a peculiar right to interpoſe on the preſent occaſion, as he conſented to make numerous and moſt important reſtitutions to the Batavian government, in the treaty of peace, on the conſideration of that government being independent, and not being ſubject to any foreign control.

It is unneceſſary for me to recommend to your Excellency to make theſe repreſentations with moderation and temper. You will attend very particularly to any explanations which may be given to you reſpecting them; and you will engage to report ſuch explanations to his Majeſty's government.

I have the honour to be, &c

HAWKESBURY.

Paper preſented, by his Majeſty's Command, to both Houſes of Parliament, 20th May 1803.

(Referred to in Mr. Foreſti's Letter to Lord Hawkeſbury, of Jan. 2, 1803.)

A FRENCH frigate, commanded by an officer of that nation, whoſe name is not known, arrived this day in our roads. On board this veſſel was embarked Citizen Horace Sebaſtiani, calling himſelf envoy from the Firſt Conſul to theſe parts. On the ſame afternoon he attempted to land, with the officers; but, as they had arrived from Egypt, four guards of health were placed over them. He demanded a conference with the government, aſſuring our delegate regent, that he was commiſſioned, by the Firſt Conſul Bonaparte, to communicate to all orders of perſons in the Seven Iſlands, the attachment and reſpect of the Firſt Conſul, his deſire of ſeeing all the people happy and contented, whom he would endeavour to inſpire with veneration for the laws, reſpect for the exiſting government, and obedience to its commands. In this deſigning manner he extorted a conſent from the delegate, that a few merchants and noblemen ſhould be invited to the palace; which being done, it appearing that Mr. Antonio Martinengo was abſent, he was ſent for by Vice-commiſſary Renaud, from

the houſe of his friend Strapodi, and, immediately on his arrival at the palace, was preſented to the French envoy Sebaſtiani, and recommended as opulent, poſſeſſing influence, a good man, and the friend of the people. Sebaſtiani made him a ſhort compliment, and then began his diſcourſe by ſaying, "*That the Firſt Conſul had begun to give a political exiſtence to theſe iſlands; that the viciſſitudes of war, and the diſtance of reinforcements, were preparing for them another deſtiny; that he feels the warmeſt intereſt for their inhabitants, who would be rendered happy, if they would adopt ſuch a ſyſtem as would be moſt analogous to that of France*; that internal diſſenſions and falſe principles had for a moment taken from them the liberty of giving their own opinion about their conſtitution; but that, by a different conduct, they might in future poſſeſs that liberty; that the nobility might aſpire to the offices of government, on the ground of property, ſince it procured them a ſuperior education, but that they ought not to pretend to eſtabliſh, on a plea of birth, thoſe privileges which would reſult from education, virtue, and property; that the people ought not to exclude the nobility merely becauſe they were born in that ſphere; that a ſpirit of general concord ought to recall the tranquillity among the three claſſes, of the nobles, the plebeians, and the mercantile claſs, which is the beſt; that they ought to avail themſelves of the favourable ſituation of the country, which gives the means of procuring, by commerce, wealth and future opulence; that ſo ſeductive an object expoſed to the view of continental Greece, might rouſe up that ancient ardour and national enthuſiaſm for liberty by which the republic of the Seven Iſlands will become a power ſuperior even to its own expectations; that ſtates have the ſame ſtages as the life of man, and therefore that it is not wonderful, if, during their infancy, the errors of childhood ſhould prevail in them; that if they are averſe to the care of the French nation, to maintain the happineſs of thoſe iſlands, even by her own forces (not ſubject to the outrages of fortune), the Firſt Conſul, in concert with the Emperor of Ruſſia, will know how to eſtabliſh by force an appropriate conſtitution for the Seven Iſlands; that, laſtly, he recommends to them to make known to the people theſe friendly ſentiments of Bonaparte, directly communicated to them by him his immediate organ." He ſaid ſomething reſpecting the Emperor of Ruſſia, but very coolly, and added alſo, "That until the change of the preſent government, it will be neceſſary to obey the laws, however defective they may be, to reſpect its miniſters, and obey their orders." When this ſpeech was ended, Peta, the ex-ſuperintendant of the Cernides, called out, "Long live the firſt Conſul Bonaparte!" The Ruſſian commandant, who was preſent, remained ſilent at theſe proceedings; and, feeling himſelf thus betrayed, he teſtified his diſapprobation by his ſilence. The French envoy, as he left the palace, in croſſing the ſquare, was huzza'd and applauded by the moſt ill-diſpoſed of the people, led away by the bad example of all the former and preſent officers of the republic. He went into Mr. Renaud's houſe, and then returned

turned on board his own ſhip. He inquired for an expreſs for Cephalonia, where he wiſhed to ſend advices of his intended deſtination. The delegate could not deny him permiſſion to land, becauſe he would have aſſumed the right of doing ſo of his own authority; and he thought, if in this caſe he had had recourſe to the Ruſſian force, he might have diſturbed the peace which exiſts between the Emperor of Ruſſia and the French government. He wiſhed to have oppoſed ſuch a ſtudied harangue, but, had he done ſo, the French envoy would have thought himſelf authorized to have gone out and have made it in the middle of the public ſquare, and on a holiday, when the people were intoxicated with wine, and the remains of a ſpirit of democracy now reviving, by which a diſaſtrous ſcene might have followed. Theſe are the reaſons which induced the delegate to chooſe the leſſer evil; more particularly ſo, becauſe he had not any inſtructions for his guidance in ſuch unexpected occurrences. The Ruſſian commandant regards this affair as an outrage againſt his ſovereign, and he would have been ſorry to have witneſſed ſuch a ſcene, had he not been obliged to do ſo.

Papers preſented to the Houſe of Commons by Lord Hawkeſbury, reſpecting the Diſcuſſions with France. Ordered to be printed 20th May 1803.

No. I.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Paris, June 17, 1802.

IN your Lordſhip's diſpatch, No. 3, of this year, to Mr. Jackſon, you gave inſtructions to that miniſter to endeavour to procure the releaſe of the Britiſh ſloop Fame, which had been ſeized by the revenue officers at Cherbourg, in conſequence of her having entered that port by ſtreſs of weather. The maſter of that veſſel, and a perſon deputed by the proprietors at Jerſey, arrived lately at Paris, for the purpoſe of defending the ſuit, which has been carrying on to procure her liberation.

I had, in conſequence of their application to me, reminded the French miniſter verbally of this buſineſs on two or three occaſions; but thoſe remonſtrances having produced no effect, and ſentence being about to be pronounced on the laſt appeal in the cauſe, I ſent him a repreſentation in writing, of which your Lordſhip will find a copy incloſed; and in which I conſidered, that it might be ſerviceable to inſert ſome obſervations upon the law of the French republic, which gave occaſion to the ſeizure, upon the manner of its execution, and upon the propriety of its being repealed and modified now that the two countries were happily at peace.

No. II.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Paris, June 23, 1802.

I HAVE the honour to tranſmit to your Lordſhip incloſed, copy of an anſwer, which I received two days ſince from the French miniſter, to the note which I delivered to him on the 25th of May; com-

municating to him that his Majesty had, in conformity to the 14th article of the definitive treaty of peace, taken off the sequestrations upon the property of French citizens in his dominions, and expressing that he did not doubt that the French government would be equally ready to render the same justice to such of his Majesty's subjects as have property in France.

No. III.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, July 5, 1802.

I TRANSMIT, inclosed, copy of an answer which the French minister has given to the representation which I lately delivered to him, respecting the seizure of the British sloop Fame Packet, at Cherbourg.

No. IV.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, August 4, 1802.

I AM sorry to have learnt by an answer, which I have received from M. Talleyrand, and of which I transmit a copy inclosed, that the representation which I made to that minister (inclosed in my number 31) on the subject of the seizure at Cherbourg of the British sloop Fame Packet has failed in its effect, either of procuring the release of that vessel, or of drawing forth some favourable explanation in regard to the law which gave occasion to her detention.

No. V.

Copy of a Dispatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, Sept. 20, 1802.

Paris, Sept. 20, 1802.

My Lord,

I RECEIVED, the evening before last, by the ordinary post, the honour of your Lordship's separate letter of the 13th of this month, transmitting to me copy of one from Messrs. Houtham and Moir, on the subject of the seizure, in a French port, of the British brig Jennies, Wm. Muckle, master; and directing me to take the necessary steps for obtaining redress for the owners of the vessel and cargo.

I have lost no time in representing this case to the French government, as your Lordship will see by the copy which I have the honour to transmit, inclosed, of a letter which I have addressed on the subject to Mr. Talleyrand; but I am sorry to observe, that there can be little hopes of any redress being obtained in this instance, since none has been produced by the repeated remonstrances which were made in the still stronger case of the vessel (the Fame Packet) belonging to Jersey, which was only forced into a French port by stress of weather; whereas the ship now in question, came designedly to the port of Charente, with prohibited goods aboard, contrary to the law of the Republic (which unfortunately still continues in force) confiscating every vessel and cargo, where British manufactures shall be found.

Your

Your Lordſhip will perceive, that I have availed myſelf of this opportunity to recall to the French miniſter the obſervations which I made to him, on a former occaſion, upon the effects, ſo prejudicial to the Britiſh trade, and to a friendly intercourſe between the two countries, which muſt neceſſarily ariſe from the rigorous execution of the law in queſtion.

I have the honor to be, &c.

ANT. MERRY.

Right Honorable Lord Hawkeſbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. VI.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Paris, October 18, 1802.

I INCLOSE copy of an anſwer, which I have received from the French miniſter, to the repreſentation which I made to him on the 27th of laſt month, on the ſubject of the capture of the Britiſh ſhip Porcher, by the French privateer the Bellona: in which he ſtates, that the neceſſary orders will be given for juſtice to be done to the proprietors of that ſhip.

I, at the ſame time, forward herewith a liſt of paſſports, which I have granted to perſons going to his Majeſty's dominions, between the 2d and 15th of October.

No. VII.

Copy of a Diſpatch from Lord Hawkeſbury to Mr. Merry, May 20th, 1802.

Downing Street, May 20, 1802.

Sir,

VARIOUS reports having been received in this country, of ſtrict prohibitions being enforced with reſpect to the admiſſion of Britiſh commodities and manufactures into France, and of very rigorous reſtrictions being impoſed on Britiſh veſſels entering the ports of that country; I have to ſignify to you his Majeſty's pleaſure, that you tranſmit to me, without delay, the moſt detailed and accurate ſtatement, which you can procure on thoſe points; and that you take an early opportunity to impreſs upon the French miniſters, the neceſſity of ſome underſtanding being eſtabliſhed between his Majeſty's government, and that of France, on the ſubject of the commercial intercourſe between the two countries.

As it is probable, that you may be uncertain as to the courſe that you ſhould purſue in ſupporting claims, which ſubjects of his Majeſty may bring forward for the reſtitution of property which they poſſeſſed in France previouſly to the war; I have to ſignify to you the King's pleaſure, that you acquaint the French miniſters, that his Majeſty has, in conformity to the 14th article of the definitive treaty of peace, taken off the ſequeſtrations upon the property of French citizens in his dominions; and that therefore his Majeſty's government doubt not that the French government will be equally ready to render the ſame juſtice to ſuch of his Majeſty's ſubjects as have property in France.

I am, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

Anthony Merry, Eſq.
&c. &c. &c.

No. VIII.

Translation of a Note from Mr. Merry to M. Talleyrand, Paris, May 24th, 1802.—In Mr. Merry's No. 18.

NOTE.

THE underſigned miniſter plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty has received the King's orders to communicate to Citizen Talleyrand, Miniſter for the Foreign Affairs of the French republic, that conformably to the 14th article of the definitive treaty of peace, his Majeſty has cauſed the ſequeſtrations of every kind to be taken off which had been laid, during the war, on the property belonging to French citizens within his dominions.

His Majeſty therefore has no doubt that the government of the French republic will be equally ready to render the ſame juſtice to his Majeſty's ſubjects who have property in France.

It is neceſſary that the underſigned ſhould have the honour to obſerve on this occaſion to the citizen miniſter that many of the King's ſubjects have been placed on the liſt of French emigrants. If this circumſtance can be an obſtacle to thoſe individuals being immediately reſtored to their properties, the underſigned dares flatter himſelf that the French government, actuated by thoſe principles of juſtice which govern them, will judge it proper to adopt a general meaſure for the immediate removal of that difficulty.

The underſigned has the honour, &c.

ANTHONY MERRY.

Paris, May 24th, 1802.

To Citizen Talleyrand.

No. IX.

Translation of a Note from Mr. Merry to M. Talleyrand, Paris, June 15th, 1802.

Paris, June 15th, 1802.

Citizen Miniſter,

MY predeceſſor, Mr. Jackſon, has had the honour to addreſs to you a repreſentation, in the month of January laſt, by order of the Britiſh government, on the ſubject of the detention in the port of Cherbourg, of the Engliſh ſhip named Fame Packet, Captain de Gruchy; and I, Citizen Miniſter, have likewiſe had the honour to remind you verbally of that object, informing you, at the ſame time, that the tribunal of appeal was about to paſs judgment thereon, ſince the French government not having interpoſed its authority to releaſe the ſhip, the captain has been under the neceſſity to provide for his defence in the ordinary courſe of juſtice.

The ſummary, Citizen Miniſter, which I have the honour to tranſmit to you annexed, and which has been delivered to me by Captain de Gruchy himſelf, who has been ſome days in Paris, ſets forth the principal circumſtances of this affair, as they now ſtand. The reſult is, that the ſhip in queſtion, forced, by ſtreſs of weather, to ſeek ſhelter in the roads of Cherbourg, has been detained there, and afterwards confiſcated by a firſt ſentence, by the effect of a law paſſed in time of war, and in a moment of its greateſt rigour, which declares confiſcable, every veſſel, above a hundred tons, which ſhould ap-

approach the coaſts of France, within the diſtance of four leagues, with prohibited merchandiſe on board: a prohibition in which were, and ſtill are, comprehended all Engliſh commodities.

May I be permitted to obſerve in this place, that, conſidering the proximity of the coaſts of England to that of France, and the neceſſity in which the Engliſh ſhips muſt continually find themſelves to approach the latter, the above-mentioned law, if it muſt exiſt and be put in execution, will inevitably have the effect of producing daily diſputes between the two governments?

As to the caſe now in queſtion, I have learnt, Citizen Miniſter, by the proceedings which have taken place, that it belongs to the Cuſtom-houſe to decide, whether a ſhip anchoring upon the coaſts of France has been by neceſſity or not; and that it has, for its own profit, half the ſeizures which might be made: whence it reſults, that the Cuſtom-houſe in ſuch caſes is at the ſame time judge and party.

Every thing ſeems to prove, that the putting in of the Fame Packet to the road of Cherbourg has been forced: but from the circumſtances of the law, and from the manner of its execution, which I have had the honour of ſtating to you, the proprietors of the ſhip and cargo can have no hope of ſaving them in the laſt effort which they have juſt made before the tribunal of appeal, which is about to paſs immediate ſentence, unleſs the French government think proper to interpoſe their authority, and to take upon itſelf the cognizance of this affair.

The ſentiments of juſtice, which guide the firſt Conſul, as well as the miniſters of the French republic, muſt inſpire me with a full confidence of obtaining on their part the attention which I dare demand on this occaſion. Their wiſdom and good diſpoſition will ſuggeſt to them how far it may be adviſeable to revoke or modify, in time of peace, a law emanating from a ſtate of war, and which muſt neceſſarily produce the greateſt inconvenience to the Engliſh commerce.

I have the honour, &c.
(Signed) A. MERRY.

To Citizen Talleyrand, Miniſter for the Foreign Affairs of the French Republic.

No. X.

Tranſlation of a Note from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Merry dated June 18th, 1802.—In Mr. Merry's No. 34.

Paris, 29 Prairial, Year 10.

Sir,

I HAVE received the note which you have done me the honour of addreſſing to me on the 5th Prairial, year 10 (25th of May 1802), concerning the removal of the ſequeſtrations placed on the property of the ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, and the application which has been made to ſeveral among them of the law on emigration.

I have haſtened to make a communication of it to the miniſter of Finance, by inviting him to call the attention of government to the object of your demand. I ſhall have

have the honour to inform you of the decision on this subject, as soon as it shall be known to me.

Receive, Sir, the assurance of my perfect consideration.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

To Mr. Merry, Minister Plenipotentiary from his Britannic Majesty.

No. XI.

M. Talleyrand to Mr. Merry, Paris, July 1, 1802.

(Translation.)

Paris, the 12 Messidor, Year 10.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that I have just again repeated to the Minister of Finance, the invitation which I had already made him in Pluviose last, from the recommendation of Mr. Jackson, to give an account of the confiscation of the English ship Fame Packet, in the road of Cherbourg, and to take the first Consul's orders relative to the existing application of the law of the 4th Germinal, year 2.

I have begged him to make known to me the decision, which, as soon as it shall have been sent, I will hasten to communicate to you.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

To Mr. Merry, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, &c. &c. &c.

No. XII.

Translation of a Note from M. Talleyrand to Mr. Merry, Paris, 12 Thermidor, An. 10 (July 31, 1802).—In Mr. Merry's No. 49.

Paris, this 12 Thermidor, 10.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that the Minister of Finance, in answer to the letter, by which I communicated to him your last note concerning the affair of the Fame Packet, Captain Gruchy, has just informed me that he has made his report to the First Consul, on the seizure of this ship, of which it appears to be acknowledged that the cargo was composed of prohibited merchandise, and that, from what has appeared, the first Consul has decided, that justice must take its course.

Receive, Sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed)

CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

To Mr. Merry, &c. &c. &c.

No. XIII.

Statement of the Case of the Fame Packet.

July 31, 1802.

A faithful Statement of the Affair of Captain de Gruchy, of Jersey, against the Administration of the Customs of Cherbourg.

THE 19th of December last, Captain de Gruchy, commanding the ship Fame Packet, set sail from the

the port of Southampton, in England, to go to Jerſey with a cargo conſiſting of flour, dried barley for the troops of the garriſon, and divers other merchandiſe for the inhabitants of the iſland. He had taken on board twenty-five paſſengers, conſiſting of women, children, merchants, and officers going to join their regiments, amongſt others, a lieutenant of the royal navy. On leaving the port of Southampton, he was obliged to enter into a bond, purporting that his cargo muſt be landed in an Engliſh port. In the firſt inſtance, his navigation was proſperous; but, on the 20th December, the wind all at once ſhifted to S.S.W. blowing with dreadful fury, and during that evening a moſt violent tempeſt came on. Fearful, then, of paſſing another night on the ſea, he reſolved to put into the neareſt port. As he found himſelf in a ſituation to gain the port of Cherbourg, he made way for that place, thinking that the preliminaries between England and France would permit him to enter there in perfect ſecurity; more particularly as ſeveral of his paſſengers were very ill, and he could give them no relief. He arrived in Cherbourg roads the evening of the 20th of December. Having anchored, the captain went aſhore, to make his report at the cuſtom-houſe, where he was not admitted, under the pretext that he had no broker; he found one, and repaired again to the cuſtom-houſe; his declaration was refuſed, becauſe, as he was told, the law of the 4th Germinal, year 2, forbids all ſhips of above 100 tons to approach within four leagues of the coaſts of France, with Engliſh merchandiſe.

The captain was then cited by the adminiſtration of Cherbourg before the tribunal of Valogne, and the judges pronounced a verdict againſt him according to all the rigour of a law paſſed in times of war and calamity. The captain appealed from this deciſion to the tribunal of Coutances, which again condemned him, but revokes the diſpoſition of the former tribunal, which had condemned him to ſix months impriſonment. The affair is actually before the tribunal of appeal, and is about to be decided without delay.

The law quoted entails the moſt dreadful conſequences on the ſhips which carry on trade from England to the iſland of Jerſey, ſince all thoſe veſſels are under 100 tons, and it is impoſſible for them not to paſs within the range of four leagues (the Race of Alderney being within this circumference), which expoſes to great inconvenience the garriſon and inhabitants of the iſlands, which are ſupplied by thoſe veſſels.

The cuſtom-houſe of Cherbourg is itſelf ſo convinced that the ſhip was bound to Jerſey, that it has juſt ſent to our governor, General Gordon, a parcel addreſſed to him which was in the ſhip.

July 31, 1802.

No. XIV.

Tranſlation of a Letter from Mr. Merry to M. Talleyrand; Paris, 20th September 1802.—*In Mr. Merry's ſeparate of 20th September,* 1802.

Paris, 20th September 1802.

Citizen Miniſter.

IT is with pain that I find myſelf again under the neceſſity of

of having to proteſt againſt the effects of the law of the French republic, which declares confiſcable every ſhip entering into a port of France with prohibited merchandiſe (a prohibition which ſtill extends to all thoſe of Engliſh manufacture), although they may be deſtined for another port.

The Engliſh brig named Jennies, Captain William Muckle, was freighted in England to carry pit-coal to the port of Charante in France, as well as a ſmall quantity of Engliſh merchandiſe to the port of Cadiz in Spain, from which it was to bring back a cargo of wine.

Arrived at Rochefort, the captain made his declaration to the cuſtom-houſe of every thing he had on board, as well for the port of Charente as for that of Cadiz; and he has offered to depoſit in the cuſtom-houſe, until his departure, the merchandiſe which was deſtined for Spain, in caſe this precaution were judged neceſſary.

But, notwithſtanding this frank and candid proceedure on his part, which evidently proves that he had no deſign to carry on a contraband trade, and that the goods prohibited were really intended for a foreign country, the cuſtom-houſe officers have refuſed to admit his declaration, and have ſeized the ſhip, by virtue of the above-mentioned law.

The owners of the veſſel and the proprietors of the cargo having complained to the Engliſh government, I have, Citizen Miniſter, juſt received orders from my court, to repreſent this affair to you; as alſo to have the honour of ſoliciting the immediate releaſe of the ſhip and cargo, with which it is hoped that the ſentiments of juſtice and equity which actuate the French government will decide it to comply, ſeeing that the innocence of the captain is proved by the circumſtance of the offer which he made to depoſit the prohibited merchandiſe in the cuſtom-houſe until the moment of his departure.

As to the reſt, I ſhall take the liberty, Citizen Miniſter, to remind you, on this occaſion, of the obſervations which I have already had the honour to lay before you on another, upon the prejudicial effects which muſt neceſſarily reſult to the Engliſh commerce, as likewiſe to the amicable communication between the two countries, from the continuation, in time of peace, of a law which aroſe out of a ſtate of war, and even in a moment of its greateſt violence.

I have the honour, Citizen Miniſter, to renew to you the aſſurances of my high conſideration.

(Signed) A. MERRY.

To Citizen Talleyrand,
&c. &c. &c.

No. XV.

Tranſlation of a Letter from Mr. Merry to M. Talleyrand; dated 14th October 1802.—In Mr. Merry's No. 80.

Paris, 14th October 1802.

Citizen Miniſter,

THE Engliſh ſloop named Nancy, Captain Allen Richardſon, left the ports of England for Rotterdam and Holland, with a cargo compoſed of different foreign merchandiſe, which had been taken on enemies' ſhips during the war, and had been ſold in England under ſecurity, which the purchaſers gave, to export them.

This

This ship being already on the coast of Holland, there met with foul weather, by which it sustained damages; amongst others, that of the loss of her bowsprit, which obliged her to take shelter in the port of Flushing. She arrived there towards the middle of the month of July of this year, when a detachment of French troops, commanded by officers, went on board and took possession of the vessel and cargo, without the captain being able to learn the cause of this seizure. The vessel is still detained there.

The circumstances of this event, should they be in point of fact such as the captain and owners have represented them to the British government, seem to give it a hostile quality on the part of the French officers, who appear to have intended to make a capture of the ship, instead of granting it that asylum, hospitality, and succour, which it might have expected in the port of a power now at peace with England.

In the present case there is no question of English merchandises (if the captain had attempted to introduce them by contraband, of which he has not even been accused), since all those which are on board the Nancy are from other countries, which could not have been imported into England but as prizes from an enemy: and although they should have been of the growth or manufacture of England; the forced arrival of the ship should seem to exempt them from the application of that law of the French republic, which still condemns every production of the soil or industry of Great Britain.

It is in consequence of orders of my court, Citizen Minister, that I have the honour of representing to you this affair, and of claiming from you, not only the speedy release of the above-mentioned ship with its cargo, but that justice should be done to the owners for the losses which they have experienced by the detention of their effects. The English government by no means doubts, that the sentiments of equity which guide that of the republic will dispose it to receive favourably these demands, provided there should be no crime proved against the captain.

I eagerly seize, Citizen Minister, this opportunity to have the honour of renewing to you the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) A. MERRY.

To Citizen Talleyrand,
&c. &c. &c.

No. XVI.

Translation of a Note from Mr. Merry to M. Talleyrand, dated Paris, 22nd October 1802.—In Mr. Merry's second Dispatch, October 25th 1802.

Paris, 22d October 1802.

Citizen Minister,

A NEW case has just occurred, wherein an English ship has felt, in a very striking manner, the effects of the law of the French republic, which confiscates every ship on board * which should be found the smallest article of English manufacture.

The brig George, commanded by Mr. John Newham, entered the port of Charente at the beginning of August of this year, to take in a cargo

a cargo of brandy, deſtined for London, having on board nothing but her ballaſt and the neceſſary proviſions for the voyage. The cuſtom-houſe officers could not, therefore, find any thing to ſeize upon but the utenſils of the captain's cabin (which he did not think that he was under a neceſſity to declare), ſuch as, ſome earthenware plates, glaſſes, and ſteel knives and forks, the quantity of each kind of which, not to enter into the detail of it, may be very eaſily eſtimated by the price of 4l. ſterling, or ninety-ſix French livres, which the whole together had coſt the captain, including therein two lamps which lighted his cabin.

This, Citizen miniſter, is what has ſufficed for this ſubject of the King to have undergone all the rigours of the law of the 10th Brumaire, year 5 of the republic, which enacts confiſcation of the ſhip, as well as other pains. And this is a caſe wherein England would have taken an entire cargo of the productions of France; while the latter power does not permit an Engliſh captain who comes to fetch thoſe products, to make uſe, on board his own ſhip, of the utenſils of his own country. Was it then neceſſary, in order to come into a port of France, firſt to procure from this country plates, glaſſes, knives and forks? Or, ſhould that be impoſſible, ſhould he be obliged to eat off the boards of his ſhip, and with his fingers? This appears incredible; it is, nevertheleſs, proved by the fact.

Since, Citizen Miniſter, the repreſentations which I have already had the honour of addreſſing to you, on caſes nearly ſimilar, have produced no effect, I cannot expect better ſucceſs in a demand which I might make in the preſent caſe. But you will perceive, Citizen Miniſter, how much it is my duty to make you acquainted with it.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) A. MERRY.

Citizen Talleyrand,
Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

No. XVII.

Copy of a Diſpatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated Paris, October 25th, 1802.

(Separate.)

Paris, October 25, 1802.

My Lord,

JOHN Newham, the maſter of the Britiſh brig George, delivered to me a report, laſt week, of that veſſel, which had been freighted to come to Charente in ballaſt, to convey from thence a cargo of brandy for England, having been ſeized at that port by the French cuſtom-houſe officers, becauſe the different articles which they found in the maſter's cabin, for the uſe of his table, ſuch as plates, knives, forks, and glaſſes (the coſt of which, when new, he declared to have been all together 4l.), were of Britiſh manufacture, and becauſe he had not made a declaration of them at the cuſtom-houſe. He acquainted me, moreover, that his veſſel had been condemned, in conſequence of that ſeizure, by two ſentences of the French tribunals in the department where Charente is ſituated.

I thought it my duty, my Lord, to loſe no time in ſtating ſo violent a pro-

a proceeding to the French minister; and I deliverd to him accordingly, the day before yesterday, the representation, of which the inclosed is a copy, taking that opportunity to remind M. Talleyrand of the former remonstrances which I had delivered to him on subjects of a similar nature, and renewing verbally, on this occasion, the observations which I then had the honour of expressing to him in writing, upon the continued rigorous execution, in time of peace, of the French law which had taken place at a moment of the greatest heat of the late war. The minister confined his answer to me, to an assurance, that he would cause an inquiry to be made immediately into the case which I had now laid before him.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) A. MERRY.

Right honorable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. XVIII.

Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, 10th May 1803.

(Separate.)

Paris, May 10, 1803.

My Lord,

WITH regard to the numerous memorials and representations which I have had to make to this government in behalf of those of his Majesty's subjects who have suffered by the detention and confiscation of their vessels and property in the ports of France, I have only to observe, that they have, with the exception of one or two instances, remained unanswered: I trust, therefore, no blame can attach to me, if my endeavours to carry into effect your Lordship's instructions on this head have not been more effectual.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WHITWORTH

Right Honourable Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. XIX.

Copy of an Instruction from Lord Hobart to Lieutenant General F. Dundas, Lieutenant Governor and Commander of his Majesty's Troops at the Cape of Good Hope, dated 17th October 1802.

Downing-Street, 17 October, 1802.

Sir,

CIRCUMSTANCES having recently occurred which render it advisable to delay the restitution of the Cape of Good Hope to the Batavian Government, I am to signify to you his Majesty's commands, that you should retain possession thereof until further orders. It is, however, extremely desirable, that, in the execution of this instruction, every circumstance should be avoided which may be calculated to excite jealousy in the Batavian government, or to create an apprehension of its arising from an hostile motive.

N. B. The above instruction received at the Cape on the 31st December 1801; and acknowledged in General Dundas's dispatch of the 3d of January, received in Downing Street on the 18th of March.

No.

No. XX.

(Secret.)

Copy of Inſtructions from the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, &c. &c. &c. to Lieutenant General Francis Dundas, Lieutenant Governor and Commander of his Majeſty's Forces at the Cape of Good Hope, dated the 16th November 1802.

Downing Street, 16th November, 1802.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that, notwithſtanding the inſtructions which, by the King's commands, I communicated to you on the 17th ultimo, it is his Majeſty's pleaſure, in the event of the Eaſt-India ſhips originally deſtined for the conveyance of the troops being at the Cape when you receive this diſpatch, that you do give directions for their immediate embarkation, with orders for their departure for India without delay.

Under an impreſſion, however, of the probability of thoſe ſhips having ſailed without the troops, I am to acquaint you, that other ſhips have been ſubſtituted for that ſervice; but that I am apprehenſive it will be at leaſt one month before they can leave this country.

I am alſo to ſignify to you his Majeſty's pleaſure, that you do proceed forthwith to the execution of your former inſtructions for the complete evacuation of the Cape.

The utmoſt cordiality ſubſiſting between his Majeſty's government and that of the Batavian republic, you will obſerve the moſt conciliatory conduct in all your proceedings with the officers belonging to that republic.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) HOBART.

To Lieutenant General Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXI.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. R. King to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated London, May 15th, 1803.

London, May 15th, 1803.

My Lord,

IN the preſent critical poſture of affairs, I loſe no time in communicating to your Lordſhip, for his Majeſty's information, that a treaty was ſigned at Paris on the 30th day of April paſt, by the plenipotentiaries of America and France; by which the complete ſovereignty of the town and territory of New Orleans, as well as all Louiſiana, as the ſame was heretofore poſſeſſed by Spain, has been acquired by the United States of America. In drawing up this treaty, care has been taken ſo to frame the ſame, as not to infringe any right of Great Britain in the navigation of the river Miſſiſſippi.

I flatter myſelf that this communication will be received with ſatisfaction, and regarded as a new proof of the diſpoſition of the United States to obſerve towards his Majeſty a ſpirit of amity and confidence, important at all times, and more eſpecially ſo in preſent circumſtances, to the harmony and mutual proſperity of the two countries.

I avail myſelf of this occaſion,

to renew to your Lordſhip the aſſurance of diſtinguiſhed conſideration, with which

I have the honour to be, &c.

RUFUS KING.

The Right Honourable Lord Hawkeſbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. XXII.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Hawkeſbury to Mr. King, dated May 19th 1803.

Downing Street, May 19, 1803.

Sir,

HAVING laid before the King your letter of the 15th of this month, in which you inform me, that a treaty was ſigned at Paris on the 30th of laſt month, by the plenipotentiaries of America and France, by which the complete ſovereignty of the town and territory of New Orleans, as well as of all Louiſiana, has been acquired by the United States; I have received his Majeſty's commands, to expreſs to you the pleaſure with which his Majeſty has received this intelligence; and to add, that his Majeſty regards the care which has been taken ſo to frame this treaty as not to infringe any right of Great Britain in the navigation of the Miſſiſſippi, as the moſt ſatisfactory evidence of a diſpoſition on the part of the government of the United States, correſpondent to that which his Majeſty entertains, to promote and improve that harmony and good underſtanding which ſo happily ſubſiſt between the two countries, and which are ſo conducive to their mutual benefit. I have it alſo in command to aſſure you, ſir, that the ſentiments which you have expreſſed, in making this communication, are conſidered by his Majeſty's government as an additional proof of that cordiality and confidence which you have uniformly manifeſted in the whole courſe of your public miſſion, and which have ſo juſtly entitled you to the eſteem and regard of his Majeſty's government.

I deſire you to accept the aſſurances of the diſtinguiſhed conſideration with which I have the honour to be, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

Rufus King, Eſq.
&c. &c. &c.

Papers Preſented to the Houſe of Commons by Lord Hawkeſbury, reſpecting the Reſtitution of certain Conquered Places.

Ordered to be printed 23d of May 1803.

Copy of his Majeſty's Order for the Reſtitution, to the French and Batavian Republics, of the following Iſlands or Settlements:

Cape of Good Hope, Martinique, Tobago, St. Lucie, Deſeada and the Saints, Pierre and Miquelon, Curaçao, Surinam, Demerara, Berbice and Eſſequibo, St. Euſtatius, St. Martin's, Goree.—Conqueſts in Eaſt Indies.

(L. S.) GEORGE R.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, We greet you well: Whereas a definitive treaty of peace has been ſigned at Amiens on the 27th day of March laſt, by our miniſter ple-

nipotentiary, and those of the French republic, his Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian republic: and whereas it is stipulated by the third article of the said treaty, that we shall restore to the French republic and her allies, namely, his Catholic Majesty and the Batavian republic, all the possessions and colonies which belonged to them respectively, and which had been occupied or conquered by our forces in the course of the war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon: and it being further stipulated, in the twelfth article of the said definitive treaty, that the evacuations, cessions, and restitutions stipulated for by the present treaty, except where otherwise expressly provided for, shall take place in the continent and seas of Africa, within three months after the ratification of the present definitive treaty, which ratifications were exchanged on the 23d day of April last: and it being stipulated by the 13th article of the said definitive treaty, that in all the cases of restitution agreed upon by the present treaty, the fortifications shall be delivered up in the state in which they may have been at the time of the signature of the preliminary treaty, and that all the works, which shall have been constructed since the occupation, shall remain untouched; our will and pleasure is, that you do, pursuant to the stipulations above recited, deliver, or cause to be delivered, to such commissary or commissaries as shall be named and authorized on the part of the republic to receive the same, the of with the fortifications thereof, in the state in which they may have been at the time of the signature of the preliminary treaty, leaving untouched the works which shall have been constructed since the occupation: and for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given at our court at St. James's, the day of May 1802, in the forty-second year of our reign.

To our trusty and well-beloved Governor of the or to the Officer commanding our Troops in the said Settlement, and to all others whom it may concern.

By his Majesty's command,
(Countersigned) HOBART.

Order for the Restitution of the of

Copy of an Instruction from the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, to the Governors of, or Officers commanding at

Surinam, Demerara, Berbice and Essequibo, Martinique, St. Lucie, Tobago, Curaçao,

17th of October. 1802.

(Circular.)

Downing Street, 17th October 1802.

Sir,

CIRCUMSTANCES having occurred, which render it advisable to delay the restitution of the of to the republic, I am to signify to you his Majesty's commands, that you should retain possession thereof until further orders.

I have the honor to be, &c.

(Signed) HOBART.

To

To
the Governor of

Copy of an Inſtruction from the Right honourable Lord Hobart to the Governors of, or Officers commanding at

Surinam, Demerara, Berbice and Eſſebuibo, Martinique, St. Lucie, Tobago, Curaçao.

15th of November 1802

(Circular.)

Downing Street, 15th of November 1802.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint you, that, notwithſtanding the orders, which, by the King's commands, I communicated to you on the 17th ultimo, it is his Majeſty's pleaſure, that you do immediately proceed to the reſtitution of the ſettlement of to the government; in conformity to the directions you have already received for that purpoſe.

I have the honor to be, &c.

HOBART.

To
the Governor of
&c. &c. &c.

Papers preſented to the Houſe of Commons by Lord Hawkeſbury, reſpecting the continuance of the French troops in Holland. Ordered to be printed 25th May 1803.

No. I.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Mr. Liſton to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated The Hague, November 5th, 1802.

THE anxious apprehenſions under which the Dutch government have for ſome time laboured, have been in ſome meaſure calmed by the accounts received to-day from different quarters.

Their ambaſſador at Paris has tranſmitted a copy of a nervous and well-written memorial, preſented by him to the Miniſter of Foreign affairs (in conſequence of the inſtructions lately ſent from hence); and he informs the ſecretary of ſtate, that he received the moſt poſitive aſſurances from M. de Talleyrand, that it was by no means the intention of the firſt Conſul to increaſe the number of French troops in the Batavian republic, or to march back thoſe now upon the frontiers into the interior parts of this country: that, on the contrary, it was his fixed determination to withdraw the whole as ſoon as the proper arrangements could be made for that purpoſe.

No. II.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Mr. Liſton to Lord Hawkeſbury, dated The Hague, November 12th, 1802.

WHATEVER may be the reſolution of the Firſt Conſul reſpecting the final evacuation of the Batavian republic by the troops of France (a ſubject on which this government remains in a ſtate of doubt and uncertainty), there ſeems reaſon to ſuppoſe that a certain portion of them—the 17th and 74th demi-brigades of infantry, amounting to about four thouſand men,—are to be embarked at Helvoetſluys, and tranſported to Louiſiana, under the direction of General

Victor, who has been appointed to the chief command in that new colony.

No. III.

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, Paris, December 13th, 1802.

THE Batavian ambassador Vos van Steinvick has been instructed to make a representation, couched in the strongest terms, against the conduct of this government, with regard to the French troops which continue to be quartered in Holland.—Your Lordship well knows how long and how anxiously the Batavian government has been expecting to be delivered from this burden.

No. IV.

Dispatch from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, December 13th, 1802.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordship will learn, by my former dispatch of this date, the step which is to be taken by the Dutch ambassador, for procuring the evacuation of the Batavian territory by the French troops.

I cannot flatter myself that any direct interference of my part would, under the present circumstances, assist in promoting this important object—and I know that the Dutch ambassador entirely coincides with me in this opinion. I have, however, invariably held a language on this subject, conformable to the general instructions which I received on my departure from London.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WHITWORTH.

The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury, &c. &c. &c.

No. 5.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Liston to Lord Hawkesbury, dated The Hague, 11th January 1803.

THE negotiations between the secretary of state and M. de Semonville, respecting the continuance of French troops in the southern garrisons of this republic, have been carried on with uncommon activity for the last few days; and this morning M. de Sparre, son-in-law to Madame de Semonville, set out for Paris, carrying with him the ambassador's report of the result of their conferences.

The Dutch government, though they appear to be devoted to the idea of the independence of their native country, have adopted the opinion, that it is, upon the whole, wiser to yield to the wish of Bonaparte, to continue for a limited time small garrisons in some of the frontier towns, than by an obstinate resistance to draw on this republic the fate of Switzerland.

Papers presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, respecting the Guarantee of the Court of Russia. Ordered to be printed 26th May 1803.

No.

No. I.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Hawkesbury to Sir John Warren, January 29th, 1803.

Downing Street, Jan. 29th. 1803.

Sir,

YOUR Excellency's dispatches, to No. 21, inclusive, have been received, and laid before the King.

I send you now inclosed the official answer to the note of the Chancellor Count Woronzow, relative to the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens: it has been delivered to Count Simon Woronzow, the Russian ambassador at this court.

In communicating this note, you will express, in suitable terms, how sensibly his Majesty feels the friendship which the Emperor of Russia has manifested to him on this occasion, in his disposition to concur in the arrangements relative to the island of Malta; and how sincerely his Majesty regrets, that it is not in his power to acquiesce, without condition or explanation, in every thing that his Imperial Majesty has proposed on this subject. His Majesty, however, trusts, that, when all the circumstances are taken into consideration, which bear upon this important subject, the Emperor of Russia will be satisfied, that the line of conduct which has been adopted by his Majesty, is such as a regard to good faith and to the interests of his dominions has rendered necessary. The only material difference between the arrangement proposed by the Emperor of Russia for the island of Malta, and that in which his Majesty is willing to concur, relates to the stipulations in favour of the Maltese inhabitants. It is important that your Excellency should impress the Russian government with the conviction of the services rendered by the inhabitants of Malta to his Majesty, and to the common cause, at the time when the French were in possession of the island; that, for nearly two years, they maintained a state of constant and active hostility against the French: that several thousands of them perished in this state of hostility; and that these efforts were made at a time when they could receive assistance from no other foreign power: that the attachment evinced by the Maltese to his Majesty, during the blockade, and their loyalty to him since he has obtained possession of the island, give them a peculiar claim to his protection, and a right to expect, that, in the future arrangements for the island, some advantages should be stipulated in their favour: that, independent of every consideration of good faith, your Excellency well knows that the Maltese inhabitants, if attached to their government, are equal to the defence of the island; and that every motive of policy, therefore, as well as of justice, renders it expedient to endeavour to conciliate their affections. These circumstances being premised, you will state, that the objection, which it is conceived has had most weight with his Imperial Majesty, is that stipulation in the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, which at the time that it establishes a Maltese langue,

requires no proof of nobility for admiſſion into that langue: that ſuch a ſtipulation is conſidered as leading to the eſtabliſhment of a plebeian langue, totally inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of the inſtitution of the order. His Majeſty is extremely deſirous of deviſing means by which this objection ſhall be obviated, and the intereſts of the Malteſe adequately conſulted. The proofs of nobility, which have been required for other priories, have been various; and the power of the Pope to grant diſpenſations has been admitted to exiſt: if, therefore, *actual nobility* was made the indiſpenſable condition of admiſſion into the Malteſe langue or priory, the objection, which is at preſent made to this part of the arrangement, would, in a great degree, if not wholly, be removed. As, however, the number of perſons who would be capable of admiſſion into the order, in conſequence of ſuch a regulation, would be very limited, it appears reaſonable, that ſome further ſtipulations ſhould be made in favour of the inhabitants of Malta; and it may be propoſed to revive, under ſuch regulations and modifications as may be judged expedient, the national council which formerly exiſted in that iſland, which ſhould form no part of the order, but which ſhould have a ſhare in the government of the iſland, and a deliberative voice in all its internal concerns. A body of this deſcription could not be conſidered as in any reſpect derogatory to the ancient inſtitution of the order, and would be conformable to what exiſted within the iſland till within a very few years. It is for the purpoſe of obtaining information on theſe points, that inſtructions will be ſent to Sir Alexander Ball; it being impoſſible, after all that has paſſed, to to bring the negotiation to an iſſue, without ſome communication with the principal inhabitants of Malta. His Majeſty relies on your zeal in giving effect to theſe inſtructions, and on your endeavours to reconcile the Ruſſian government to the objects of them.

The events which have happened ſince the concluſion of the definitive treaty; the unbounded ambition which has been, and ſtill is, manifeſted by the French government; might have juſtified his Majeſty in bringing forward new demands, and in even claiming the appropriation of Malta, as ſome counterpoiſe to the acquiſitions made by France ſince the treaty of peace; but the moderation with which his Majeſty has been actuated in all his concerns with foreign powers, and his anxious deſire that the peace of Europe may, if poſſible, be effectually conſolidated, have induced him to forego thoſe claims which the increaſed and increaſing power of France might have juſtified him in advancing; and as every ſtipulation in the treaty of Amiens has been in a courſe of execution on his part, with the exception of the 10th article, he is deſirous of ſhewing his diſpoſition to concur in an arrangement which may be conformable to the ſpirit of the article; if ſuch an arrangement can be rendered conſiſtent with the honour of his crown; and if it effectually provides for the object of the 10th article—the independence of the iſland of Malta.

I am

I am, with great truth and respect, Sir, your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

HAWKESBURY.

His Excellency Sir John Warren, &c. &c. &c.

No. II.

Copy of a Note from Lord Hawkesbury to the Vice-chancellor Count A. Worozoff, Jan, 29th, 1803.

NOTE.

The underſigned, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has laid before the King, the note of the Chancellor of his Imperial Majeſty of all the Ruſſias, together with the projet of the articles incloſed in it, which was delivered to his Excellency Sir John Borlaſe Warren, in conſequence of the invitation made by his Excellency and the French miniſter, in the name of his Majeſty and the Firſt Conſul of the French republic, to his Imperial Majeſty to accede as a guaranteeing power to the 10th article of the definitive treaty of peace, ſigned at Amiens on the 27th day of March laſt.

It has been his Majeſty's ſincere and conſtant deſire, that the ſtipulation of this article, as well as every other part of the definitive treaty of peace, ſhould be carried into complete effect; and as circumſtances have ariſen, ſince the concluſion of the treaty, which render it impractible to execute the 10th article according to the terms of it, and which have made freſh ſtipulations neceſſary, that means ſhould be found by amicable negotiation of accompliſhing an arrangement, which may be deemed conformable to the ſpirit of the treaty, and to the intentions of the contracting parties at the time of concluding it.

His Majeſty attaches the greateſt importance to the acceſſion of the Emperor of Ruſſia to the 10th article of the definitive treaty; not only on account of the ſecurity which the guarantee of his Imperial Majeſty would give to the independence of the iſland of Malta, but likewiſe from a deſire to obtain his Imperial Majeſty's ſanction and concurrence, with reſpect to the arrangements ſtipulated in that article. His Majeſty has invariably manifeſted the ſame diſpoſition. As ſoon as he had learnt the proceeding which had been adopted at St. Peterſburgh, in conſequence of the proclamation of the Emperor of Ruſſia for the election of a Grand Maſter, he propoſed to the French government to join with him in declaring, that, as contracting parties to the treaty of Amiens, they were ready to acknowledge that election to be valid, and to recogniſe the perſon who might be named by the Pope, out of thoſe who were choſen by the priories in Ruſſia, and whoſe names appeared in the liſt that was then publiſhed, to be grand Maſter of the order of St. John. In conformity to the principles which governed his Majeſty's conduct on that occaſion, he is perfectly ready to adopt the ſuggeſtion of his Imperial Majeſty, for the concluſion of a ſupplementary convention to the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens; and he has no difficulty in declaring his entire acquieſcence in the 2d, 3d, 5th, and 6th articles, contained in the projet delivered to Sir John Warren; his

Majeſty entirely concurs likewiſe in that part of the 1ſt article, which relates to the the acknowledgment of the ſovereignty of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem over the iſland of Malta and its dependencies. With reſpect to the other part of the article, which refers to the advantages ſtipulated in favour of the Malteſe, his Majeſty is extremely anxious that means may be deviſed of reconciling the views of the Emperor of Ruſſia, relative to the order of St. John, with the attention, which a regard for the honour of his crown renders due to the intereſts and wiſhes of the Malteſe inhabitants, and with the indiſpenſible object of the 10th article of the treaty of peace, that of providing effectually for the independence of the iſland; and he truſts, that ſuch an arrangement may be found not inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of the original inſtitution of the order. His Majeſty will loſe no time in giving inſtructions to Sir Alexander Ball, to take meaſures for obtaining the information which may be neceſſary for enabling his Majeſty to form his determination on this ſubject.

His Majeſty truſts that that part of the fourth article, which relates to the number of Neapolitan troops, will be judged unneceſſary, when it is underſtood, that, with a view to the execution of the proviſions of the treaty of Amiens, meaſures have already been taken for raiſing a Malteſe force of 2000 men, which, together with the 2000 at preſent in the iſland, will form an adequate garriſon for its defence. His Majeſty, however, entirely agrees with the Emperor of Ruſſia, in the neceſſity of providing adequate funds for the ſupport of this garriſon; and, as the property of the Spaniſh priories has been ſequeſtered ſince the concluſion of the definitive treaty, to which treaty his Catholic Majeſty was a party, he thinks it indiſpenſible, that the property of thoſe priories ſhould be reſtored to them; eſpecially as the Portugueſe government have lately declared their intention of ſequeſtrating the property of the Portugueſe priory, as forming a part of the Spaniſh langue, unleſs the priories of Spain are reinſtated in their former poſſeſſions. As thoſe ſequeſtrations have been carried into effect ſince the concluſion of the treaty of peace, and as it is highly important to ſecure, under any circumſtances which may happen, a revenue adequate to the maintenance of the civil and military government, and of the independence of the iſland, his Majeſty adopts, from a conviction of its neceſſity, the ſuggeſtion of the Emperor of Ruſſia, that whatever ſum may be requiſite for that purpoſe beyond the ordinary revenue, ſhall be provided by an equal contribution on the part of his Majeſty and of the French government; and in default of payment by either of the parties, it ſhall be at the option of the other party to contribute the whole.

His Majeſty has thus ſtated, without reſerve, to his Imperial Majeſty, his ſentiments on every part of this important ſubject, and his readineſs to agree in ſuch modifications of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, as may be found not inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of it; as may be compatible with the intereſts of all the parties concerned; and which, his Majeſty truſts, will therefore prove ſatis-

satisfactory to the Emperor of Russia.

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

Downing Street. Jan. 29th, 1803.

Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Sweden. Concluded at London on the 25th of July, 1803.

HIS Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of Sweden, being equally desirous of promoting the good understanding which happily subsists between them, and of preventing the recurrence of those differences which have heretofore arisen respecting the eleventh article of the treaty of alliance concluded and signed at Whitehall, on the 21st day of October, 1661, have named and authorized for that purpose, viz. his Britannic Majesty, the Right Hon. Robert Banks Jenkinson, Lord Hawkesbury, one of his said Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, and his principal Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, and his Swedish Majesty, George Uldric Baron de Silverhjelm, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to his Britannic Majesty, and Knight of the order of the Polar Star, who after having duly communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. 1. In the event of one of the contracting parties being neutral during a war in which the other contracting party may be belligerent, the vessels of the neutral party shall not carry to the enemy or enemies of the belligerent party, money, arms, or bombs; with their fusees and other appurtenances, fire balls, gun-powder, matches, cannon balls, spears, lances, pikes, halberts, guns, mortars, petards, grenades, musket-rests, bandaliers, salt-petre, muskets, musket-bullets, helmets, head-pieces, breast plates, coats of mail, commonly called curiasses, and the like kind of arms or troops, horses or any thing necessary for the equipment of cavalry, or pistols, belts or any other instruments of war, or ships of war, and guard ships, nor any manufactured articles immediately serving for the equipment of the same, under the penalty, that if either of the contracting parties shall seize the same, these articles shall be liable to confiscation.

Art. 2. The cruizers of the belligerent power shall exercise the right of bringing in the ships of the neutral going to the ports of an enemy, laden with cargoes of pitch, tar, hemp, and generally all unmanufactured articles whatever, serving for the equipment of ships of all descriptions, and likewise all manufactured articles serving for the equipment of merchant vessels, (herrings, iron in bars, steel, rose copper, brass and brass wire, deal, planks not being oak, and spars, however excepted) and if the cargoes so exported in the bottoms of the neutral power, are the produce of the territories of the said neutral power, and going on account of the subjects thereof, the belligerent power shall, in that case, exercise the right of purchasing them, upon condition of paying a profit of ten per centum upon a fair invoice price, or the fair market price in England or in Sweden respectively at

at the option of the owner, with an indemnification for detention and neceſſary expences.

Art. 3. If the cargoes ſpecified in the preceding article (not being enemy's property) are proceeding with a profeſſed deſtination to the ports of a neutral country, and are brought in under ſuſpicion that their true deſtination is to the ports of the enemy, and it ſhall turn out upon due inquiry they were really bound to neutral ports, they ſhall be at liberty to purſue their voyages, after being indemnified for their detention and neceſſary expences; unleſs the government of the belligerent country, from a reaſonable apprehenſion of their falling into the hands of the enemy, ſhould deſire to purchaſe them, in which caſe the full price ſhall be paid, which they would have obtained in the ports of the neutral country to which they were going, with an indemnification for detention and neceſſary expences.

Art. 4. Herrings, iron in bars, ſteel, roſe copper, braſs and braſs wire, deal, planks not being of oak, and ſpars ſhall not be liable to confiſcation or pre-emption on the part of the belligerent power, but ſhall be permitted to paſs free in the ſhips of the neutral country, provided they are not an enemy's property.

Art. 5. The preſent convention ſhall be ratified by his Britannic Majeſty, and by his Swediſh Majeſty, and the ratifications exchanged at London in the ſpace of two months, or ſooner if it can be done.

In witneſs whereof, we, the underſigned Plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majeſty, and of his Swediſh Majeſty, have ſigned the preſent convention, and have cauſed the ſeals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at London, the 25th day of July 1803.

(L. S.) HAWKESBURY.

(L. S.

JORDEN ULDRIC SILVERHJELM.

Official Declaration of Neutrality of the Court of Portugal, made by the Court of Liſbon, on the 14th of June, 1803, ſigned by the Prince Regent.

It having been the conſtant object of my paternal wiſhes and royal diſpoſitions to invariably maintain the pacific relation, ſubſiſting between me and thoſe powers to which I am allied and in amity; and reſolving in the preſent circumſtances of Europe to eſtabliſh thoſe principles which ought to regulate the inviolable ſyſtem of neutrality which I propoſe to obſerve, in caſe (which God avert) a war ſhould be commenced between powers who are my friends and allies, and having in view how much it is for the benefit of humanity and tranquillity of my dominions and ſubjects, to remove all and every diſpute which might reſult from a want of knowledge of the regulations tending to obtain the ends which I propoſe. I am pleaſed to declare that the cruizers of the Belligerent powers ſhall not be admitted into ports of my eſtates and dominions, nor the prizes made by them or by men of war, frigates, or any other ſhips of war, whatſoever, without any other exception but that by which the laws of nations rendered hoſpitality indiſpenſible: with this condition, notwithſtanding

ſtanding, that in the ſame ports the ſale or unloading of the ſaid prizes will not be permitted ſhould they be brought in under the abovementioned clauſe, nor ſhall they be permitted to delay longer than is neceſſary to avoid the danger or to receive thoſe innocent helps which may be neceſſary—thus re-eſtabliſhing and putting in full force the obſervance of the decree of the 30th of Auguſt of 1780, by which this ſubject was determined. Let the Council of War thus underſtand and have it executed, expediting immediately the neceſſary orders to the governors and commanders of provinces, fortifications, and maritime parts, in conformity to this decree.

Convention ſigned between Meſſrs. the Civil and Military Deputies of the Regency of Hanover and Lieutenant General Mortier, Commander in Chief of the French Army.

Art. 1. Hanover ſhall be occupied by the French army, as well as the forts dependent on it.

2. The Hanoverian troops ſhall retire behind the Elbe; they ſhall engage on their parole of honour not to commit any hoſtilities, or to bear arms againſt the French army or its allies, ſo long as the war ſhall continue between France and England. They ſhall not be releaſed from this oath until after they have been exchanged againſt an equal number of French generals, officers, ſubalterns, ſoldiers, or ſailors, who may happen to be at the diſpoſal of England.

3. No individual of the Hanoverian troops ſhall quit the place aſſigned him, without information being given to the general commander in chief.

4. The Hanoverian army ſhall retire with the honours of war; the regiments ſhall take with them their field pieces.

5. The artillery, powder, arms, and ammunition of every deſcription, ſhall be placed at the diſpoſal of the French army.

6. All the effects whatſoever belonging to the King of England ſhall be placed at the diſpoſal of the French army.

7. All public monies ſhall be ſequeſtrated, but that of the univerſity ſhall be appropriated to its original object.

8. Every Engliſh ſoldier, or agent whatſoever, in the pay of England, ſhall be arreſted by order of the general commander in chief, and ſent into France.

9. The general commander in chief reſerves to himſelf the power of making in the government, and authorities conſtituted by the Elector, ſuch changes as he ſhall think proper.

10. All the French cavalry ſhall be remounted at the expence of Hanover; the electorate ſhall alſo provide for the pay, clothing, and food of the French army.

11. The worſhip of the different religions ſhall be maintained on the preſent footing.

12. All perſons, and all the property and families of Hanoverian officers, ſhall be under the ſafeguard of French honour.

13. All the revenues of the country, as well as the electoral domains, and the public contributions, ſhall be at the diſpoſal of the French government. The engagements already made ſhall be reſpected.

14. The

14. The present government of the electorate shall abstain from exercising any species of authority throughout the country occupied by the French troops.

15. The general commander in chief shall levy on the electorate of Hanover such contribution as he shall think necessary for the wants of the army.

16. Every article on which doubts shall arise, shall be interpreted favourably to the inhabitants of the electorate.

17. The preceding articles shall not prejudice the stipulations which may be agreed upon in favour of the electorate, between the First Consul and any Mediating Power.

Done at the Head Quarters at Suhlingen, the 3d of June, 1803. (Saving the approbation of the First Consul)

ED. MORTIER, Lieutenant-General Commander in Chief.
F. DE BREMER, Judge of the Electoral Court of Justice and Provincial Counsellor.
G. DE BOCH, Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant of the Regiment of Electoral Body-Guards.

Arrete of the First Consul, prohibiting the Importation of British Merchandize. Dated Paris, June 20, 1803.

Art. 1. Dating from the publication of the present decree, there shall not be received in the ports of the Republic any colonial produce coming from the English colonies, nor any merchandize coming directly or indirectly from England. In consequence, all colonial produce or merchandise coming from the English manufactories or English colonies shall be confiscated.

2. Neutral ships destined for the ports of the Republic, shall be furnished with a certificate of delivery from the Commissary or Agent of Commercial Relations of the Republic at the port of embarkation, which certificate shall mention the name of the ship and the captain, the nature of the cargo, the number of the crew, and the destination of the vessel; in that declaration the Commissary shall certify that he has seen the loading compleated under his inspection, and that the merchandize is not English manufacture, and does not come from England, nor from her colonies. A duplicate of that declaration shall be sent to the Minister of the interior by the Commissary of the Republic, on the day of the sailing of the vessel.

3. The captain, who, through forgetfulness of the form or through change of destination, shall not be furnished with a similar declaration, shall not be admitted into the ports of the Republic, but upon condition of loading in return French manufactures equal in value to the amount of his cargo. The Director of the Customs shall send to the Prefect of the Department the statement of his cargo, and that of the merchandise taken in return. Upon that statement, the Prefect shall deliver a permit of departure from the port.

4. The Minister of the Interior, of Foreign Affairs, and of Finance, are charged with the execution of the present decree.

BONAPARTE.

CHARACTERS.

Memoirs of Richard Earl Howe. Extracted from his Life by George Mason.

THE Honourable Richard Howe second son of Emanuel Scrope Viscount Howe of the kingdom of Ireland, was born in the Parish of St. George Hanover Square, March 8th 1725-6. O. S. by the change of style, March 19th 1726. He was sent to education first to Westminster school, when his father went to Barbadoes as governor of that Island—having been appointed to his government in May 1732. From this school Richard was removed to that of Eton, not later than 1735, when the viscountess (his mother) returned a dowager to England. In his fourteenth year he left Eton also, to enter into the naval service.

Mr. Richard Howe was initiated into his professional line by sailing for the South Seas, in the Severn of 50 guns, commanded by the Hon. Captain Edward Legge. This ship (one of Commodore Anson's squadron) was driven by distress into Rio Janeiro, and thence navigated back to Europe.

Mr. Howe served next aboard the Burford (Captain Lushington) in a squadron under the command of Commodore Sir Francis Knowles; who was detached from Sir Chaloner Ogle's fleet in February 1743, to make an attack on the town of La Guitta upon the coast of Curacoa. The attack was made; the Burford suffered considerably; and the Captain was killed in the action. This attempt having failed, a court martial was held, relative to the conduct of the Burford. Young Howe was particularly called upon for his evidence. He gave it in a clear and collected manner, till he came to relate the death of his captain; he could then proceed no further, but burst into tears, and retired.

Mr. Howe was soon afterwards appointed acting lieutenant by Commodore Knowles, and in a short time came to England with his ship. His commission not being confirmed by the admiralty, he returned to his patron in the West Indies, where he was made Lieutenant of a sloop of war.

An English merchant-man had been captured at the Dutch settle- of Eustatia by a French privateer, under the guns and protection of the governor. Lieutenant Howe, at his own earnest request, was sent with

with orders to claim her for the owners. This demand not being complied with, he desired leave to go with the boats, and attempt cutting her out of the harbour. The Captain represented the danger of so adventurous a step; and added, that he had not sufficient interest to support him in England, on a representation of the breach of neutrality. The lieutenant then requested, he would for a short time quit the ship, and leave the command with him. This being done, the lieutenant went with the boats, cut out the vessel, and restored it to the proprietors.

In the autumn of 1745 Lieutenant Howe, having served previously with Admiral Vernon in the Downs, was raised to the rank of Commander in the Baltimore sloop of war, which joined the rest of the Squadron on the coast of Scotland under Admiral Smith. During this cruise, the Baltimore and another armed vessel, fell in with two French frigates of 30 guns each, full of troops and ammunition. Captain Howe immediately ran the Baltimore between them, and almost on board one of the ships. A desperate action commenced; in which Captain Howe was severely wounded in the head by a musket ball, and carried off the deck, to all appearance dead. But by medical assistance he soon discovered signs of life, and after the dressing of his wound flew again to his post. The action continued, till the French ships sheered off, leaving the Baltimore in too shattered a condition to pursue them. For his behaviour in this action, properly represented by the worthy Admiral Smith, our young hero was advanced to the rank of post Captain, and on April 10th, 1746, appointed to the Triton frigate. With the Triton he was ordered to Lisbon, there found the Rippon of 60 guns, commanded by Captain Holbourne, with whom he changed ships, and visited the coast of Guinea. He afterwards went to Admiral Knowles at Jamaica, was appointed his first Captain on board the Cornwall of 80 guns, in which ship he returned to England at the peace in 1748.

In march 1751 he was appointed to command his Majesty's ships on the coast of Guinea in La Gloire of 44 guns. He had already gained such a commendable reputation among the seamen in general, that his ship was immediately manned with volunteers. On his arrival at Cape Coast, the Governor and Council represented to him the series of ill treatment, they had received from the Dutch Governor-general at Elmina castle; who had interrupted their inland trade, imprisoned their free negroes, and had brought the credit of the African company to be held in contempt by the natives. Fired with indignation at these recitals, the commander of the squadron immediately prepared his own ship and the Swan sloop for action, and proceeded to Elmina, anchoring as near the Dutch castle as the depth of water would permit. He then sent captain Digges on shore with a letter to the governor-general, demanding justice for the English merchants without delay, and an immediate release for all the free negroes. To the first demand the Dutchman sent an evasive answer, to the last an absolute refusal. Upon this a blockade for a day

day or two brought the Governor-general to reaſon. All the free negroes being firſt ſent off as a peace-offering, the other demands were promiſed to be complied with, and the buſineſs ſoon adjuſted, and ratified.

La Gloire went the uſual tour down the coaſt; thence proceeded to Barbadoes; the chief merchants of which place diſplayed their feelings at ſeeing a ſon of their old governor; the ſhip was quite crowded with refreſhments from the ſhore. La Gloire proceeded next to Jamaica, thence according to the uſual courſe, with the merchants' remittances to England.

At the cloſe of this ſame year (1751) Captain Howe was appointed to the Mary Yatch. This was not the kind of command that accorded with his active ſpirit: he was glad to quit it in June 1752, on being commiſſioned to the Dolphin frigate. The Dolphin was one of the ſquadron, that ſailed to the Mediterranian under Commodore Edgecumbe; who, during his ſtation there, diſpatched Captain Howe to the coaſt of Barbary on a very critical ſervice. The inhabitants of Sallee were fitting out a cruiſer of about 20 guns, avowedly to plunder veſſels of all the chriſtian nations, and particularly of the Engliſh. On arriving in their road, the captain ſent a letter on ſhore to the Baſhaw and Alcaide; acquainting them with the nature of the ſervice to which he was appointed, and requeſting an explanation of their intentions. The Moors invited the Captain on ſhore, to treat with them. He was ſtrongly adviſed not to put himſelf in the power of ſuch a faithleſs people; but, conſidering it as a duty belonging to his employment, he went on ſhore the next morning, accompanied by two or three friends only; leaving his ſhip to the care of the lieutenant, with orders how to proceed in caſe of any accident. On his approach near the beach, he perceived a concourſe of people ready to receive him, and, upon landing, was immediately conducted to the Baſhaw and Alcaide; who had prepared a repaſt for his entertainment (a ſheep roaſted whole, &c.) and behaved with the greateſt civility, and even politeneſs. They then proceeded to the buſineſs of the intended cruizer; and by their diſcourſe appeared not quite free from hoſtile deſigns. When they were reminded of ſubſiſting treaties, they replied, that the Emperor of Morocco's engagements were not binding to them. They however, after much argument, conſented to abandon their intentions of cruiſing againſt the Engliſh, if the Captain would ſupply them with a few materials for their ſhip. This he judiciouſly contrived to evade, by obſerving, that the ſtores on board the Dolphin were the property of the king his maſter, and not *his* to give away, but if the Baſhaw and Alcaide would honour him with a viſit, they ſhould be welcome to any thing on board that was at his own diſpoſal. This invitation was accepted, and they went on board next day with near 200 of their followers; ſo that it was thought neceſſary to arm a number of ſeamen, as centinels in the gangways, and other parts of the ſhip. The principal Moors were at firſt a little alarmed, and indeed affronted at this circumſtance; but on the Captain's informing them,

that it was only a proper compliment to the dignity of his gueſts, they were perfectly ſatisfied, and cheerfully partook of the repaſt, not objecting to rum punch, under the title of ſherbet. They accepted of a pair of handſome piſtols, and ſome other things; and by a promiſe to return with a more conſiderable preſent for the Emperor (which he afterwards faithfully performed) the captain put them off with the gift of a hand pump. On the Dolphin's departure, they ſent a letter to the commodore, thanking him for appointing ſuch an officer to negotiate with them, and deſiring that the ſame perſon might return with the promiſed preſents for the Emperor.

In 1754 Captain Howe came back to England; and in March 1755 obtained the command of the Dunkirk, carrying 60 guns. In this ſhip he ſailed with Admiral Holbourne's ſquadron to reinforce Admiral Boſcawen off Newfoundland. Here, while the Britiſh flag lay off Cape Race, there appeared (June 8th, 1755) the French ſhip Alcide of 64 guns, and the Lys mounting only 22, having eight companies of land forces on board. An action ſpeedily commenced. In about half an hour the Alcide ſtruck to the Dunkirk, her inferior, in rate, guns and men.

In 1756 (probably late in Autumn) the honourable Captain Richard Howe in the Dunkirk, with a twenty gun ſhip, and two ſloops of war, was ſent to deſtroy the fortifications, which the French had erected on the iſland of Chaucey near St. Maloes. The fortifications were demoliſhed, and Captain Howe returned to England.

In the beginning of the year 1757 Captain Howe cruized in the Channel, and on the Iriſh coaſt; in which cruize he took one privateer of 36 guns, another of 18, and a third of 16. During ſuch his employment at ſea, he was elected repreſentative in parliament for the borough of Dartmouth about the middle of May, in the room of Mr. Walter Cary deceaſed, and continued to repreſent it for nearly 25 years, till he was advanced to a Britiſh peerage.

On his return from cruizing, about the middle of ſummer 1757, he was appointed to the command of the Magnanime of 74 guns, and ſent out with Sir Edward Hawke. The Magnanime was one of the ſhips detached by Sir Edward under Sir Francis Knowles, and ordered by Sir Francis to attack the only fort on the iſland of Aix. This exploit Captain Howe accompliſhed by getting within 40 yards of the fort before he fired: he then opened ſo furious and well directed a fire, that the enemy were ſoon driven from their guns, and ſurrendered.

February 16th, 1758, he married Mary, one of the two daughters and co-heireſſes to Chiverton Hartop, Eſq. of Welby in the county of Leiceſter; by her he had three daughters, Sophia Charlotte, born February 19th, 1762. Mary Juliana, April 17th, 1765, and Louiſa Catherine, December 9th, 1767.

Being thoroughly ſenſible of the ſkill and activity of Captain Howe, Mr. Secretary Pitt contrived to have an interview with him, for the purpoſe of diſcourſing about other attacks on the French coaſt. At the cloſe of the converſation, Capt. Howe expreſſed his deſire to be one of the officers employed on

on such service. The Minister replied, "he could not interfere in recommending captains to the commander in chief." Thus the matter seemingly ended: but Mr. Pitt had in reality determined, that the supreme naval command should be entrusted to Captain Howe himself.

In consequence of this determination, at the beginning of June 1758, Commodore Howe set sail in the Essex with his squadron of ships of war, and above one hundred transports, having on board some thousand land forces and a large train of artillery through the race of Alderney, being the first Englishman, who was bold enough to sail with a fleet of ships through this dangerous pass. The commodore proceeded to the bay of Concalle. Here the Duke of Marlborough landed with the troops, and having destroyed near St. Maloes an hundred sail of shipping, and many magazines, re-embarked on June 11th. The commodore after having made various movements with his fleet to the terror of the French coast, on July 1st, returned to St. Helen's.

A second expedition in the same year (1758) being concerted under the same naval commander; Prince Edward (afterwards Duke of York) went on board the Essex on July 24th. August 1st, Commodore Howe, with the troops under Lieutenant-General Bligh, sailed from St. Helen's. On 6th he came to anchor in Cherbourg road. The town of Cherbourg was taken, the bason totally destroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood. This service performed, the fleet anchored August 19th under the Highland of Portland.

On August 31st, the Commodore sailed again towards St. Maloes, still attended by Prince Edward. He came to anchor September 3d, in the bay of St. Lunaire, and landed the troops without opposition. The Commodore found it advisable to move thence into the bay of St. Cas. On the retreat of the British forces from St. Cas, September 7th, the commodore ordered his barge to be rowed through the thickest of the enemy's fire; thus animating the sailors, who had shewn some backwardness at the tremendous aspect of the peril, to be firm in their duty. As many of the flying soldiers, as his own boat could possibly contain, were repeatedly taken in; and, the rest of the boats following so noble an example, above 700 of the army were saved, who would otherwise have perished.

In a few days after those gallant exertions of humanity, which he had shewn in the bay of St. Cas, on September 7th, Richard Viscount Howe of the kingdom of Ireland, came home with his fleet. He had succeeded to this title by the death of his elder brother George Augustus, killed July 5th, at the siege of Ticonderoga.

In November 1759, the Magnanime, commanded by Lord Howe, made one of Sir Edward Hawke's fleet at his memorable victory over Marquis de Conflans. The Magnanime attacked the Formidable of 84 guns, which was thereby completely disabled, and afterwards taken. But the Magnanime, having lost her fore-yard, was driven through the enemy's fleet to leeward, where Lord Howe bore down and attacked the Hero so furiously, that he soon compelled her to strike. For his behaviour in this action, when Lord Howe was presented at court

court by Sir Edward Hawke, he was honoured with the particular thanks of George II, *for ſo many repetitions of ſignal ſervice to his country.* Nor did his royal maſter compliment him by words alone, but appointed him to a lucrative poſt (colonel of the Chatham marines,) created on purpoſe, March 22d, 1760.

On September 4th of the ſame year (1760) Lord Howe in the Magnanime, with alſo the Bedford and Prince Frederick, was diſpatched by Sir Edward Hawke to diſpoſſeſs the French of the iſland of Durmet. In the ſucceſsful execution of theſe orders, the king's ſhips had not a ſingle man killed or wounded.

Towards the end of 1761 he was appointed commander in chief of the ſhips in the road of Baſque: but while he was buſied there in making regulations for the conduct of his ſquadron, he was ſummoned away, to act as captain to rear admiral his royal highneſs the Duke of York, on board the Princeſs Amelia of 80 guns at Spithead; in which ſituation he continued during the remainder of the war; the Duke of York being always ſecond in command to a ſenior admiral.

Peace being now made, and Lord Howe's perſonal aſſiſtance to his country no longer requiſite on the ſeas, he was appointed, April 18th, 1763, a Commiſſioner of the Admiralty. This place he continued in upwards of two years, and was much conſulted by his firſt Lord, the Earl of Egmont: he exchanged his poſt however July 30th, 1765, for that of Treaſurer of the Navy. At the beginning of 1770, on the Duke of Grafton's retiring from the treaſury, he thought himſelf bound in honour to reſign his own navy-treaſurerſhip, together with his appointment of Colonel of the Chatham Marines. Sir Edward Hawke, however, got him promoted to be rear admiral of the Blue, and he was ſoon afterward appointed commander in chief in the Mediterranean, on the probability of a rupture with Spain.

March 31ſt, 1775, Lord Howe was made rear admiral of the White, and February 5th, 1776, vice admiral of the Blue. This latter promotion was preparatory to his taking command of our fleet in America. By a commiſſion (dated May 6th) he was empowered to treat with the Americans. His brother Sir William Howe, then commander in chief of the Britiſh Land forces in that part of the world, was the other commiſſioner. Lord Howe ſailed for America in the Eagle of 64 guns, and arrived off Halifax, July 1ſt. He inſtantly proceeded to New York where he joined Lord Shuldham's fleet on the 14th.

On January 29th, 1778, Lord Howe was made Vice Admiral of the White, and March 19th of that year obtained the ſame rank in the Red.

Nothing effectual having been done toward reducing or pacifying the Americans, a new Commiſſion was iſſued, dated April 19th, 1778, conſiſting of five perſons, to facilitate a treaty with the revolted Americans; and in which the earl of Carliſle's name was put before thoſe of the two former commiſſioners. This arrangement Lord Howe conſtantly reprobated as contrary to all eſtabliſhed precedent. France ſoon afterwards joined in the

the war, and ſuddenly on July 12th the French Admiral Comte d'Eſtaing anchored with a large force of line of battle ſhips in complete condition, about four miles from Sandy Hook, where Lord Howe had moored his ſmall ſquadron in the beſt poſſible order for defence. The noble Admiral, by a ſeries of maſterly manœuvres, the admiration of the Navy to this preſent hour, not only reſcued his own far inferior force from deſtruction, but even prevented the French from affording that aſſiſtance to their new allies, which the ſtrength of their fleet had taught theſe Americans with confidence to look for. After blocking up Lord Howe for ten days at Sandy Hook, d'Eſtaing ſtood to ſea. A few days poſterior to this movement of the French, Lord Howe was a little reinforced, ſtill much inferior to the enemy. Auguſt 9th, he made his appearance off Rhode Iſland; the day following d'Eſtaing put to ſea, and bore down on the Britiſh fleet. Lord Howe edged away, to draw the French off the land, and by judicious movements, ſaved Rhode Iſland; the ſiege of which the American general (Lincoln) raiſed, and loudly complained of d'Eſtaing's having deſerted him.

On September 2d, 1778, Lord Howe reſigned the command of the North American fleet; and, having declined acting under the new commiſſion, ſailed for England in the Eagle, arrived at St. Helen's, October 25th, and immediately ſtruck his flag.

The ſpace of more than three years, from the autumn of 1778, was to Lord Howe a ſeaſon of receſs from his profeſſional employments. This interval he paſſed in domeſtic ſociety, in eaſe, and in affluence. About the middle of this period of retirement, Catherine Empreſs of Ruſſia made him the moſt liberal offers of wealth and aggrandizement, if he would ſuperintend her navy; but the offer was declined.

A new turn of miniſterial arrangments in 1782, brought Lord Howe again into notice. April 8th, he was raiſed to the rank of Admiral of the Blue, and on the 20th of the ſame month created a Viſcount of Great Britain, by the title of Howe of Langar in the county of Nottingham. May 9th, he ſailed with twelve line of battle ſhips, in queſt of the Dutch fleet that had put to ſea from the Texel; but the Dutch admiral, hearing of this, retired into the Texel again. The Britiſh fleet cruized on the coaſt of Holland for about a month, and then returned to Spithead. In July he ſailed from Spithead on a cruize to the weſtward with 22 ſail of the line; Auguſt 14th he returned to Spithead without having ſeen the enemy. He ſailed again from Spithead, September 11th, with 34 ſail of the line for the relief of Gibraltar. This he effected October 11th, in ſpite of the combined fleet of France and Spain (46 ſail of the line), and in that maſterly manner which characterizes all his naval exploits. Having according to his inſtructions diſpatched part of his fleet on another ſervice, he returned home, and anchored at Spithead, November 15th. For his ſkill and courage in the foregoing tranſactions he received the thanks of both houſes of parliament.

After an experience of naval ſervice during 43 years, and a ſtudy

of maritime affairs in general for the whole continuance of that period, he was appointed 28th January 1783, to preſide at the board of Admiralty, and immediately began thoſe reforms, which his long ſervice had convinced him were neceſſary to be made in every department of the navy, civil as well as military. However through a contention of parties he was obliged to quit his poſt in April following; but in little more than eight months (on December 30th,) was reinſtated in it. The buſineſs of this high office he tranſacted with the general approbation of the kingdom for about four years. Lord Howe was promoted to be Admiral of the White, September 14th, 1787. At the ſame time many captains were made admirals, and an unuſual number put upon the ſuperannuated liſt. This laſt meaſure occaſioned much ferment in the ſpring of 1788, and brought on ſome motions, hoſtile to the Board of Admiralty, in both houſes of Parliament. One of the queſtions, agitated in the Houſe of Commons upon the ſubject, was carried for the Admiralty by a very ſmall majority; and July 16th, 1798, Lord Howe reſigned his poſt.

About a month after his reſignation, his Majeſty advanced him to the dignity of Earl Howe; and granted him a barony (Howe of Langar) to deſcend to his eldeſt daughter, and her heirs male; in default of ſuch heirs to his ſecond daughter in the ſame way; in default there too, to his youngeſt as to the others. Early in the ſpring of 1790, from an aggreſſion on the part of Spain in Nootka Sound, a rupture with that crown ſeemed imminent. On this occaſion his Majeſty once more turned his eyes upon Earl Howe, as the fitteſt naval officer to command the fleet. After having been at the head of the Admiralty himſelf, he regarded it in the light of an official degradation, to act under the orders of a ſucceſſor; but the king's will in the matter, being clearly notified, extinguiſhed all ſcruples of his own. He accepted the appointment as a mark of royal favour, hoiſted his flag on board the Victory, and afterwards on board the Queen Charlotte, when launched at Chatham, April 15th. Auguſt 10th, he ſailed with his fleet; but, the demand on the court of Spain being complied with, was recalled to Spithead in September.

Upon the death of Lord Rodney in 1792, Earl Howe was appointed to ſucceed him, as vice admiral of England. In 1793 he was called out again to actual ſervice, and appointed to command the Weſtern ſquadron with ample powers. He always declared himſelf averſe to the ſyſtem of blocking up ports: he ſaid, it was frequently ruinous to the ſhipping, and that from the uncertainty of winds, the poſſibility of adhering to ſuch a plan was by no means to be relied on. He thought it was much better to let the fleet lie ready in ſome ſheltered ſituation, whence it might proceed to ſea with almoſt any wind whatſoever; and he aſſerted, that the place he had deſcribed was Torbay.

Hoiſting the Union flag at the main, he began his cruiſe off Breſt, and in the Bay, July 14th, but did nothing effectual that year.

May 2d, 1794, the fleet under his command ſailed from St. Helen's.

May

May 21ſt news was heard of the French being off Uſhant. May 28th Captain Parker of the Audacious (one of Lord Howe's fleet) engaged Le Revolutionaire, and made her ſtrike; but ſhe was reſcued by five other French ſhips coming up, one of which (l'Audacieux) towed her into port. May 29th a battle began; in which (had the Captain, who was afterwards by a trial found guilty of breach of orders, done his duty) Lord Howe had got the French into ſuch a ſituation, that he doubted not of being able to give a good account of the whole of them. The battle of that day (being thus impeded) was, before night, totally intercepted by a fog. This fog was not diſſipated till June 1ſt; and it is remarkable, that during its continuance, Earl Howe's youngeſt daughter (then Counteſs of Altamont) coming with the earl her huſband from Liſbon to Ireland, ſailed through the midſt of the French fleet, happily without ſeeing, or being ſeen by any of them. During the fog, the four other French ſhips that had accompanied L'Audacieux from Breſt had joined their fleet, though Lord Howe knew nothing of this reinforcement of the enemy, till after he had written his letter of June 2d to the Admiralty. On June 1ſt (the French having now 29 ſail of the line to 25) the action recommenced in which ſix French ſhips were taken, a ſeventh ſent to the bottom, and the reſt put to flight; moſt of them in a ſhattered condition.

By June 13th the fleet returned to Portſmouth. The croud of ſpectators to ſee it arrive was immenſe; the illuminations in the capital laſted for three nights together; and general was the exultation through the kingdom. June 26th their Majeſties and the princeſſes went to Portſmouth, and dined with Earl Howe aboard the Queen Charlotte. It was now that the king preſented the earl with a ſword of extraordinary value, and a golden chain, to which a medal (ſtruck on the occaſion) was to be appendant.

From September 3d, 1794, Earl Howe made ſhort cruiſes for the remainder of the winter. February, 1795, he eſcorted the Eaſt and Weſt India convoy, to clear the channel; and then cruized off Breſt, and in the Bay. But finding his health decreaſe, and having been in various active employments for the courſe of more than 55 years, and having reached the 70th year of his age, May 22, 1795, he reſigned his command in the channel.

In the beginning of 1796, by the death of Admiral Forbes, he became Admiral of the Fleet; and on March 18th was appointed to his predeceſſor's poſt of General of the Marines.

He finally reſigned the command of the weſtern ſquadron in April 1797.

Though Earl Howe had thus relinquiſhed for ever all official commands, ſtill of one command he was unable to diveſt himſelf, while living—I mean, over the tempers of the ſailors. A proof of this aſſertion occurred very ſhortly. About the end of this April (1797) there broke out a tremendous mutiny on board the fleet at Spithead. Even the conciliatory and engaging deportment of Earl Spencer had failed of its wonted effect; for he was not a

ſeaman. No opportunities had offered themſelves in his line of life, for exerciſing a moſt benevolent diſpoſition, congenial to his parentage, towards his peculiar people; "to go below after an action, and talk to every wounded man, ſitting by the ſides of their cradles, and conſtantly ordering his live ſtock and wines to be applied to their uſe at the diſcretion of the ſurgeon, and at all times for the ſick on board." Such acts of beneficence had long endeared Lord Howe to thoſe that had ſailed with him, were echoed through the Britiſh fleets, and lived freſh in the remembrance of all who knew of them. Him theſe braveſt of men had been accuſtomed to look up to, as their principal friend and protector. Nor did he fail them now. He palliated their offences in his ſpeeches to the Houſe of Peers, where he met with the greateſt deference, paid by all parties to his ſuperior knowledge of the ſubject. May 9th the Bill, which complied with the wiſhes of the ſeamen, was paſſed. Lord Howe, in his 72d year, hardly able to ſet foot to the ground from the remains of a ſevere attack of gout, but accompanied by his regardful conſort, arrived at Portſmouth on the 14th. He brought the act of Parliament, and came with plenary powers to ſettle the matters in diſpute. To this hour the mutineers had remained inflexible; but next morning the Delegates landed, and proceeded to the governor's houſe at Portſmouth, and after having partaken of ſome refreſhments, marched in proceſſion to the ſally port, where they embarked on board the men of war's barges, accompanied with Lord and Lady Howe, ſome officers, and perſons of diſtinction, and viſited the ſhips at St. Helen's and Spithead: [Lord Howe being obliged to be borne by men into every ſhip.] At ſeven in the evening Lord Howe landed, and the Delegates carried him on their ſhoulders to the governor's houſe. Affairs being thus adjuſted to the ſatisfaction of the ſailors, the flag of diſaffection was ſtruck, and the fleet put to ſea the next day to encounter the enemy. Within ſix weeks after this re-inſtatement of due naval obedience, Earl Howe was inveſted with the order of the Garter.

In the beginning of the year 1798 paſſed an act, empowering the Bank to receive voluntary contributions for defraying the expences of the war. At this time Earl Howe's only pecuniary emolument, for all his paſt ſervices, was the ſtipend ariſing from his poſt of General of the Marines. Being himſelf confined to his bed, he commiſſioned the counteſs to receive his annual ſalary at the Marine pay-office, with inſtructions to carry the whole of it (upwards of 1800l.) immediately to the Bank, as his contribution. This was executed accordingly.

In the ſummer of 1797, having been deprived of Dr. Warren's medical aſſiſtance by that eminent phyſician's deceaſe, Lord Howe applied for advice to the preſent Dr. Pitcairn. Bathing in warm ſea water was the doctor's preſcription for the Earl's rheumatic weakneſs; who in compliance with this opinion went firſt to Bognor rocks, and afterwards to Worthing. While reſident at the latter place finding his ſtrength exceedingly reſtored,

restored, he used riding exercise to a much greater degree, than his age or constitution would allow. The fatigue of one of his excursions on horseback produced so much gout, that it sent him to London. There by the diligent and unwearied attention of his physician for many months, he recovered from the violent disorder: he might perhaps still have been living, but unfortunately, Dr. Pitcairn, from an internal hurt by a fall, was obliged to repair to Lisbon in the Autumn of 1798, and did not return before the Spring of 1800. Lord Howe, after his recovery from this long confinement to his bed room, was obliged to use crutches. Such a perpetual memento of his infirmity suited not his genius. In the beginning of 1799 he grew so impatient of the weakness and pains in his knees, that he could not forbear trying electricity. The experiment had given him such considerable relief, that he was able to move about upon a horse; nor did he in the least apprehend that this quick restoration of his strength would be attended with any fatal consequence; but soon afterward the gout seized upon his head; and by August the 5th he was no more. He had lived 5 months and 17 days of his 74th year, and was buried in the family vault at Langar in the county of Nottingham.

Account of the Island of Staffa.

From Stoddart's Remarks on Scenery and Manners in Scotland.

THE next morning, we made our first attempt to reach Staffa, having first given in our names to the landlord, to be transmitted to ——Mac Donald, Esq. proprietor of that island. It is not unusual for strangers to wait in vain, above a fortnight, for fair weather; and should they land at an unfavourable time, the rising tempests might detain them, on the solitary spot, without hopes of assistance. Our excursion afforded us a proof of that respectful deference, with which the people here, probably from interested motives, consult the inclinations of their wealthy visitors. In the narrow Sound of Ulva, the sea was heaved into huge, white, breaking surges, by a most violent gale, and we were driven along so rapidly, that had we struck on any of the bold pointed rocks, by which we were surrounded, we must have been instantly dashed to pieces. After a little experience of this dangerous navigation, finding that the more we advanced into the open sea, the more tremendous it appeared, I asked the only one of our boatmen, who understood English, whether we could possibly get to Staffa. He answered, "assuredly not:" and when pressed to know, why, they had taken us out, on so fruitless an errand, he replied, that it was merely in compliance with our wish to set sail.

As we rowed along the southern shore of Ulva, our attention was strongly arrested by the singular rocks which form its natural rampart. They are black, rugged, and horrific; sometimes wildly irregular, broken into caverns, and chasms; sometimes piled into huge masses, like the narrow lanes of a crowded city; and sometimes moulded into long lines of embattled columns, exhibiting a gra-

dual approach to the regularity of Staffa. Landing near theſe tremendous cliffs, we explored their gloomy receſſes; which preſented ſcenery ſo magnificently ſavage, that we did not regret the delay, which occaſioned our examination of them. The reſt of the iſland was alſo intereſting. The ſouthern and weſtern ſides conſiſt of ſmall hills, whoſe ſummits, for the moſt part, form regular ranges of baſaltic columns. The little vales, between theſe, are cultivated in ſcanty patches, and have ſcarcely any wood; but finding a ſheltered ſpot ſurrounded with a few trees, near the farm of Orſmag, we took our dinner there, in the open air. Leaving our boat ſafe moored, on the farther ſide of the iſland, we returned acroſs the mountain, from the top of which we were firſt gratified with a view of Staffa, and had a noble proſpect all round. On the eaſtern ſide of the iſland, its proprietor, —— Macdonald, Eſq. of Boyſdale, has built a houſe, which, from the barreneſs of every thing about it, has a moſt dreary look. The view this way, however, is very fine, comprehending the opening of Loch na Gall, with the bold ſhores, and lofty mountains of Mull. More to the ſouth appear ſeveral ſmall iſlands, many of them ſcarcely iſlands, rocky points: amongſt them is Inch Kenneth, celebrated by a week's reſidence of Dr. Johnſon, in the ſimple hut of Sir Allan Maclean. In the open ſea, are ſcattered a vaſt number of iſlands, from Icolmkill, on the ſouth weſt, to Staffa, on the weſt, and Coll and Tiree, on the north-weſt. Among the phenomena, which we obſerved in this proſpect, none was more novel and ſurpriſing to us, than the torrents, which we ſaw, at ſeven or eight miles diſtance, on the ſides of the mountains in Mull, blown upward in ſpray, by the violence of the wind, and appearing like a thick ſmoke.

In the evening, we croſſed the narrow ferry, to Laggan Ulva; and the next morning, recroſſing it, returned to our boat. The weather was ſomewhat more favourable, and we being no leſs anxious to proſecute our voyage, again ſet ſail. Our courſe was expeditious, and though the day was tolerably calm, the waves of the Atlantic ran very high, affording a grand and majeſtic ſpectacle. Ulva, which we had juſt quitted, is nearly three miles in length, and is divided by a very narrow ſound from Gometra, another conſiderable iſland: about two miles to the weſt is Colonſa; and eight miles beyond this is Staffa.

The moſt commodious time, for viſiting the iſland, is a little before low water; as it is impoſſible to land at high water, if the ſea be at all rough. We reached it at this preciſe period, and in the loweſt tide of the whole year. On our approach, it preſented a maſs of rock about half a mile in length, and of no very remarkable appearance, until we were near enough to diſcern the columns, caverns, &c. in its bare ſides, and the ſcanty verdure ſprinkled on the top. Toward the north, the rock ſeems more rude and unformed; but the ſouthern extremity is enriched with all the diverſities of a ſtrange, and ſurpriſing, natural architecture. On a very calm day, with the wind to the eaſtward, it may be worth while to row round the iſland, and enter

the

the caves, in a boat; but if the wind is in the leaſt degree weſterly, a boat would be daſhed to pieces, in making ſuch an experiment.

Landing, therefore, on the eaſt, we directed our ſteps towards the ſouthern ſide: but firſt climbed a ſmall eminence, on which is built the herdſman's hut. In this ſolitary abode, remains the herdſman, with his wife and family, during half the year, to attend twenty ſmall cattle, whoſe paſture is all that the iſland produces: and in this hut, uninhabited during the other half year, muſt the unfortunate ſtorm-ſtaid traveller take refuge, without hope of any proviſion but what he brings with him. This danger is not imaginary; for I have known perſons, who have been kept ſo long in this terrible ſituation, as to be apprehenſive of famine; exiſting all the while in a ſhelter, ſcarcely better than that of the diſtracted Lear.

The ſoil, which in all parts of the iſland is very thin, is worn off in ſeveral places, and ſhows the general tendency of the rock to aſſume a columnar form, diſpoſed in different directions, perpendicular, oblique, or horizontal, as well curved, as ſtraight. To deſcribe all the whimſical appearances, which it aſſumes, is impoſſible: ſome of them ſeem to be Gothic arches and doors, others vaulted roofs, others colonnades, cauſeways, &c. The moſt remarkable are the caves: all of them open to the ſea, which at the loweſt ebb waſhes their baſe, and at high water almoſt fills their interior. The firſt is the Clamſhell Cave, ſo called from the reſemblance of its upper part to that ſhell, on a large ſcale; the top is open at the entrance, and, conſiſting of columns bent like reverſed parts of an arch, has impreſſed the country people with the notion of that ſimilitude, from which its name is taken.

Immediately beyond this, is a remarkable pyramidal aggregation of pillars, all of them truncated, ſhort, and pointing in different directions to the top. This heap being divided by a narrow channel from the main iſland, has been called *Buachaille*, the herdſman, a name very frequently given in the Highlands to detached rocks, or mountains, ſtanding before others, like a herdſman before his herd. This is corruptly called by many writers Boo-ſha-la. As every ſtrange phenomenon, in theſe regions, is connected traditionally with the Fions; the Buachaille is ſaid to conſiſt of 8000 diſtinct ſtones, on each of which ſtood one of thoſe warriors; how they found a firm footing, or ſufficient room, it is not eaſy to diſcover.

Turning toward the ſouth-weſt, is a cauſeway of regular truncated columns, bordered by a wall of pillars, which inſtead of cornice, architrave, &c. have a ſtratum of irregular, and, as it were, half-formed baſalt. The general colour of the rock is a deep, purpliſh black, except where it is tinged by lichens, ſea weed, &c. The texture of the pillars is fine, but their ſurface rather rough, reſembling dried mortar; and they are moſtly cracked in a direction at right angles to their elevation. They are of different forms, all regular polygons, moſtly pentagonal, or hexagonal, but ſome quadrilateral, or even trilateral. They have at times fallen down, and perhaps the whole cauſeway has been thus formed; but

but few of the entire columns are known to have fallen within living memory. In the fiſſures of the baſalt are ſmall veins of a whitiſh ſpar, but not abundant. Every ſtep we take here excites new admiration, and a moſt ſingular ſenſation is produced, by the evident confuſion of natural operations, and the no leſs evident reſemblance, which they bear to thoſe of art. It may be imagined, that the formality, which renders this ſcene unmanageable by the pencil, would detract much from the ſublimity of the feeling produced; but it has, perhaps, a contrary effect. The greatneſs of the ſcale forcibly impreſſes the idea of greatneſs in the operating cauſe; and the regularity of diſpoſition, approaching ſo near to human intelligence, inveſts that cauſe with a ſolemn, myſterious character. Much as this ſpot is celebrated, I have never known a perſon, whoſe expectations were not more than gratified in ſeeing it. This rare excellence is owing probably to its perfect novelty: we have none, or very inaccurate ſtandards, by which to form our previous judgments, and are agreeably ſurpriſed, to find them ſo much ſurpaſſed by the reality.

The moſt ſtriking ſcene of the whole iſland, that in which Nature ſeems to have ſtriven with, and vanquiſhed Art, in her own province, is the great cave fronting the ſouth-weſt, called *Uaimh na Fion*, the cave of Fingal. Mr. St. Fond, by arbitrarily changing the word *Fion* into *Fónn*, a tune, deduces its name from a muſical ſound, produced here, as he ſays, by the ſea. For my part, I heard nothing more muſical in the waves, which fill the bottom of this cavern, than in thoſe which waſh any other part of the iſland: but the predilection of the Highlanders for their favourite chief is not ill ſhown, in aſſigning to him ſo magnificent a hall, which ſeems formed by nature for the aſſemblage of great and venerable characters. The entrance is an irregular arch, fifty-three feet broad, and 117 high; the interior is 250 feet in length, and appears longer from its diminiſhing perſpective. The ſides, which are ſtraight, are divided into pillars; ſome of thoſe on the eaſt, having been broken off near the baſe, form a paſſage along that ſide, by which, with ſome difficulty, I reached the very fartheſt end, and ſeated myſelf in a kind of natural throne, formed in the rock. It ſeemed, that few perſons had gone ſo far; as a great number of names were inſcribed on a column not eaſy to paſs, but very few beyond it. From this ſeat, the general effect of the cave appears truly magnificent, and well calculated to form the eye and the taſte of a pictureſque architect. The broken, irregular, baſaltic roof, reſembled the rich ornaments of ſome grand Gothic buildings; the truncated columns on the ſides, thoſe ranged ſeats, on which, it might be ſuppoſed, the Fingalian heroes,

"In cloſe receſs, and ſecret conclave, ſat,
Frequent and full."

Being lighted only from without, the gradual deepning of the gloom gives ſolemnity to the ſcene; and a beautiful ſingularity is added by the ſea daſhing below, and the iſland of Icolmkill, with its ruined cathedral appearing, exactly in front, on the horizon.

The

The knowledge of this extraordinary ſpot is one of the many benefits, which have been conferred on public taſte and ſcience, by the preſent learned Preſident of the Royal Society. Sir Joſeph Banks, who viſited it, in the year 1772, drew up the firſt correct and intereſting account of it, inſerted in Mr. Pennant's Tour. Its parallel is no where to be found, unleſs, perhaps, in the Giant's Cauſeway, in Ireland; but it ſeems to be generally agreed by thoſe perſons, who have ſeen both, that Staffa is much the more magnificent.

After ſatiating ourſelves with admiration, we returned to the Clamſhell cave, where, in a ſheltered receſs, we ſpread our table-cloth on the rock, and made a hearty dinner, on the remains of our ſea-ſtore. We looked, with an anxious wiſh, toward the iſland of Icolmkill; but it was the firſt of September, the afternoon was advancing, and another day of good weather might not, perhaps, occur; the ſeaſon for the remainder of our tour was wearing away; and it was neceſſary, that we ſhould return to the main land of Scotland, as ſoon as poſſible; we therefore reſolved to abandon our propoſed viſit to that iſland; and the more readily, as its ruins are chiefly valuable for their antiquity, and poſſeſs little pictureſque beauty, either in themſelves, or in their ſurrounding ſcenery.

In returning merrily to Ulva, we learnt that an old Highland chieftain, Mac Quarry of Mac Quarry*, reſided on the ſmall iſland of Colonſa. His fortune indeed was decayed; he had parted with Ulva, Staffa, and a very extenſive property, and was reduced to this little domain; but ſtill he retained the old Highland ſpirit of hoſpitality, and would have been hurt at our paſſing his ſhore without a viſit. The welcome, which he gave us to his little hut, was of the warmeſt kind. Whiſkey, his own recipe for long life, he recommended without limitation to his friends, and would not ſuffer us to depart, without going through all the ceremonies of the parting cup.

The regular price of a boat, to Staffa and back, is fifteen ſhillings, and two bottles of whiſkey to the men; in addition to which, we paid five ſhillings for the ineffectual attempt of the preceding day, and gave the men two bottles more. The remainder of our charges at Laggan Ulva were in the ſame proportion moderate: and the accommodations, though far from deſirable, were ſuch as ought to content a traveller in ſo remote a part of the country. We returned to Aroſs, the next morning, not a little delighted with the reſult of an expedition, which we had ſcarcely expected to conclude ſo ſoon, and ſo ſatisfactorily.

Manners of the Weſtern Iſlanders.

(From the ſame.)

THE obſervation of ruſtic life and manners, in the weſtern iſles,

* This is the mode of deſignating the head of a clan, anciently thus, Mac Quarry of that ilk, or de eodem. It is deemed the moſt honourable of all deſignations, and, like all other Highland titles, is uſed ſimply, in ſpeaking to a perſon: thus you ſay Mac Quarry, or Ulva, not Mr. Mac Quarry.

may

may ſerve to correct the extremes of error which often meet in men's judgments, on ſuch ſubjects. On the one hand, contemplating at a diſtance the wants, under which the inhabitants labour, and comparing their ſituation with the wealth and ſplendour of a luxurious capital, we are apt to rank them as barbarians, and to lament the ſuppoſed miſery of their lot. On the other hand, hearing of their ſimple manners, and unvitiated habits, and conſidering them as guarded in their "fortunate iſlands," and ſevered by the "diſſociable ocean," from the contagion of poliſhed vices; we may, perhaps, think, that they alone have fallen upon

——"thoſe happier days,
That poets celebrate; thoſe golden times,
And thoſe Arcadian ſcenes that Maro ſings,
And Sidney, warbler of poetic proſe."

But the fact is, that theſe oppoſite notions are equally erroneous. Man ſoon accomodates himſelf to his ſituation; and the habits and feelings of the rich, and the poor, of the dweller in the town, and in the country, will form but a very inaccurate ſtandard for each other. Some common principles there are, indeed, in human nature, by which both ſides of the queſtion may be tried; it requires ſtrong ſenſibility and accurate diſcrimination, to apply this teſt; but when applied, is at once delightful and convincing. Such is the impreſſion produced by Burns's intereſting poem, the "Twa Dogs." In the choice of principles, the moſt ſyſtematic writers are, perhaps, the moſt apt to err; and the ſafeſt mode of proceeding is to conſider a few ſimple facts, in their relation to ſimilar facts, drawn from other times and places.

The inhabitants of the iſles differ but little from the Highlanders on the main land. They have the ſame origin, the ſame language, the ſame cuſtoms, and prejudices, and nearly the ſame employments. The circumſtances in which they differ are moſtly in favour of the Highlands. In both diſtricts, perſonal appearance forms a very marked diſtinction between the different ranks of ſociety. The higher claſſes may boaſt many ſtriking examples of beauty; but the lower are, in general, the very reverſe. The women are almoſt univerſally ſhort, and thick ſhaped: their long black hair hanging over the face, their heads generally uncovered, and their features conſequently drawn into an habitual frown, give them altogether a terrific appearance. The men are ſometimes tall and ſtout, but more commonly ſhort, and ill made. Probably this is to be attributed not merely to their food, and labour; but to the change of manners in modern times. Amid the tumult of a wild and martial age, the mind finds motives to that animation, which beams forth in the countenance, and even ſerves to

——"mould the form
By ſilent ſympathy."

The more tranquil occupations of theſe diſtricts in the preſent day, afford few mental ſtimulants: and the phyſical circumſtances of food and lodging, though improved, are not ſo ſuperior, as to balance this defect. An Arcadian community, which has little connexion with the reſt of the world, may be ſuppoſed to

to be more pure and happy, in proportion to its ſecluſion; but countries which are attached, as theſe ever muſt be, to places of opulence and luxury, will be improved by an intimacy of union. I have before obſerved, that the Highlands ſuffer much by a want of agriculture and manufactures: this applies much more forcibly to the iſlands. The rich proprietors of the former often viſit, ſometimes wholly dwell upon their eſtates, entering into the real feelings, and promoting the true intereſts of their tenantry: the ſituation of the latter precludes them, in a great meaſure, from theſe advantages.

That indolence which has been remarked as a general concomitant of the Highland character, is probably a remnant of the old military life, which afforded long intervals of eaſe. That it does not proceed from a dulneſs of feeling is evident, from the impaſſioned ſtrain of the ancient poetry, and muſic, ſtill preſerved. The Iſlanders, as they are inferior to their neighbours in every branch of modern improvement, ſo they excel them in theſe relics of former excellence. The poems of Oſſian, of Ullin, and of Ryno, are here more faithfully retained; and the wild warbling of the native Gaelic airs is a more general ſoother of care, or incitement to labour. It is not long ſince the harp fell into diſuſe among them. The following account of a traveller in the ſeventeenth century proves its prevalence, as well as that of the poetical talents, which they ſtill poſſeſs, but in an inferior degree. "They delight much," ſays my author *, "in muſicke, but chiefly in harpes and clairſchoes of their owne faſhion. The ſtrings of the clairſchoes are made of braſſe wyre, and the ſtrings of the harpes of ſinews: which ſtrings they ſtrike, eyther with their nayles growing long, or with an inſtrument appoynted for that uſe. They take great pleaſure to deck their harpes and clairſchoes with ſilver and precious ſtones: and poore ones, that cannot attaine heereunto, decke them with chriſtall. They ſing verſes prettily compounded, contayning (for the moſt part) prayſes of valiant men. There is not almoſt any other argument, whereof their rimes intreat."

It muſt be acknowledged, that in the neatneſs of their houſes, and in the cleanlineſs of their perſons, they are conſiderably leſs careful, than their ſouthern neighbours, and even than the peaſantry of other mountainous northern countries, ſuch as Swiſſerland or Norway; but this may alſo be traced to the habits of a rude military life; and it is gradually yielding to modern improvements. Since the uſe of linen has ſucceeded to that of flannel, the diſorder which was once ſaid to be common among them, has almoſt wholly diſappeared, nor did I ſee any one inſtance of it in the Highlands. Still there is doubtleſs too much attachment to the aukward and uncleanly habits of a more barbarous age. I was aſſured by a nobleman, that though he had built a great number of neat cottages for his tenants, and uſed every inducement to make them inhabit them, they frequently preferred living in their old, dirty, and ſmoky huts. Changes in manners muſt be brought

* See a Brief Deſcription, &c. A. D. 1633.

about

about gradually, by the mild influence of a benevolent patron, not by harſh laws, or acts of tyranny: and it is even better to retain the affections of an unpoliſhed people, than to alienate their minds, in a vain attempt to improve their appearance.

We found to our coſt, on quitting Aroſs, that the Iſlanders have as little dexterity at ſea, as on ſhore. To this, the variety of occupations, practiſed by the ſame individual, very much conduces. On examination, ſoon after we ſet ſail, we found, that out of our crew of four perſons, two were weavers, and one a ſhoemaker. In addition to theſe profeſſions, they were all farmers, cattle-dealers, fiſhers, and occaſionally boatmen. When a company, ſuch as ours, comes in their way (which is but ſeldom), they find it moſt advantageous to act in the latter capacity; but it is not to be ſuppoſed, that they can act as well as if they were profeſſionally ſailors. Their boats too are ill equipped, and their management of them clumſy. When we had occaſion to take to the oars, we found them too large to be ſerviceable: there were no blocks to the rigging, and in hoiſting or lowering a ſail, they loſt much time by neglecting to diſentangle the ropes, a circumſtance of great danger in theſe narrow ſeas, on account of the ſudden ſhifting, and eddying of the winds. The want of adroitneſs, joined with the confident raſhneſs of theſe half ſailors, occaſions innumerable accidents in their voyages. We ourſelves, not being much accuſtomed to the ſea, were conſiderably alarmed, on the approach of evening, when, after lying by for ſome time, we were obliged to make a tack, with the wind much againſt us. The ſurges were high, and the unſkilfulneſs of our ſteerſman ſuch, that we ſhipped a great quantity of water, before we could make the point of Kerrera. It was not till paſt ten o'clock at night, that we were with difficulty put aſhore, near Dunolich Caſtle, from whence we were obliged to walk, in a hard ſhower of rain to Oban.

Account of the Abbé Sicard, and the Inſtitution in behalf of the Deaf and Dumb.

(From Lemaiſtre's rough Sketch of Modern Paris).

I HAD this morning ſo high a mental a treat, that I cannot help communicating to you the particulars without delay, in the hope of being able, while my mind is ſtrongly impreſſed with the ſubject, to convey to you ſome faint idea of the pleaſure which I received.

I ſhall not now ſpeak to you of ſplendid buildings, of glorious monuments of human ingenuity, of renowned heroes, or of brilliant feſtivals. What I ſaw to day intereſted me, and I am ſure would have intereſted you, much more than all ſuch objects united; I mean, the *inſtitution des ſourd-muets* (that humane eſtabliſhment for the inſtruction of the deaf and dumb), firſt founded under the care of the abbé l'Epée, and now conducted by his worthy ſucceſſor, the abbé Sicard.

Having tickets offered me for an extraordinary meeting, which took place this morning, I willingly availed myſelf of this opportunity, and at ten o'clock repaired to

la

la rue St. Jacques, where, in a former convent, this beneficent eſtabliſhment is carried on. Here I found a large aſſemblage of reſpectable perſons, who all liſtened, with pleaſure and attention, to the ſimple, plain, and unaffected manner, in which the abbé Sicard explained his method of giving to the deaf and dumb the means of expreſſing their thoughts. "As foreigners" ſaid he, "unacquainted with the language of the country which they viſit, are ſuppoſed ſtupid and ignorant by the uninformed, ſo the deaf and dumb are often conſidered as idiots, becauſe they are deprived of one ſenſe. No," continued he, "they are not idiots; they have ideas as well as you, and only want an organ to expreſs them." He then went on to ſtate, that in moſt educations children are taught firſt to ſpeak, and then, *ſometimes*, to think, whereas, in his plan, he began firſt by teaching his pupils to think, and then proceeded to inſtruct them how to expreſs what they had ſo thought *.

To exemplify both his plan and his ſucceſs, he examined Maſſieu, his favourite and ableſt pupil, a young man, about twenty or twenty five years old. As ſoon as the abbé expreſſed by his geſtures, any particular paſſion, Maſſieu inſtantly wrote the word appropriate to the peculiar feeling, and then explained the meaning of the word he had written, with a vivacity of action, and a variety of countenance, which I never before witneſſed in any human being. He next wrote on the wall, with great rapidity, the chain of ideas, by which the abbé Sicard regularly advances his ſcholars from the expreſſion of a ſimple thought, to one of greater import. Thus, beginning with the word "voir," to ſee, he ended, going on with regular ſteps, with the word "examiner," to examine; beginning with "idéer," (a word created by Maſſieu, but anſwering to "*avoir idée*," or to have an idea), he ended with "approfondir," to ſearch into; and beginning with "vouloir," to will, he ended with "bruler," to burn with paſſion. Maſſieu expreſſed, with wonderful fire, the meaning of each progreſſive paſſion, in the changes of his countenance, which, when animated, is uncommonly fine.

In the courſe of this meeting, the *abbé Sicard* likewiſe examined, for the firſt time, a young woman, now eighteen, who at ſix years old, had become entirely deaf, and who could now only ſpeak ſuch words as ſhe had learnt at that tender age, many of which ſhe ſtill pronounced imperfectly, and as children are apt to do. He began with ſhowing us a memorandum, or waſhing bill, in which this girl had drawn her gowns, petticoats, &c. acording to the different forms of theſe articles. Maſſieu then, by direction of the *abbé*, drew on the wall different things of common uſe; to ſome

* The abbé Sicard, in the courſe of this lecture, took occaſion to remark, that of all languages, the Engliſh was the moſt ſimple, the moſt reaſonable, and the moſt natural, in its conſtruction. As a proof of the truth of his aſſertion, he informed us, that his pupils, as they began to learn the means of conveying their thoughts by writing, were conſtantly guilty of *anglicijms*. He added, that it was difficult to make them lay aſide idioms purely Engliſh, and ſtill more ſo, to teach them thoſe which are peculiar to the French language.

of

of these she applied their proper names, some she did not know, and others she mispronounced. The latter defect M. Sicard immediately removed, by pronouncing the word himself, teaching her by signs to move her lips, as he did, by blowing on the hand, and by touching some particular fibres of the arm. I cannot satisfactorily explain this operation; but it will, perhaps, be sufficient to observe, that the *abbé*, more than once, said, "by such and such motions, I will produce such and such sounds;" and that, as soon as the girl had imitated the motions he made, she articulated the words, as he had previously promised.

The more I saw of this institution, the more was I delighted. There were forty or fifty children present, who, born deaf and dumb, were, by the wonderful skill and and unceasing care of the respectable *abbé*, restored to society, to happiness, and themselves. They were seated in different parts of the room, and conversed with each other, though at the greatest distance, by the means of their fingers, which were in constant motion. They had every appearance of enjoying good health, spirits, and vivacity.

There are all kinds of workshops, manufactures, and schools, in the house of the *sourd-muets*, and the establishment is entirely maintained at the expence of the government. Massieu, I hear, has displayed strong symptoms of genius, and has even written some very beautiful verses.

How admirable is this institution! How honourable to the ingenuity and the heart of man! to restore to all the enjoyments of life, and to the dignity of rational beings, hapless creatures, doomed by the caprice of Nature to inexpressible feeling and irremediable ignorance, is perhaps the highest and proudest effort of human contrivance.

Of all which I have yet beheld at Paris, this is to me the most interesting sight. Other objects strike the imagination, but this moves the heart. Farewell, my dear sir, the night is far advanced; but I could not place my head on the pillow, till I had attempted to communicate to you, how much I had been pleased with this admirable and philanthropic institution.

Account of the Establishment for the Support and Employment of the Blind.

(From the same).

I WENT to day to see the establishment formed for the protection and instruction of the blind. It is called "l'institution des travaux des aveugles," and is situate in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, not far from the *ci-devant Bastille*. It is here, where persons afflicted with that greatest of all human calamities, the loss of sight, are taught the means of gaining a comfortable existence, of occupying hours which would otherwise be painfully tiresome, and of rendering themselves useful to the community.

At the "séance," or public meeting which I attended this morning, I saw several persons, men, women, and children, either born blind, or rendered so by illness, now able to read, to read, to write, to count, to print, and to perform on different pieces of instrumental music. The mode by which they

read

read is by feeling the letters, which are purpoſely raiſed on card; and they did ſo with ſuch rapidity, that it was difficult in hearing them to diſcover their misfortune. What particularly ſtruck me, was the ingenuity of a blind woman, who had taught her child to read, an infant about five years old, not afflicted with this calamity.

There is a manufactory of ſteel carried on in the building, in which the blind turn the wheel; and they alſo make whips, writing caſes, purſes and paper toys of all ſorts, which are ſold for their private emolument. There is likewiſe a preſs, or printing machine, in which the whole proceſs is performed by the blind; and I am told, books publiſhed by them are more than commonly correct. The women knit, ſew, and perform other kinds of needlework; and all of them either ſing, or perform on ſome inſtrument. They gave us a kind of concert, which, if not very good, proved at leaſt that they underſtood the principles of muſic. I am almoſt aſhamed to mention, that my pleaſure in witneſſing this truly philanthropic eſtabliſhment, was not a little diminiſhed by the dreadful countenances of the blind, as the eyes of many, not being cloſed, exhibited a very diſguſting appearance. I knew, indeed, that they were not ſenſible of this defect, and that I ought to be ſatisfied with an inſtitution, which, in rendering them both happy and uſeful, had fully diſcharged its object. To the truth of this reflection my reaſon fully aſſented; yet, *malgré moi*, my ſenſes revolted at the ſight of human beings, left ſo imperfect by the hand of Nature, or ſo deformed by *illneſs*.

Account of the young Savage of Aveyron.

(From the ſame).

THE child, ſo well known in Europe by the name of "le jeune ſauvage d'Aveyron," or "the young ſavage of Aveyron," was found in the wood of that name, at the age of eleven or twelve years, by three huntſmen, who ſome time before had ſeen the ſame boy at a diſtance. He was looking for acorns and roots, which conſtituted his principal food, when they perceived him; and, at the moment of being ſeized, he attempted to get away, by climbing up an adjoining tree. He was taken into a cottage; but, at the end of a week, he made his eſcape from the woman, to whoſe care he was intruſted, and fled to the mountains. Here he wandered about expoſed to the ſevereſt cold of winter, with no covering but a ragged ſhirt, hiding himſelf at night in the moſt ſolitary places, and in the day approaching the neighbouring villages. After leading, for ſome time, this vagabond life, he came of his own accord, into an inhabited houſe, ſituate in the *canton* of *St. Sernain*. Here he was ſeized, watched and taken care of for three days, and was then removed to the hoſpital of *St. Afrique*, and afterwards to that of *Rhodes*, where he was kept for ſeveral months. At each of theſe places, where, of courſe, he was the ſubject of much intereſting obſervation, he was found wild and impatient of control. He was in conſtant motion, and at every inſtant ſeemed to ſeek an opportunity of eſcaping. By order of the miniſter of the interi-

our, he was brought to Paris, at the end of the 8th year of the republic (about two years ago), under the care of a poor, but reſpectable, old man, who became ſo attached to him on the journey, that he ſhed tears at parting with him, and in going away declared, that if he ever ſhould be deſerted, he would adopt him as his child.

The phyſician Pinel, to whoſe inſpection the boy was firſt ſubmitted, reported, that the organs of ſenſe in this unfortunate child were reduced, from the want of uſe, to ſuch a ſtate of debility, that, in this reſpect, he was inferiour to ſeveral domeſtic animals. His eyes, without fixing themſelves, and without expreſſion, wandered wildly from one object to another, incapable of diſtinguiſhing the neareſt from the moſt diſtant objects. His organ of hearing was alike inſenſible of the loudeſt noiſe, or the ſofteſt harmony. The power of the voice was lowered to ſuch a degree, that he could not make an uniform and guttural ſound. The ſenſe of ſmelling was ſo little exerciſed, that he received, with the ſame indifference, the odour of the choiceſt perfumes, or the nauſeous ſtench of the filthy couch on which he lay. To conclude, the ſenſe of touching was confined to the mere mechanical functions of taking hold of bodies.

In reſpect to his intellectual powers, the ſame phyſician ſtated him to be incapable of attention (excepting as to the objects of his immediate wants), and conſequently incapable alſo of all thoſe operations which are created by attention. Deſtitute of memory, of judgment, and of the power of imagination, and ſo limited, even in the ideas relative to his wants, that he had not yet learnt to open a door, or to get upon a chair, in order to reach thoſe objects of food which were held above his graſp. In fact, deſtitute of every means of communication, having neither expreſſion nor intention in the motions of his body, paſſing ſuddenly, and without any preſumable cauſe, from the gloom of apathy, to the moſt immoderate fits of laughter. Inſenſible of every kind of moral affection, his diſcernment was but a calculation of gluttony; his pleaſure an agreeable ſenſation of the organs of taſte; his ſenſe, an aptitude to produce ſome incoherent ideas relative to his wants—in one word all his exiſtence ſeemed purely animal.

M. Pinel afterwards compared "le ſauvage d'Aveyron" with children born, or become, irrevocably idiots; and he was inclined to conclude, that this unhappy child, doomed to an incurable evil, was not ſuſceptible either of ſociality or inſtruction; but he expreſſed this opinion with conſiderable doubt.

Dr. Itard, phyſician to the inſtitution *des ſourd muets*, from whoſe intereſting little pamphlet I have taken this account, though ſtruck with the fidelity of the picture drawn by Dr. Pinel, and the juſtice of his remarks, was unwilling to accede to the unfavourable concluſion with which he had cloſed his report. Founding his hopes firſt on the doubtful cauſe of his ſuppoſed idiotiſm, and next on the poſſibility of the cure, he humanely determined to make the education of this deſerted child his particular ſtudy

ſtudy. This education, or moral treatment, he began, on the general principles laid down by doctors Willis and Crichton, and by profeſſor Pinel himſelf, though he could not appeal to any particular precepts, as no ſuch caſe had been foreſeen in their works. He conceived that he had five principal objects to effect.

1ſt. To attach him to ſocial life, in rendering that life more agreeable than the one which he now led, and particularly by making it more analogous to the life which he had lately quitted.

2dly. To revive the ſenſibility of his nerves by the moſt poignant ſtimulants, and ſometimes by exciting the livelieſt affections of the mind.

3dly. To extend the ſphere of his ideas, by giving him new wants, and by increaſing his connection with ſurrounding objects.

4thly. To lead him to the uſe of ſpeech, by dragging into uſe the power of imitation by the imperious law of neceſſity.

5thly. To exerciſe, during ſome time, on the objects of his phyſical wants, the moſt ſimple operations of his mind, and thence to lead it to objects of inſtruction.

Dr. Itard then fully explains the methods which he took towards theſe important objects, in which, by inceſſant care, humane treatment, and the aſſiſtance of madame Guerin (the female to whoſe protection, as a nurſe, the child was intruſted), he has ſo far ſucceeded, that he no longer entertains any doubt of his ultimate ſucceſs. It is impoſſible for me, within the compaſs of a letter, to enter into the details given on this ſubject. I ſhall therefore content myſelf with tranſlating the obſervations, with which Dr. Itard concludes the account.

"It may be ſafely concluded," ſays he, "from my obſervations, that the child, known by the name of the ſavage of Aveyron, is gifted with the free exerciſe of all his ſenſes; that he gives continual proofs of attention, recollection, and memory; that he can compare, diſcern, and judge—in one word, that he can apply all the faculties of his underſtanding to objects relative to his inſtruction. It is neceſſary to remark, as an eſſential point, that theſe happy changes have taken place in the ſhort ſpace of nine months, and that too in a ſubject, who was thought incapable of attention. Hence we may fairly conclude, that his education is poſſible, if it be not already certain, from the ſucceſs already obtained, independently of that which may naturally be expected from the aſſiſtance of time, which, in its conſtant unvarying courſe, ſeems to give to infancy all that ſtrength and power of unfolding itſelf, which it takes from man in the decline of life."

I ought, perhaps, to mention, that this unfortunate child, to whom the name of "Victor" has been given, becauſe he liſtened eaſily to the ſounds which formed that name, has already pronounced the word "lait," *milk*; that he has learnt to put the letters together which compoſe that word; and that he regularly does ſo, when he wiſhes to drink, taking alſo in his hand a little cup to receive his favourite beverage. Dr. Itard aſſured me that he entertained no doubt of his ultimatly ſpeaking.

He is warm, paſſionate, grateful,

and he has already given ſtrong proofs of his attachment to his nurſe, madame Guerin. His perſon is not very remarkable, but his countenance is mild. His face has been cut in ſeveral places. He cannot yet uſe any two ſenſes at the ſame time; and, to enable him to hear, it is neceſſary to bind his eyes. When he is angry, he makes a noiſe like the growling of a dog. He is now dreſſed like another boy; but I am told, it was long before they could perſuade him to bear the reſtraint of clothing. I remarked, that while we were in the room, he kept his eye conſtantly on the door, and that the deſire of eſcaping has not yet abandoned him.

To conclude, it ſeems that he has a mark in his neck, which proves, almoſt to a certainty, that his life was attempted in his infancy. The hapleſs offspring of illicit love, he was probably firſt wounded by the trembling hand of an unnatural mother; and then, under the ſuppoſition of being dead, thrown into the wood, where he ſo long wandered, and was at laſt diſcovered.

Account of the People called Kookies.

(From Vol. 7. of Aſiatic Reſearches.)

THE Kookies are a race of people that live among the mountains to the north eaſt of the Chittagong province, at a greater diſtance than the Choomeeas from the inhabitants of the plains, to whom therefore they are little known, and with whom they very rarely have any intercourſe, except when they occaſionally viſit the hauts, or markets, on the borders of the jungles in the Runganeeah and Aurungabad diſtricts, to purchaſe ſalt, dried fiſh, and tobacco.

The following account of them was taken from a native of the Runganeeah diſtrict, who, when a boy, was carried away, in one of their predatory excurſions, and, after a captivity of twenty years, found means to return to his family.

The Kookies, or Lunctas, (as they are alſo called,) are the leaſt civilized, of any of the people we as yet know, among theſe mountains; like all mountaineers, they are of an active, muſcular make, but not tall; they are ſtouter, and of a darker complexion than the Choomeas, and, like them, have the peculiar features of all the natives of the eaſtern parts of Aſia, namely the flat noſe, ſmall eye, and broad round face.

The tradition of the Kookies reſpecting their origin is, that they, and the Mugs, are the offspring of the ſame progenitor, who had two ſons, by different mothers. The Mugs, they ſay, are the deſcendants of the eldeſt, and the Kookies of the youngeſt ſon. The mother of the youngeſt having died during his infancy, he was neglected by his ſtep-mother, who, while ſhe cloathed her own ſon, allowed him to go naked; and this partial diſtinction being ſtill obſerved, as he grew up, he went by the name of Luncta, or the naked. Upon the death of their father, a quarrel aroſe between the brothers, which induced the Luncta to betake himſelf to the hills, and there paſs the remainder of his days. His deſcendants have continued there ever ſince, and ſtill go by the name of Lunctas;

Lunctas; though, properly ſpeaking, the term is only applicable to the male part of them, as the females wear a ſhort apron before, made of cloth of their own manufacture, and which falls down from the loins to the middle of the thigh; and both ſexes occaſionally throw a looſe ſheet of cloth over their bodies, to defend them from the cold.

This tradition of their origin receives much ſupport from the great ſimiliarity of the Mug and Kookie languages, many words of which are exactly the ſame, and their general reſemblance is ſuch that a Mug and Kookie can make themſelves underſtood to each other.

The Kookies are all hunters and warriors, and are divided into a number of diſtinct tribes, totally independent of each other, though all of them acknowledge, more or leſs, the authority of three different Rajahs, named Th'andon, Mankene, and Halcha, to whom the various tribes are attached, but whoſe power over them is very limited, except in that tribe with which the Rajah lives, where he is abſolute. The rajahſhips are hereditary, and the Rajahs, by way of diſtinction, wear a ſmall ſlip of black cloth round their loins; and, as a farther mark of ſuperior rank, they have their hair brought forward, and tied in a bunch, ſo as to overſhade the forehead, while the reſt of the Kookies have theirs hanging looſe over the ſhoulders. The females alſo of the Rajah's family wear an apron of black cloth, with a red border, which falls down to the knee,—a colour and faſhion prohibited to the reſt of the ſex, black being the royal colour.

The Rajahs receive a tribute in kind from the tribes, to ſupport their dignity; and in caſes of general danger, they can ſummon all the warriors to arms; but each tribe is under the immediate command of its own particular chief, whoſe word is a law in peace and war, and who has the power of life and death in his tribe. The chieftainſhip is not hereditary like the rajahſhip, but elective, though in general the neareſt relation of the laſt chief ſucceeds him, if deemed by the tribe a proper perſon for the truſt, and the Rajah cannot remove a chief once elected, ſhould he diſapprove of him.

The Kookies are armed with bows and arrows, ſpears, clubs, and daws, an inſtrument in common uſe among the natives of this province, as a hand hatchet, and exactly reſembling the knife of the Nyars on the Malarbar Coaſt, which is a moſt deſtructive weapon in cloſe combat. They uſe ſhields, made of the hide of the Gyal, (a ſpecies of cow peculiar to their hills;) and the inſide of their ſhields they ornament with ſmall pendulous plates of braſs, which make a tingling noiſe, as the warriors toſs about their arms, either in the fight or in the dance. They alſo wear round their necks large ſtrings, of a particular kind of ſhell found in their hills; about their loins, and on their thighs, immediately above the knee, they tie large bunches of long goat's hair, of a red colour, and on their arms they have broad rings of ivory, in order to make them appear the more terrific to their enemies.

The Kookies chooſe the ſteepeſt and moſt inacceſſible hills to build their villages upon, which, from being thus ſituated, are called

Parahs, or, in the Kookie language, K'hooah. Every Parah conſiſts of a tribe, and has ſeldom fewer than four or five hundred inhabitants, and ſometimes contains one or two thouſand. Towards our frontiers, however, where there is little apprehenſion of danger, a tribe frequently ſeparates into ſeveral ſmall parties, which form ſo many different Parahs on the adjoining hills, as may beſt ſuit their convenience. To give further ſecurity to the Parahs, in addition to their naturally ſtrong ſituation, the Kookies ſurround them with a thick bamboo palliſade; and the paſſages leading into them, of which there are commonly four or five in different quarters, they ſtrictly guard, day and night, eſpecially if there is any ſuſpicion of danger; but whether there is, or is not, they are at all times extremely jealous of admitting ſtrangers within the Parah: they build their houſes as cloſe to each other as poſſible, and make them ſpacious enough to accomodate four or five families in every houſe. They conſtruct them after the manner of the Chooméeas and Mugs, that is, on platforms or ſtages of bamboo, raiſed about ſix feet from the ground, and enter them by ladders, or, more frequently, by a ſingle ſtick, with notches cut in it, to receive the foot; underneath the ſtages they keep their domeſtic animals. All theſe precautions of defence ſtrongly indicate the conſtant ſtate of alarm in which they live, not only from the quarrels of the Rajahs with each other, but alſo from the hoſtile feuds of the different tribes; not excepting thoſe who are attached to the ſame Rajah. Depredations on each other's property, and the not giving up of ſuch refugees as may fly from one Parah to another, are the moſt frequent cauſes of quarrel, when they carry on a moſt deſtructive petty warfare, in which the ſeveral tribes are more or leſs involved, according as the principals are more or leſs connected among them. On theſe occaſions, when an enterprize is not of ſufficient importance to induce the chief to head all the warriors of the Parah, he always ſelects a warrior of approved valour and addreſs to lead the party to be detached.

They always endeavour to ſurprize their enemy, in preference to engaging him in open combat, how ever confident of ſuperiority they may be. With that view, when on any hoſtile excurſion, they never kindle a fire, but carry with them a ſufficiency of ready-dreſſed proviſions, to ſerve during the probable term of their abſence; they march in the night, proceeding with the greateſt expedition, and obſerving the moſt profound ſilence; when day overtakes them, they halt, and lie concealed in a kind of hammock, which they faſten among the branches of the loftieſt trees, ſo that they cannot be perceived by any perſon paſſing underneath. From this circumſtance of ambuſcade the idea has originated, of their living in trees inſtead of houſes. When they have, in this manner, approached their enemy unperceived, they generally make their attack about the dawn, and commence it with a great ſhout, and ſtriking of their ſpears againſt their ſhields. If they are ſucceſsful in their onſet, they ſeldom ſpare either age or ſex; at times, however, they make captives of the children, and often adopt them into

their

their families, when they have none of their own; and the only slaves among them are the captives thus taken.

The heads of the slain they carry in great triumph to their Parah, where the warriors are met, on their arrival, by men, women and children, with much rejoicing; and they have the peculiar privilege of killing any animal in the place they may choose, (not excepting the chief's,) to be given as a feast in celebration of their victory: but, should the party have been unsuccessful, instead of being thus met with every demonstration of joy, and led into the Parah amidst the exultations of its friends, it enters in the greatest silence, and as privately as possible; and all the warriors composing it remain in disgrace, until such time as they retrieve their characters, either jointly or individually, by some act of valour.

The Kookies are often attacked by the Banjoogees, who, though not so numerous a race of people, yet, from being all united under one Rajah, always prevail, and exact an annual tribute of salt from the two Kookie Rajahs, Th'andon and Mankene, who, from having a greater intercourse with the Choomeeas, receive a larger supply of this article from the plains below, than their more remote neighbours. Salt is in the highest estimation among them all; whenever they send any message of consequence to each other, they always put in the hand of the bearer of it a small quantity of salt, to be delivered with the message, as expressive of its importance. Next to personal valour, the accomplishment most esteemed in a warrior, is superior address in stealing, and if a thief can convey undiscovered to his own house his neighbour's property, it cannot afterwards be claimed: nor, if detected in the act, is he otherwise punished than by exposure to the ridicule of the Parah, and being obliged to restore what he may have laid hold of.

This must tend to encourage the practice of thieving, which, no doubt, is considered in such high estimation, because the same sagacity and address, necessary to give success to the thief, qualifies the warrior, in an eminent degree, to steal unperceived upon and surprize his enemy, and thus ensures him victory. So thought the ancient warriors of Sparta, who, like the Kookies of the present day, held in estimation the man who could steal with superior expertness.

The Kookies, like all savage people, are of a most vindictive disposition; blood must always be shed for blood; if a tiger even kills any of them, near a Parah, the whole tribe is up in arms, and goes in pursuit of the animal; when, if he is killed, the family of the deceased gives a feast of his flesh, in revenge of his having killed their relation. And should the tribe fail to destroy the tiger, in this first general pursuit of him, the family of the deceased must still continue the chace; for until they have killed either this, or some other tiger, and have given a feast of his flesh, they are in disgrace in the Parah, and not associated with by the rest of the inhabitants. In like manner, if a tiger destroys one of a hunting party, or of a party of warriors on an hostile excursion, neither the one

nor the other (whatever their ſucceſs may have been) can return to the Parah, without being diſgraced unleſs they kill the tiger. A more ſtriking inſtance ſtill of this revengeful ſpirit of retaliation is, that if a man ſhould happen to be killed by an accidental fall from a tree, all his relations aſſemble, and cut it down; and however large it may be, they reduce it to chips, which they ſcatter in the winds, for having, as they ſay, been the cauſe of the death of their brother. They employ much of their time in the chace, and having no prejudice of caſt (or ſect) to reſtrain them in the choice of their game, no animal comes amiſs to them. An elephant is an immenſe prize for a whole Parah. They do not remove their Parahs ſo frequently as the Choomeeas do their Chooms: the Choomeas ſeldom remain longer than two years on the ſame ſpot; whereas the Kookies are uſually four or five; and when they migrate, they burn their Parah, leſt the Gvals ſhould return to it, as they are frequently known to do if the huts are left ſtanding. The Kookies never go to a greater diſtance from their old ground than a journey of twelve hours, unleſs, compelled to proceed farther, from ſome particular cauſe, ſuch as the fear of an enemy, or the want of a proper ſpot to fix upon.

Their great object in ſelecting a place to ſettle on, is natural ſtrength of ſituation, with a ſufficiency of good ground near the Parah on which to rear the different grains, roots, and vegetables they wiſh to cultivate. They cultivate the ground as the Choomeeas do, and in this, as in every other domeſtic occupation, the female ſex bears the weight of the labour, and no rank exempts them from it: the wife of the chief, and the wife of his vaſſal, work alike in the ſame field.

The Kookies have but one wife; they may however keep as many concubines as they pleaſe. Adultery may be puniſhed with inſtant death by either of the injured parties, if the guilty are caught by them in the fact; it may otherwiſe be compromiſed by a fine of Gvals, as the chief may determine. The frailty of a concubine is always compromiſed in this way, without diſgrace to the parties. Fornication is puniſhed in no other manner, than by obliging the parties to marry, unleſs the man may have uſed violence, in which caſe he is puniſhed, generally with death, either by the chief, or by the relations of the injured female. Marriage is never conſummated among them before the age of puberty. When a young man has fixed his affections upon a young woman, either of his own, or of ſome neighbouring Parah, his father viſits her father, and demands her in marriage for his ſon: her father, on this, inquires what are the merits of the young man to entitle him to her favour, and how many can he afford to entertain at the wedding feaſt: to which the father of the young man replies, that his ſon is a brave warrior, a good hunter, and an expert thief, for that he can produce ſo many heads, of the enemies he has ſlain, and of the game he has killed; that in his houſe are ſuch and ſuch ſtolen goods, and that he can feaſt ſo many (mentioning the number) at his marriage. On hearing this, the father of the girl either goes himſelf, or ſends ſome confidential friend, to aſcertain the facts,

facts, which, if he finds to be as ſtated, he conſents to the marriage, and it is celebrated by a feaſt, given by him to the bridegroom, and all their mutual friends. At night the bride is led by her huſband from her father's houſe to his own, where he next day entertains the company of the preceding day, which is more or leſs numerous, according to the connections and circumſtances of the parties. When a chief marries, the whole Parah is entertained by him; and ſhould his bride be from another Parah, as often happens, the two Parahs feaſt and carouſe with each other alternately. At theſe, and all their feſtivals, there is much drinking, of a liquor made of the rice, called Deengkroo, of which the Kookies are very fond. There are two kinds of this liquor, the one pure and limpid; and the other of a red colour, from an infuſion of the leaf of a particular tree called Bangmullah, which renders it highly intoxicating. They indulge very freely in the uſe of both kinds, except when they go on hoſtile excurſions: they then rigidly abſtain from them. In January and February they uſually marry, becauſe they have proviſions in the greateſt plenty, and it is their moſt idle time.

The Kookies have an idea of a future ſtate, where they are rewarded or puniſhed according to their merits in this world. They conceive that nothing is more pleaſing to the Deity, or more certainly enſures future happineſs, than deſtroying a number of their enemies. The Supreme Being they conceive to be Omnipotent, and the Creator of the world, and all that it contains. The term in their language for the Supreme Being is Khogein Pootteeang. They alſo worſhip an inferior Deity, under the name of Sheem Sauk, to whom they addreſs their prayers, as a mediator with the Supreme Being, and as more immediately intereſting himſelf in the concerns of individuals. To the Supreme Being they offer in ſacrifice a Gyal, as being their moſt valued animal; while to Sheem Sauk they ſacrifice a goat only. In every Parah, they have a rudely formed figure of wood of the human ſhape, repreſenting Sheem Sauk; it is generally placed under a tree, and to it they offer up their prayers before they ſet out on any excurſion or enterprize, as the Deity that controuls and directs their actions and deſtiny. Whenever, therefore, they return ſucceſsful, whether from the chace, or the attack of an enemy, they religiouſly place before Sheem Sauk all the heads of the ſlain, or of their game killed, as expreſſive of their devotion, and to record their exploits. Each warrior has his own particular pile of heads, and according to the number it conſiſts of, his character as a hunter and warrior is eſtabliſhed in the tribe. Theſe piles are ſacred; and no man dares attempt to filch away his neighbours' fame, by ſtealing from them to add to his own. They likewiſe worſhip the moon, as conceiving it to influence their fortunes in ſome degree. And in every houſe there is a particular poſt conſecrated to the Deity, before which they always place a certain portion of whatever food they are about to eat. In the month of January they have a ſolemn ſacrifice and feſtival in honour of the Deity, when the inhabitants of

several neighbouring Parahs, (if on friendly terms) often unite and kill Gyals, and all kinds of animals, on which they feast, and dance and drink together for several days. They have no professed ministers of religion, but each adores the Deity in such manner as he thinks proper. They have no emblem, as of Sheem Sauk, to represent the Supreme Being.

Description of the Island of Malta.
(From Walsh's Journal of the Campaign in Egypt.)

THIS morning (December the 1st, 1800) after successive hopes and fears, we succeeded in entering the narrow but beautiful harbour of Malta. I trust I shall stand excused in dwelling somewhat diffusely on this little island, well known in the annals of history, yet the value of which is far from being properly appreciated in England. It's safe and commodious harbours, it's immense population, and, I may venture to say, it's impregnable fortifications, were by no means estimated, previous to the event which placed it in our hands, according to the pre-eminence they hold, if not in the world, at least in the Mediterranean.

The harbours of Malta are extremely spacious, and from their numerous coves capable of containing four or five hundred large vessels, to which they afford the most complete shelter. That of Mahon is by no means equal to them; but it's distance from Great Britain is indeed somewhat more convenient.

Marsa Muscat harbour, though very good and commodious, is made use of only for vessels performing quarantine. In it is a remarkably fine lazaretto, built on a small island connected to Malta by a bridge. On this island is also fort Manuel, constructed in 1726 by a grand master of that name. It is a well built regular fortification. In the centre of the area stands a statute in bronze of the grand master Manual de Vilhêno. When the French troops evacuated la Valette and it's dependencies, they were placed here, till ships could be procured to transport them to Toulon.

The population of the island, before the overthrow of the order in 1798, was computed at one hundred thousand inhabitants; a number almost incredible for so small a surface. Of these several have fallen in the field; many have emigrated; and a considerable portion was embarked with the French army under Bonaparte, at the time of its sailing for Egypt.

It's fortifications are far too numerous to be described in a work of this nature. Suffice it to say, that the castles of St. Elmo and Ricasoli, which defend the mouth of the great harbour, the fortifications surrounding la Valette, &c., do not yield in strength or beauty to those of any fortified place in Europe.

In the middle age Malta was wrested by the French from the Saracens: it afterward became a fief of the kingdom of Sicily, and was transferred to Lewis the XIIth at the time of the conquest of Naples. The knights of St. John of Jerusalem, being driven from Rhodes in 1523, received it as a fief from the emperor Charles the Vth. They did homage for it to the king of Sicily.

La Valette, the seat of government,

ment, is a very regularly built town. It's principal ſtreets are wide and ſtraight, well paved, and furniſhed with good footpaths. The buildings are all of freeſtone, with which the iſland abounds; and the numerous ſuperb edifices and hotels, formerly belonging to the knights of the order, give to la Valette a ſuperiority over any town of equal ſize. The two palaces of the grand maſter, adjoining each other, are fine ſtructures. Their interiour ſeems to have been very magnificent, and ſtill retains ſeveral marks of ſplendour, though they are much injured by dilapidation, and the greater part of the coſtly furniture has been taken away or deſtroyed. The council chamber is lined with the moſt beautiful gobelin tapeſtry, and the other apartments are adorned with paintings of the different actions and valiant exploits, which occurred during the memorable ſiege of the iſland by the Turks. Adjoining to the palace, and communicating with it is the armoury which was found in the beſt poſſible ſtate on our taking poſſeſſion of the place. It contains eighteen thouſand ſtand of fire arms, independent of a variety of ſwords, ſpears, and other ancient weapons, all of which are very taſtefully and neatly arranged.

The churches are extremely numerous, and all very fine buildings. That of St. John, the patron of the order, is however far ſuperiour to the reſt. The roof is moſt beautifully ſculptured, and adorned with ſome good paintings. "The grand altar" ſays Brydone, "is a piece of very curious and elegant marble; the pavement, in particular, is the richeſt in the world. It is compoſed entirely of ſepulchral monuments (of perſons belonging to the order) of the fineſt marbles, porphyry, and a variety of other valuable ſtones, admirably joined together at an incredible expenſe, and repreſenting, in a kind of Moſaic, the arms, inſignia, &c. of the perſons whoſe names they are intended to commemorate. In the magnificence of theſe and other monuments, the heirs of the grand maſters, commanders, &c. have long vied with each other."

Water, which in a climate like this is ſo great a luxury, is found every where in abundance, and ſcarcely a ſtreet is without one fountain at leaſt.

The works round this town, and the adjoining places, as Floriana, Cottoniera, and Vittorioſa, are perhaps the moſt extenſive of any in the world, and, as I before obſerved, extremely ſtrong. They were, however, in many parts, and eſpecially at Floriana, in a very ruinous ſtate; owing to the little attention paid to them by the French, and to the very remiſs adminiſtration of the late grand maſter, Hompeſch, who is exceſſively diſliked by the Malteſe, and generally accuſed of having occaſioned the overthrow of the order. Theſe works are alſo nearly deprived of their guns; upwards of one hundred of the fineſt, and of the heavieſt calibre, having been carried by the French to Egypt. A great number, however, ſtill remain in the arſenals, and might be mounted on the ramparts with very little difficulty.

La Valette is ſituate in latitude 35° 54′ north. It has three gates: the Porta Reale, towards Citta Vecchia, and the interiour; that of

of Marsa Muscat, leading from the harbour of this name; and that called la Marina, being the entrance to the town from the eastern and principal harbour. The chief street is the Strada Reale, extending from the Porta Reale to the castle of St. Elmo. The rest intersect each other at right angles, and are generally narrow, for the purpose of keeping out the sun. They are all paved, and the town being principally built upon a hill, very low and easy steps are placed on either side of the streets, for the convenience of foot passengers.

The tops of the houses are all flat terraces, from which the rain water is conducted by pipes into a cistern below, provided for the purpose. Every family is thus furnished with abundance of good water at home, and there are besides public reservoirs and fountains, placed in different parts of the town, which are supplied by an aqueduct commencing at Dier Chandal, in the southern part of the island, and upwards of nine English miles in length. This aqueduct was erected at a very considerable expense by the grand master de Wignacourt.

The houses and edifices of every kind are built with a white stone, obtained from the quarries in the island. It is of a very soft nature, which renders it easily adapted to any purpose; and to this facility we are to ascribe the numerous ornaments, with which all the architecture of the island abounds, as also the beautiful symmetry of the fortifications.

There is a public library, which is well provided with books, both as to choice and number. It belonged to the order, and was increased by the private libraries of the knights, which, at their deaths, augmented the general collection. The duplicate copies were sold, and the produce thence arising served to purchase such eligible books as it did not possess. The library contains likewise many objects of curiosity, as some fine statues, prints, and several valuable articles of natural history. No book is suffered to be taken out of the library, but seats and tables are provided for the use of those who frequent it. An immense and very beautiful building has lately been erected, to which the library was to have been transferred. This, however, has never been carried into execution, and the house is now converted into a vast assembly and coffee room.

La Valette possesses an opera house, small indeed, but neat, though now much out of repair. Italy and Sicily supply it with very tolerable vocal performers, and it is a very agreeable entertainment for the garrison. It was excessively crowded every night by the officers of the expedition, to whom it was a great source of amusement. The price of admission is one shilling. Prostitutes of all ages, from the lively girl of sixteen, to the crazy dame of sixty, swarm throughout the town.

Provision of every kind is here in the greatest abundance. Though we overran the island with troops, every thing was pretty reasonable and no want was perceived. Sicily furnishes a sufficiency of cattle; and Malta and Gozo produce quantities of excellent fruit and vegetables. They possess a very great luxury here, which I never knew in any island equally hot: this

this is ice, which they import in very large quantities, and of the fineſt quality, from Mount Ætna. It is ſometimes ſo abundant, that water is generally cooled with it. In any coffeehouſe you can call for an ice cream, with as much certainty as in a confectioner's ſhop in Bond ſtreet.

The trade carried on at this time was extremely briſk. The Engliſh factories from Naples, Leghorn, and Palermo, had taken refuge in this town, which was the emporium of the Britiſh trade in the Mediterranean, and whence Engliſh goods were ſmuggled into Italy, and thus found their way over the Continent.

Convents and religious houſes are no where more numerous than in Malta. Prieſts and friars are met at every ſtep, and ſtill retain over the minds of a ſuperſtitious people an unbounded and deſpotic ſway.

Although la Valette is built with great care and regularity, yet it is ſufficiently obvious, that the chief attention has been directed to the conſtruction of the fortifications. This in part accounts for their being perhaps the fineſt and beſt finiſhed of any in Europe. Beſides, the ſucceſſors of la Valette, deſirous of emulating his example, have conſtantly added to them; and in fact rendered the works ſo conſiderable and extenſive, that ſeveral of them have become nearly uſeleſs, and would require, in caſe of a ſiege, much too great a number of troops to defend them.

The modes of conveyance uſed here are carriages without ſprings, made to contain two or four perſons, and drawn by a ſingle mule, driven by a man on foot, whoſe ſtation is cloſe to the vehicle, and who, ſometimes at a trot, but moſt generally at a gallop, keeps pace with the animal. They are very clumſy awkward carriages, and, as they paſs over the rough pavement, ſhake the unfortunate paſſenger almoſt to pieces. A long ſtring of theſe vehicles, numbered, always ſtands in the Strada Reale for hire. Drays alſo, drawn by one mule, are found in every part of the town, and are very uſeful. The mules in this iſland are very tall and ſtrong; it is ſurpriſing how they go up and down the ſteep ſlippery ſtreets, ſome of which are literally flights of ſteps, without ever ſtumbling.

Civita, or Citta Vecchia, the reſidence of the biſhop, is about ſix miles diſtant from la Valette. It ſtands upon an eminence, and is ſurrounded with fortifications.

It is impoſſible ſufficiently to admire the cathedral of St. Paul, the tutelar ſaint of this iſland, on which he was wrecked. It's wonderful ſymmetry, it's dome, and the freſh and highly coloured paintings, with which it is adorned, muſt ſtrike the moſt incurious beholder. In this church is the greateſt variety of marble I ever beheld: the lapis lazuli, the green and yellow antique, with ſeveral others, meet the eye in every direction. The moſt admirable effect is produced from the ingenious manner in which this different aſſortment of marbles is diſpoſed and combined.

Without the town, in what is called the Rabatto, is the grotto of St. Paul. To this highly venerated ſpot you deſcend through numerous chapels, and at length come to a ſmall ſpace, ſcooped out of

of a ſoft and chalky kind of white earth, in the centre of which ſtands a marble ſtatue of the Saint; far inferiour however to another very beautiful one of the ſame Saint, placed in an adjoining chapel, and executed at Rome by Melchior Caffa, a native of Malta. People never leave this grotto without filling their pockets with pieces of St. Paul's ſtone, to which the ſuperſtitious inhabitants aſcribe all poſſible powers; they alſo affirm, that the maſs never decreaſes, whatever quantities are taken from it.

At the extremity of the Rabatto are the Catacombs. Theſe are excavations divided into numerous paſſages, moſt of which are ſtopped up, as otherwiſe it would be very eaſy to loſe yourſelf in this ſubterranean labyrinth, and moſt probably periſh there. During the frequent wars and revolutions, which this iſland has experienced, the Catacombs have been uſed as a place of ſafe retreat. In them are ſtill ſhown the remains of a chapel, and of two mills for grinding corn; a ſmall ſtatue, ſaid to be St. Peter; and a receſs near the entrance, where a centinel was placed on the look out, to give alarm on the approach of an enemy.

Midway between la Valette and Citta Vecchia is San Antonio, formerly a country ſeat and pleaſure garden of the grand maſters. This is a real prodigy in a country, where the higheſt cultivation produces ſo very little to pleaſe the ſight. Every thing grows there in the greateſt luxuriance; the grounds are abundantly watered, and are covered with citrons, and thoſe delicious oranges ſo highly and juſtly eſteemed. In any country this would paſs for a very neat and beautiful garden.

Beſide San Antonio, the grand maſters had another delightful country reſidence, named the Boſchetta, at the diſtance of a mile and half on the other ſide of Citta Vecchia. The grounds about it are more extenſive: and the houſe much larger and finer than San Antonio; but it is ſhockingly out of repair, and now nearly deſerted. It is really melancholy to behold the ruined and deſolated appearance of a ſpot ſo rare and ſo deſirable in an iſland like this. From the top of the houſe you command a view of all Malta, with the ſea every where around it. But this view, eſpecially when compared with the gardens immediately under you, is far from pleaſant. Nothing is to be ſeen but dry walls, dividing the numberleſs poſſeſſions of a ſtony and parched ſoil, which reflects an amazing glare, and preſents ſcarcely a ſolitary tree to relieve the eye.

Going from la Valette to Citta Vecchia, a very aſtoniſhing proof of what the induſtry and perſeverance of man can effect is to be ſeen in the fertile and highly cultivated ſtate of the iſland, which, though apparently nothing more than a bare rock, is forced, by the moſt aſſiduous labour, to become productive and favourable to vegetation. To prepare it's artificial ſoil, for ſo it may with propriety be called, the rock is broken into pieces, the larger and harder of which are uſed for conſtructing the fences round the fields. The ſmaller and ſofter are again beaten and reduced to powder, to which a very ſcanty portion of earth,

earth, ſcraped from the ſurface of the rock, is added. This mixture is ſuſceptible of a ſurpriſing degree of cultivation and fertility. It produces abundance of corn and vegetables, great quantities of white and brown cotton, &c.; thus amply repaying the toil and labour of it's induſtrious fabricators.

If the Dutch by their induſtry have wreſted valuable lands from the dominion of the ſea, the Malteſe, equally ingenious, have, by their unremitting efforts, changed a uſeleſs and barren rock into a fertile and productive iſland.

The language of the middling claſſes at Malta is the Lingua Franca, a mixture of the Italian and Arabic; but the common people ſpeak the Arabic, which to this day retains among them all it's purity. The current coins are crowns, half crowns, and quarter crowns in ſilver; and eightpenny fourpenny, and twopenny pieces, in copper; all bearing the impreſſion of the reigning grand maſter. The copper money is very remarkable; the eightpenny piece being no larger than our penny, and not thicker than an old halfpenny, the others are proportionably ſmaller. Dependant on Malta are the ſmall neighbouring iſlands of Gozo and Cumino, the former of which is very populous and productive, and has a regular built fort upon it.

Account of the Maroons.
(From Dallas' Hiſtory of the Maroons.)

IN their perſon and carriage the Maroons were erect and lofty, indicating a conſcioufneſs of ſuperiority; vigour appeared upon their muſcles, and their motions diſplayed agility. Their eyes were quick, wild, and fiery, the white of them appearing a little reddened; owing, perhaps, to the greenneſs of the wood they burned in their houſes, with the ſmoke of which it muſt have been affected. They poſſeſſed moſt, if not all, of the ſenſes in a ſuperior degree. They were accuſtomed, from habit, to diſcover in the woods objects, which white people, of the beſt ſight, could not diſtinguiſh; and their hearing was ſo wonderfully quick, that it enabled them to elude their moſt active purſuers; they were ſeldom ſurpriſed. They communicated with one another by means of horns; and when theſe could ſcarcely be heard by other people, they diſtinguiſhed the orders that the ſounds conveyed. It is very remarkable, that the Maroons had a particular call upon the horn for each individual, by which he was ſummoned from a diſtance, as eaſily as he would have been ſpoken to by name, had he been near. It appears wonderful, at firſt, that a ſingle horn ſhould be able to expreſs ſuch a number of names; but, on reflection, it is not more wonderful than the variety of changes of which a dozen bells are ſuſceptible, or the multiplicity of words that are formed by the combination of twenty-ſix letters. Allowing that the horn admits a leſs variation of tones than the chimes of twelve bells, it has a greater advantage in one reſpect for conveying particular ideas, from being capable of varying the duration of ſound, which bells are not; ſo that, beſides the numerical combination of monotonous notes, it can adopt all the modulation

lation of concatenated measure, and the poetical feet might be so associated as to transmit a great variety of ideas. But to return to the Maroons:—It has been said that their sense of smelling *is obtuse, and their taste depraved.* With respect to the former, I have heard, on the contrary, that their scent is extremely prompt, and that they have been known to trace parties of run-away negroes to a great distance by the smell of their firewood; and as to the latter, they are, like other negroes, fond of savoury dishes, jirked hog, and ring-tail pigeons, delicacies unknown to an European table, but which a Quin himself would not hesitate to name among the first dainties of the Epicurean list. I know not whence the word *jirked* is derived, but it signifies cutting or scoring internally the flesh of the wild hog, which is then smoked, and otherwise prepared in a manner that gives it a very fine flavour. The taste is a sense more peculiarly dependent upon social habits than any of the rest; we soon learn to relish the viands agreeable to those about us in the earlier part of life, and to eat and drink as our parents and friends do. The want of a refined palate would not be surprising among a set of uncivilized Africans; but it would be surprising to find them preferring wine to rum, when we recollect that they are accustomed to the latter from their infancy, and that they know nothing of the former; that fermented liquors are insipid to the palate used to distilled ones, and that one might as well expect a London drayman to prefer small beer to brown stout. I remember once offering a white man in Jamaica his choice of wine or rum, having at the time no brandy drawn; he chose the latter, with this answer: "Oh! Sir, any thing that bites the throat."

The Maroons, in general, speak, like most of the other negroes in the island a peculiar dialect of English, corrupted with African words; and certainly understand our language sufficiently well to have received instruction in it. I cannot be of opinion, that a sincere and fervent endeavour to introduce Christianity among them would have failed. It is true that a prejudice in favour of the magic of Obeah prevailed among them, as among other negroes; but it is no less true, that the influence of this prejudice operated differently, according to the strength of their understanding and experience. The greatest dupes to it were the most ignorant; and it was a generally received opinion, that the charm of Obeah could have no power over any negroe who had been baptized: not but that the weaker ones, whether Maroons or others, dreaded the arts of Obeah even after baptism. Minds forming this estimate of Christianity, could not but be prepared to embrace its soothing doctrines; and it must always be lamented that no attempts were ever made to introduce our religion among the black people in the colonies. I shall here only observe, that the superstition of Obeah would have vanished before the power of Christianity, and that no other power is likely to eradicate it. The Maroons continued to believe, like their forefathers, that

that Accompong was the God of the Heavens, the Creator of all things, and a deity of infinite goodneſs: but they neither offered ſacrifices to him, nor had they any mode of worſhip.

It is not to be ſuppoſed that an illiterate body of people, among whom ambition was unknown, and who ſpent their lives chiefly in hunting, raiſing proviſions, and traverſing the woods in purſuit of runaways, would attend to nice regulations for their internal government. There was no public revenue to manage; no army to maintain, though the whole formed a military body, under appointed officers: right and wrong were ſuppoſed to be underſtood, without being defined. The town conſiſted of a certain number of families collected together under a chief; and among them reſided a ſuperintendant, and four other white men, as appointed by the colonial legiſlature. Subject to the laws made for them in their relative ſituation, as dependent on the government of the iſland, they were in other reſpects at liberty to purſue the dictates of their own minds, and they conſequently followed the cuſtoms of their fathers. All their diſputes were ſubject to the determination of their chiefs, to whom they looked up with implicit confidence, and whom they uſually obeyed without argument. The Superintendant, likewiſe, took an active part in adjuſting their altercations, which chiefly aroſe from their propenſity to gaming, as they would play for conſiderable ſums of money; and from drunkenneſs, of which they were frequently guilty.

Agriculture among the Maroons was a very ſimple ſcience. They had few wants, and the ſupply of thoſe required neither great knowledge nor much labour. They placed a conſiderable dependence on hunting, and on their rewards for taking fugitives; but they did not therefore entirely neglect the cultivation of land, and were by no means ſo averſe to the toil it demands, as they have been repreſented. Many of them were negligent of the more certain modes of labour, for they were ſtrangers to the paſſions which ſtimulate ſuperfluous induſtry; but none could be ſaid to be indolent, for their lives were paſſed in unuſual perſonal exertions, which, as I before obſerved, conduced to thir ſtrength and ſymmetry. A provident diſpoſition, however, was ſpreading itſelf among them: they began to feel the advantages afforded by money, and large parties of them, of their own accord, frequently hired themſelves to the planters and new ſettlers, to clear and plant large tracts of land for certain wages; and ſeveral families of them, as I have already obſerved, ſettled by ſufferance on back lands which they cultivated for themſelves.

Their proviſion-grounds conſiſted of a conſiderable tract of unequal land, from which was produced a ſtock not only ſufficient for their own uſe, but ſo ſuperabundant as to enable them to ſupply the neighbouring ſettlements. Plantain, Indian corn or maize, yams, cocoas, toyaus, and in ſhort all the nutritious roots that thrive in tropic ſoils, were cultivated in their grounds. In their gardens grew moſt of the culinary vegetables,

and they were not without ſome fine fruits: for though to theſe, in general, the ſoil of their mountains was unfavourable, being either moiſt or clayey, yet they had ſome valuable fruit-trees, among which the Avocado, or Alligator-pear, ranked foremoſt. Mammees, and other wild but delicious fruits, were at their hand, and pine-apples grew in their hedges. They bred cattle and hogs, and raiſed a great quantity of fowls. When to this domeſtic proviſion of good and wholeſome food, we add the luxuries afforded by the woods, the wild boar, ring-tail pigeons, and other wild birds, and the land-crab, which ſome eſteem the greateſt dainty in the Weſt Indies, we may doubt whether the palate of Apicius would not have received higher gratification in Trelawney Town than at Rome.

The women chiefly were employed in the cultivation of their grounds; but this they did not account an impoſition upon them by the men. We are not to imagine that what would be real cruelty in a refined ſtate of ſociety, is cruelty, or even hardſhip, in a rough and unpoliſhed people, among whom every individual depends upon his own exertions for his ſupport. In what country on the globe is it, that in the claſs of mankind doomed to labour, we ſhall not find tribes, the women of which participate the toils of the men? Is it France? Is it England? If the Maroon women were employed in burning trees and in tillage, the men, beſides hunting and purſuing run-aways, were employed in fencing the grounds, building and repairing houſes, attending to their cattle and horſes, of which they had about 200 head, and carrying on their petty commerce. They were none of them mechanics, all their knowledge of that kind was confined to the art of erecting a houſe, and repairing a gun.

Their traffic conſiſted in the diſpoſal of the increaſe of their ſtock of all kinds, their jirked hog, and ſuperfluous proviſions, which enabled them to purchaſe other commodities, and to put money by. They made a conſiderable profit by manufacturing tobacco. They bought the leaf of the plant on the eſtates within the diſtance of twenty or thirty miles, which their women and children aſſiſted them in carrying home, each loaded with a weight proportioned to the ſtrength of the carrier. The purchaſe was put into bags, which were made by knitting the fibres of the trumpet-tree and mahoe bark, the ends of which were contracted into a bandage that went round the fore-head, and ſerved as a ſtay to the load, which reſted on the back. The leaves were dried and prepared for uſe by the men, who twiſted them into a kind of rope, of about the third of an inch in diameter, which they rolled up in balls, and carried out in the ſame manner to the different eſtates for ſale.

The Maroon marriages, or contracts of cohabitation, were attended with no religious or juridical ceremonies; the conſent of the woman to live with the man being ſufficient. That being obtained, gifts of clothes and trinkets were made to the bride; and frequently the bridegroom received preſents of hogs, fowls, and other things, from the relations of

of the woman, to whom, in caſe of a ſeparation, they were to be returned. A plurality of wives was allowed. A man might have as many as he could maintain; but very few had more than two, and moſt of them confined themſelves to one. It was very expenſive to have ſeveral wives; for the huſband, on making a preſent to one, was obliged to make an equal gift to each of the others. Each wife lived in turn with her huſband two days, during which time the others cultivated their grounds, or carried their proviſions to market; the property of each was diſtinct from that of the others, but the huſband ſhared with all. The children of the different women were to be noticed by their father only on the days when their reſpective mothers ſojourned with him. A breach of this decorum would have inflamed the injured mother with jealouſy; a paſſion, however, in every reſpect confined to the temporary dame, for to the others all the extra-gallantry of the man was a matter of indifference. If the men ſometimes behaved with brutality to their wives or children, it was generally the effect of intoxication.

However, theſe people were certainly in a ſtate far removed from civilization, and I do not doubt that their paſſions might have occaſionally inſtigated them to violences that were ſavage: yet that at any time they would kill their children by daſhing them againſt rocks, I cannot but think an aſſertion without proof. The murderer would have been brought to condign puniſhment by the Superintendant; who, ſo far from thinking it prudent to keep his diſtance, would have inſtantly ſeized the wretch. I ſpeak particularly of Trelawney Town, the Superintendant of which had been long reſident there, and whoſe character, fully refutes the charge of a daſtardly prudence.

Inſtances of revenge ariſing from jealouſy ſeldom occurred among the Maroons. Like their African progenitors, they parted with their wives for incontinency, without inflicting ſeverer puniſhments. In Africa, the men had the power of ſelling the adultreſs. The younger females were not generally votreſſes of Diana. When a girl was of an age to become a wife, the parents killed a hog, and made a feaſt, to which the neighbours were invited. Plenty of good things were provided; nor was rum ſpared by the elders, while the younger people danced. Each of the party put a ſmall piece of money in the girl's mouth, generally a quarter of a dollar, but the parents' piece was frequently gold. Although this feaſt was intended by the family as a ſignal to the young men for making an offer, the girl herſelf uſually preferred a ſtate of celibacy for ſome years after it was publicly known *that ſhe had killed a hog*.

The funerals of the Maroons were much the ſame as thoſe of other negroes. Deaths were not more frequent among them than elſewhere, although they ſeldom had recourſe to the aid of medicine. Not that they were averſe to it; for, if an opportunity offered, they readily applied to the plantation doctors, and ſometimes they took ſimple herbs preſcribed

to them by their old women. It was their cuſtom to ſing over their dead previous to burial; and, incloſing the body in a wooden coffin, they interred it in ſome part of their incloſure.

Deſcription of the Spaniſh Chaſſeurs and Blood Hounds of the Iſland of Cuba.

(From the ſame.)

THE commiſſioner (Colonel Quarrel, ſent from Jamaica to Cuba, for the purpoſe of engaging Chaſſeurs) every where met with the greateſt hoſpitality, and received the politeſt attentions from the moſt reſpectable families. He was particularly obliged to an Engliſh Guinea-merchant, named Allwood, reſiding at the Havanna, through whoſe influence with perſons of the higheſt rank and appointments he had great advantages, many intereſting themſelves in promoting his views. One of them, Don Manuel de Seias, the Alcade Provinciale, commanded about ſix and thirty chaſſeurs, who were in the King's pay. The employment of theſe is to traverſe the country for the purpoſe of purſuing and taking up all perſons guilty of murder and other offences, in which they ſeldom fail of ſucceſs, no activity on the part of the offenders being able to elude their purſuit. An extraordinary inſtance occurred about a month before the commiſſioner arrived at the Havanna. A fleet from Jamaica, under convoy to Great Britain, paſſing through the gulf of Mexico, beat up on the north ſide of Cuba. One of the ſhips, manned with foreigners, chiefly renegado Spaniards, being a dull ſailer, and conſequently lagging aſtern, ſtanding in with the land at night, was run on ſhore, the captain, officers, and the few Britiſh hands on board murdered, and the veſſel plundered by the Spaniſh renegadoes. The part of the coaſt on which the veſſel was ſtranded, being wild and unfrequented, the aſſaſſins retired with their booty to the mountains, intending to penetrate through the woods to ſome remote ſettlements on the ſouth ſide, where they hoped to ſecure themſelves, and elude all purſuit. Early intelligence of the crime, however, had been conveyed to the Havanna, and the aſſaſſins were purſued by a detachment of twelve of the Chaſſeurs del Rey, with their dogs. In a few days they were all brought in and executed. The head and right arm of each were ſuſpended in frames, not unlike parrot-cages, which were hung on various gibbets, at the port and other conſpicuous places on the coaſt, near the entrance of the harbour.

The dogs carried out by the Chaſſeurs del Rey are perfectly broken in, that is to ſay, they will not kill the object they purſue unleſs reſiſted. On coming up with a fugitive, they bark at him till he ſtops, they then couch near him, terrifying him with a ferocious growling if he ſtirs. In this poſition they continue barking to give notice to the chaſſeurs, who come up and ſecure their priſoner. Each chaſſeur, though he can hunt only with two dogs properly, is obliged to have three, which he

5 maintains

maintains at his own coſt, and that at no ſmall expence. Theſe people live with their dogs, from which they are inſeparable. At home the dogs are kept chained, and when walking with their maſters, are never unmuzzled or let out of ropes, but for attack. They are conſtantly accompanied with one or two ſmall dogs called finders, whoſe ſcent is very keen, and always ſure of hitting off a track. Dogs and bitches hunt equally well, and the chaſſeurs rear no more than will ſupply the number required. This breed of dogs, indeed, is not ſo prolific as the common kinds, though infinitely ſtronger and hardier. The animal is the ſize of a very large hound, with ears erect, which are uſually cropped at the points; the noſe more pointed, but widening very much towards the after-part of the jaw. His coat, or ſkin, is much harder than that of moſt dogs, and ſo muſt be the whole ſtructure of the body, as the ſevere beatings he undergoes in training would kill any other ſpecies of dog. There are ſome, but not many, of a more obtuſe noſe, and which are rather ſquarer ſet. Theſe, it may be preſumed, have been croſſed by the maſtiff, but if by this the bulk has been a little increaſed, it has added nothing to the ſtrength, height, beauty, or agility, of the native breed.

The chaſſeur has no other weapon than a long ſtrait muſchet, or couteau, longer than a dragon's ſword, and twice as thick, ſomething like a flat iron bar ſharpened at the lower end, of which about eighteen inches are as ſharp as a razor. The point is not unlike the old Roman ſword. The ſteel of them is excellent, and made at Guanabacoa, about three miles from the Havanna. The handle of the muſchet is without a guard, but ſcolloped to admit the fingers and ſuit the graſp. Theſe men, as we have ſeen, are under an officer of high rank, the Alcade Provinciale, and receive a good pay from the Government, beſides private rewards for particular and extraordinary ſervices. They are a very hardy, brave, and deſperate ſet of people, ſcrupulouſly honeſt, and remarkably faithful.

The activity of the chaſſeurs no negro on earth can elude; and ſuch is their temperance, that with a few ounces of ſalt for each, they can ſupport themſelves for whole months on the vegetable and farinacious food afforded by the woods. They drink nothing ſtronger than water, with which, when at a diſtance from ſprings, they are copiouſly ſupplied by the wild pine, by the black and grape withes, which are about two inches in diameter, and the roots of the cotton-tree. Of the laſt, ſix feet junked off the ſmaller part of the root, where it tapers to the thickneſs of a man's thigh, will yield ſeveral gallons of water. In the greateſt drought theſe reſources ſeldom fail. For the wild pine they are obliged to climb trees; but that they do almoſt with the velocity of a monkey. This plant takes root on the body of a tree, and the leaves of it are ſo formed as to catch the rain and conduct it to a reſervoir at the baſe, where being never expoſed to the ſun, it is found delightfully freſh and cool. But the eaſieſt method of obtaining water in the woods, and with leſs delay on a march, is from the black

and grape withes: it is done with greater expedition than drinking at a ſpring. The chaſſeur catches a pendent withe, which, with his muſchet, he divides about two feet from the ground, and applies the end of the withe, as it hangs, to his mouth, or to his dog's, who indicates his thirſt, he then cuts the withe off, about ſix feet higher, keeping the upper end elevated, when the air being admitted above, he receives through the porous fibres of it near a quart of delightful cold water. With reſpect to animal food, if any of them happen to deſire it, they find no difficulty in obtaining it. The little finder, if ſet on, but not otherwiſe, will ſoon bay one of the wild hogs with which the woods abound; the animal, retreating for ſhelter to the trunk of a tree, is immediately transfixed with a lance. The men cure as much of the fleſh as they think they will have occaſion for, by ſcoring it internally to the ſkin, ſprinkling it with ſalt, and ſmoking it; over the ſmoke they throw ſome aromatic leaves, which not only add to its flavour, but aſſiſt in preſerving it. The meat thus cured will keep for months, and is eſteemed a very great dainty by the moſt refined Epicures. It is in fact the jirked hog, already mentioned in the account of the Maroon mode of life. The part of the hog not preſerved is given to the dogs. The purſuit of the game is entirely the province of the finder; the larger dogs, from their training, would paſs a hog without notice; were one of them to bark at a hog, he would be ſeverely puniſhed. The chaſſeurs beat their dogs moſt unmercifully, uſing the flat ſides of their heavy muſchets. When they are going out on ſervice, the large chains in which they are kept at home are taken off, and a light, but well-twiſted, cotton rope ſubſtituted, to which the muzzle and collar joined together are attached at one end, while the other is fixed to the belt of the chaſſeur; who, when a purſuit is to be made, ſlips them off, ſecuring them round his waiſt with the rope to which they are tied, draws his muſchet, and puſhes forward nearly as faſt as his dogs; for the latter are impeded by the underwood, and are ſometimes ſo entangled as to require the aſſiſtance of their maſters to cut their way through the difficulty which obſtructs their proceeding. The greateſt privation felt by a chaſſeur in ſervice is the want of a ſegar, which he muſt not uſe in the woods, where the ſcent, from the freſhneſs of the trees and ſtillneſs of the air, continues long ſuſpended, and is gradually ſpread in the atmoſphere, by which the company could not but be betrayed, in ſpite of the great ſilence which they obſerve on their marches. At other times the ſegar is hardly ever out of their mouths.

I muſt now complete your idea of a Spaniſh chaſſeur, by giving you a deſcription of his dreſs. You may imagine it will be brief, for the wearer is not a man of faſhion, and he lives beneath a vertical ſun. A check ſhirt open at the collar ſo as to expoſe the neck, from which hangs a ſmall crucifix; a wide pair of trowſers, alſo check; a ſtraw hat, or rather one manufactured of the moraſs thatch divided into ſmall filaments, ſeven or eight inches in the rim, with a ſhallow round crown, and very light; and his belt and ſword, already deſcribed,

ſcribed, and a pair of untanned leather ſhoes. Into this dreſs put a man with a Spaniſh countenance, ſwarthy but animated, a perſon above the middle ſize, thin but not meagre: to his belt affix the cotton ropes, and imagine them attached by collars round the necks of his dogs, and you will have a finiſhed picture of him.

Beſides his untanned ſhoe, the chaſſeur often contrives in the woods a curious defence for his feet, which is greatly preferable. Having ſkinned the thighs and hocks of the wild hog, he thruſts his foot into the raw hide as far as he can force it, then cuts a ſmall ſlip at the inſtep, and with his knife takes off the ſuperfluous ſkin behind, adapting the remainder to his ancle and the lower part of his leg. The pliant hide takes the ſhape of a cloſe ſhort half boot, ſitting like a glove on the foot, with a lengthened uſeleſs projection beyond the toe, ſomething reſembling the modern faſhion of our beaux. This contrivance will laſt a march of weeks, or months; but once taken off, the ſkin dries, ſhrivels, and becomes uſeleſs. There are *porco zopatos* made of dried hides, that reach to the calf of the leg; but they are wide, hard, and not pliant to the feet.

Doctor Franklin's Plagiariſms.

(From Davis's Travels in America.)

I OBTAINED accommodations at the Waſhington tavern, which ſtands oppoſite the Treaſury. At this tavern I took my meals at the public table, where there was every day to be found a number of clerks, employed at the different offices under Government; together with about half a dozen *Virginians*, and a few *New England* men. There was a perpetual conflict of opinions between theſe ſouthern and northern men; and one night, after ſupper, I was preſent at a vehement diſpute, which terminated in the loſs of a horſe, a ſaddle, and bridle.

The diſpute was about Dr. *Franklin*; the man from *New England*, enthuſiaſtic in what related to *Franklin*, aſſerted that, the Doctor being ſelf-taught, was original in every thing that he had ever publiſhed.

"Sir," replied the *Virginian*, "the writings of *Franklin*, ſo far "from being original, exhibit no- "thing but a tranſpoſition of the "thoughts of others. Nay, *Frank-* "*lin* is a downright plagiariſt. Let "him retain only his own fea- "thers; let thoſe he has ſtolen "be reſtored to their lawful poſ- "ſeſſors, and, *Franklin*, who now "ſtruts about expanding the gay- "eſt plumage, will be without a "ſingle feather to cover his "rump." (A loud laugh from the whole party.)

New England Man. If accuſation without proof can condemn a man who, Sir, ſhall be innocent? Sir, you are a *Virginian*. I intend no perſonal reflection, but it is notorious that the ſouthern people do not hold the memory of *Franklin* in much eſtimation. But hear what a *Latin* writer ſays of him. *Eripuit cælo* ſomething—Gentlemen, I have forgot the moſt of my *Latin*; I cannot quote ſo correctly now as I did once; but this I can

assure you, and you may rely on my word for it, that the compliment is a very fine one.

Virginian. I know the line you advert to; it was an eruption of mad enthusiasm from the disordered intellect of *Turgot*. But this is digressing from our subject; I maintain, and can prove, that *Franklin* is a plagiarist; a downright, bare-faced, shameless plagiarist.

New-England Man. *Franklin*, perhaps, Sir, had not that stoical calmness, which a great man in your state is remarkable for; he did not endeavour to catch applause by baiting his hook with affected diffidence. *Franklin* was above it. His penetration discovered, and his candour acknowledged, that sheer impudence was any time less injurious than mock-modesty.

Virginian. Sir, an oracular darkness accompanies your discourse. But why retreat? Why not stand your ground? Why not evince yourself the champion of *Franklin?* Again I throw down the gauntlet! *Franklin*, I maintain, was a shameless plagiarist.

New-England Man. Have you a horse here, my friend?

Virginian. Sir, I hope you do not suppose that I came hither on foot from *Virginia*. I have, Sir, in Mr. *White*'s stable the prettiest *Chickasaw* that ever trod upon four pasterns. I *swopped* for her a roan horse; Mr. *Gibbs*, you remember my roan (turning to a man in company); I say, I swopped for her a roan with *Mad-Dog*, the *Chickasaw* Chief, who lives on the *Mississippi*.

New-England Man. And I have a bay mare here, that I bought of *Nezer Mattocks*, at *Salem*. I gave ninety dollars in hard cash for her. Now, I, my friend, will lay my bay mare against your *Chickasaw*, that Doctor *Franklin* is not a plagiarist.

Virginian. Done! Go it! Waiter! You waiter!

The waiter obeyed the summons, and making the *Virginian* a bow, replied, You call, Mossa *Ryland?*

Virginian. Yes, *Atticus*. Bring down my portmanteau out of my room. I never travel without books. And it critically happens, that in my portmanteau, I have both *Franklin*'s Miscellanies, and *Taylor*'s Discourses.

The trunk being opened, the *Virginian* put *Franklin*'s Miscellanies into the hand of the disputant, and desired he would read the celebrated Parable against persecution.

New-England Man (reading). "And it came to pass, after these "things, that *Abraham* sat in the "door of his tent, about the going "down of the sun. And behold "a man, bent with age, coming "from the way of the wilderness "leaning on his staff! And *Abra-*"*ham* arose and met him, and said "unto him: Turn in, I pray "thee, and wash thy feet, and tarry "all night; and thou shalt arise "early in the morning, and go on "thy way, and the man said, "Nay; for I will abide under "this tree. But *Abraham* pressed "him greatly; so he turned, and "they went into the tent,—and "*Abraham* baked unleavened "bread, and they did eat. And "when *Abraham* saw that the man "blessed not God, he said unto him,

" him, wherefore doſt thou not " worſhip the Moſt High God, " Creator of heaven and earth? " And the man anſwered, and ſaid, " I do not worſhip thy God, " neither do I call upon his name; " for I have made to myſelf a " god, which abideth in my houſe, " and provideth me with all " things. And *Abraham*'s zeal " was kindled againſt the man; " and he aroſe and fell upon him, " and drove him forth with blows " into the wilderneſs. And God " called unto *Abraham*, ſaying, " *Abraham*, where is the ſtranger? " And *Abraham* anſwered and ſaid, " Lord, he would not worſhip " thee, neither would he call upon " thy name; therefore have I " driven him out from before my " face into the wilderneſs. And " God ſaid, Have I borne with " him theſe hundred and ninety " and eight years, and nouriſhed " him, and cloathed him, not- " withſtanding his rebellion againſt " me; and couldeſt not thou, who " art thyſelf a ſinner, bear with " him one night?"

The *New-England Man* having read the parable, he turned to the company, and, with tumultuous rapture, exclaimed, "What a noble " leſſon is this to the intolerant! " Can any thing ſpeak more home? " Why the writer appears in- " ſpired."

And inſpired he was, cried the *Virginian*. There is nothing in that parable, Sir, natural; every word of it was revealed. It all came to *Franklin* from Biſhop *Taylor*. There, Sir; read and be convinced. This book was printed more than a century ago; it is a volume of Polemical Diſcourſes.

New-England Man (reading). " When *Abraham* ſat at his tent " door, according to his cuſtom, " waiting to entertain ſtrangers, " he eſpied an old man ſtooping " and leaning on his ſtaff, weary " with age and travel, coming " towards him, who was an hun- " dred years of age. He re- " ceived him kindly, waſhed his " feet, provided ſupper, and cauſed " him to ſit down; but, obſerving " that the old man ate and prayed " not, nor begged for a bleſſing on " his meat, he aſked him why he " did not worſhip the God of hea- " ven? The old man told him, " that he worſhipped the fire only, " and acknowledged no other god. " At which anſwer *Abraham* grew " ſo zealouſly angry, that he " thruſt the old man out of his " tent, and expoſed him to all the " evils of the night, and an un- " guarded condition. When the " old man was gone, God called to " *Abraham*, and aſked him where " the ſtranger was? He replied, " I thruſt him away, becauſe he " did not worſhip thee. God an- " ſwered him, I have ſuffered him " theſe hundred years, although he " diſhonoured me; and couldeſt " not thou endure him one night, " and when he gave thee no " trouble?"

The *New-England Man* having done reading, the *Virginian* leaped from his ſeat, and, calling the waiter, exclaimed, "*Atticus!* Tell " the oſtler to put the bay mare in " the next ſtall to the *Chickaſaw*, " and, do you hear, give her half " a gallon of oats more upon the " ſtrength of her having a new " maſter."

Here followed a hearty laugh from the audience; but the *New England Man* exhibited ſtrong

ſymptoms

symptoms of chagrin. "Devil "take *Franklin*," said he. "An "impostor! a humbug." "If he "ever obtains the wish he ex- "presses in his epitaph, of under- "going a new edition in the next "world, may his plagiarisms be "omitted, that no more wagers "may be lost by them."

"*His* epitaph, did you say, "Sir?" cried the *Virginian*. "I "hardly think he came by that "honestly."

New England Man. Sir, I will lay you my saddle of it; a bran new saddle. *Jonathan Gregory*, of *Boston*, imported it from *London*.

Virginian. My saddle, Sir, is imported too.—I *swopped* a double-barrelled gun for it with Mr. *Racer*, of *Fairfax County*. And I will not only lay my saddle against your's, Sir, that *Franklin* did not come honestly by his epitaph; but I will lay my snaffle-bridle, and my curb, my plated stirrups and stirrup leathers—aye, and my martingale into the bargain.

New England Man. Done! Go it! Now for your proof.

Virginian. Is there any gentleman in company *besides myself*, who understands *Latin*. If there is, let him have the goodness to speak.

New England Man. This gentlemen who came with me from *Salem*, is not only a *Latin*, but a *Greek* scholar. He was *reared* at *Cambridge* *. He will talk *Latin* with professor *Willard* an hour by the clock.

Virginian. Then, Sir, I believe, he will adjudge to me your imported saddle. Will you do me the favour to introduce me to your companion.

New England Man. This, Sir, is Mr. *Meadows*, He is the author of an Ode on the Clam Feast †.

Virginian. Mr. *Meadows*, give me leave. Within the cover of this book you will find the epitaph which passes as *Franklin*'s. I entreat you to read it aloud.

Mr. *Meadows* (reading).

"THE BODY
of
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Printer,
(Like the cover of an old book,
Its contents torn out,
And stript of its lettering and gilding)
Lies here, food for worms.
Yet the Work itself shall not be lost:
For it will (as he believ'd) appear once more
In a new
And more beautiful Edition,
Corrected and Amended
By
The Author."

New England Man. Well, Sir! And what objection can you make to this? Does it not breathe humility? Is it not a lecture on mortality?

Virginian. Sir, it was not honestly

* An University near *Boston*.

† The first emigrants to *New England*, appeased their hunger, upon landing on the shore of *America*, with some shell-fish they found on the beach, known in popular language by the name of *Clams*. The anniversary of this day is every year celebrated on the spot, by their descendants, who feast upon Clams.

nestly

neſtly come by. Franklin robbed a little boy of it. The very words, Sir, are taken from a Latin epitaph written on a bookſeller, by an Eton ſcholar. Mr. Meadows, do, Sir, read the epitaph which I have paſted on the other cover*. Mr. Meadows (reads).

"Vitæ volumine peracto,
Hic finis JACOBI TONSON,
Perpoliti Soſiorum principis:
Qui, velut obſtetrix muſarum,
In lucem edidit
Felices ingenii partus.
Lugete, ſcriptorum chorus,
Et frangite calamos;
Ille veſter, margine eraſus, deletur!
Sed hæc poſtrema inſcriptio
Huic primæ mortis paginæ
Imprimatur,
Ne prelo ſepulchri commiſſus,
Ipſe editor careat titulo:
Hic jacet bibliopola,
Folio vitæ delapſo,
Expectans Novam Editionem
Auctiorem et Emendatiorem."

Virginian. Well, Mr *Meadows*, what ſay you? Is this accidental or ſtudied ſimilitude? What ſay you, Mr. *Meadows?*

Mr. *Meadows.* The ſaddle, Sir, is your's!

On hearing this laconic, but deciſive ſentence pronounced by his friend, the New England Man grew outrageous—which ſerved only to augment the triumph of the Virginian. Be pacified, cried he. I will give you another chance. I will lay you my boots againſt your's, that Franklin's pretended diſcovery of calming troubled waters by pouring upon them oil, may be found in the third book of Bede's Hiſtory of the Church; or that his facetious Eſſay on the Air-bath, is poached word for word from Aubrey's Miſcellanies. What ſay you?

Why I ſay, returned the New England Man, that I ſhould be ſorry to go bootleſs home, and, therefore, I will lay no more wagers about Doctor Franklin's originality.

Deſcription of a Viſit to the Grave of an Indian Warrior.

(From the ſame.)

ON the north bank of the Occoquan is a pile of ſtones, which indicates that an Indian warrior is interred underneath. The Indians from the back ſettlements, in travelling to the northward, never fail to leave the main road, and viſit the grave of their departed hero. If a ſtone be thrown down, they religiouſly reſtore it to the

* If it ſhould be objected that Franklin was ignorant of Latin, let it be told that, an Engliſh tranſlation of this epitaph may be found in the Gentleman's Magazine, for February, 1736. The ſource, probably, from which Franklin got his thought.

pile;

pile; and, ſitting round the rude monument, they meditate profoundly; catching, perhaps, a local emotion from the place.

A party of Indians, while I was at Occoquan, turned from the common road into the woods, to viſit this grave on the bank of the river.

The party was compoſed of an elderly Chief, twelve young War Captains, and a couple of Squaws. Of the women, the youngeſt was an intereſting girl of ſeventeen; remarkably well ſhaped, and poſſeſſed of a profuſion of hair, which in colour was raven black. She appeared ſuch another object as the mind images Pocahontes to have been. The people of Occoquan, with more curioſity than breeding, aſſembled round the party; but they appeared to be wholly indifferent to their gaze; the men amuſed themſelves by chopping the ground with their tomahawks, and the women were buſied in making a garment for the Chief.

Among the whites was a young man of gigantic ſtature; he was, perhaps, a head taller than any of the reſt of the company. The old Indian could not but remark the lofty ſtature of the man; he ſeemed to eye him involuntarily; and, at length, riſing from the ground, he went up to the giant ſtranger, and ſhook him by the hand. This raiſed a loud laugh from all the lookers-on; but the Indians ſtill maintained an inflexible gravity.

When I ſaw the ſquaws a ſecond time, they were juſt come from their toilet. Woman throughout the world delights ever in finery; the great art is to ſuit the colours to the complexion.

The youngeſt girl would have attracted notice in any circle of Europe. She had faſtened to her long dark hair a profuſion of ribbons, which the bounty of the people of Occoquan had heaped upon her; and, the treſſes of this Indian beauty, which before had been confined round her head, now rioted luxuriantly down her ſhoulders and back. The adjuſtment of her dreſs one would have thought ſhe had learned from ſome Engliſh female of faſhion; for ſhe had left it ſo open before, that the moſt inattentive eye could not but diſcover the riſe and fall of a boſom juſt beginning to fill.

The covering of this young woman's feet rivetted the eye of the ſtranger with its novelty and ſplendour. Nothing could be more delicate than her mocaſſins. They were each of them formed of a ſingle piece of leather, having the ſeams ornamented with beads and porcupine quills; while a ſtring of ſcarlet ribbon confined the mocaſſin round the inſtep, and made every other part of it fit cloſe to the foot. The mocaſſin was of a bright yellow, and made from the ſkin of a deer, which had been killed by the arrow of one of the Indian youths. Let me be pardoned for having ſpoken of this lady's foot with ſuch minuteneſs of inveſtigation. A naturaliſt will devote a whole chapter to the examination of a bird, count the feathers in its wings, and declaim with the higheſt rapture on its variegated plumage; and a traveller may ſurely be forgiven a few remarks on the ſeducing foot of an Indian beauty. *Utrum horum mavis accipe?*

Of theſe Indians, the men had not been inattentive to their perſons. The old Chief had clad himſelf in a robe of furs, and the young

young warriors had blacked their bodies with charcoal.

The Indians, being aſſembled round the grave, the old Chief roſe with a ſolemn mien, and, knocking his war-club againſt the ground, pronounced an oration to the memory of the departed warrior.

"Here reſts the body of a Chief of our nation, who, before his ſpirit took its flight to the country of ſouls, was the boldeſt in war, and the fleeteſt in the chace. The arm that is now mouldering beneath this pile, could once wield the tomahawk with vigour, and often cauſed the foe to ſink beneath its weight. (A dreadful cry of Whoo! Whoo! Whoop! from the hearers.) It has often graſped the head of the expiring enemy, and often with the knife diveſted it of the ſcalp. (a yell of whoo! whoo! whoop!) It has often bound to the ſtake the priſoner of war, and piled the blazing faggots round the victim, ſinging his laſt ſong of death. (A yell of whoo! whoop!) The foot that is now motionleſs, was once fleeter than the hart that grazes on the mountain; and in danger it was ever more ready to advance than retreat. (A cry of whoo! whoo! whoop!) But the hero is not gone unprovided to the country of ſpirits. His tomahawk was buried with him to repulſe the enemy in the field; and his bow to pierce the deer that flies through the woods."

No orator of antiquity ever exceeded this ſavage chief in the force of his emphaſis, and the propriety of his geſture. Indeed, the whole ſcene was highly dignified. The fierceneſs of his countenance, the flowing robe, elevated tone, naked arm, and erect ſtature, with a circle of auditors ſeated on the ground, and in the open air, could not but impreſs upon the mind a lively idea of the celebrated ſpeakers of ancient Greece and Rome.

Having ended his oration, the Indian ſtruck his war-club with fury againſt the ground, and the whole party obeyed the ſignal by joining in a war-dance;—leaping and brandiſhing their knives at the throats of each other, and accompanying their menacing attitudes with a whoop and a yell, which echoed with ten-fold horror from the banks of the river.

The dance took place by moonlight, and it was ſcarcely finiſhed, when the Chief produced a keg of whiſkey, and having taken a draught, paſſed it round among his brethren. The ſquaws now moved the tomahawks into the woods, and a ſcene of riot enſued. The keg was ſoon emptied. The effects of the liquor began to diſplay itſelf in the looks and motions of the Indians. Some rolled their eyes with diſtraction; others could not keep on their legs. At length, ſucceeded the moſt diſmal noiſes. Such hoops, ſuch ſhouts, ſuch roaring, ſuch yells, all the devils of hell ſeemed collected together. Each ſtrove to do an outrage on the other. This ſeized the other by the throat; that kicked with raging fury at his adverſary. And to complete the ſcene, the old warrior was uttering the moſt mournful lamentations over the keg he had emptied; inhaling its flavour with his lips, holding it out with his hands in a ſupplicating attitude, and vociferating to the bye-ſtanders Scuttawawbah! Scuttawawbah! More ſtrong drink! More ſtrong drink!

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

Account of a new Species of Delphinus, an Inhabitant of the Ganges.

(From the Aſiatic Reſearches, vol. vii.*)*

LINNÆUS, in his arrangement of the animal kingdom, ſeparates the Narval, Whales, Cachalets, and Dolphins, compriſing the tribe of cetaceous animals, from the fiſhes, and places them in the claſs Mammalia, becauſe they ſuckle their young. This mode has been by ſome deemed unnatural; but as it renders the arrangement methodical, eaſy, and conſpicuous, it is now generally followed*. The animals of the cetaceous order of the claſs Mammalia, to which belongs the ſpecies now to be deſcribed, are characterized by the following circumſtances. They inhabit the ocean, or large rivers. They have no feet. They breathe through a fiſtulous opening on the upper part of the head. They have two pectoral fins, and an horizontally flatted tail. They copulate and ſuckle their young like quadrupeds; which they reſemble alſo in the ſtructure and uſe of their internal parts.

The four genera compoſing this order, are diſtinguiſhed chiefly by the teeth. That to which this new ſpecies belongs, is denominated Delphinus; the eſſential character of the ſpecies thereof is: They are furniſhed with bony teeth in each jaw; whereas the other three genera have either no teeth, or have them in one jaw only. Gmelin's laſt edition of the Syſtema Naturæ of Linnæus, mentions only four diſtinct ſpecies, viz. Phocœna, (*a*;) Delphis, (*b*;) Orca, (*c*;) and Leucas (*d*;) to which I now add a fifth, viz.

DELPHINUS GANGETICUS,

The body of which is nearly of a lanceolate ſhape, and almoſt round.

* Pennant in his Britiſh Zoology, makes a different arrangement; by which he places the Cete amongſt the fiſhes, diſtributing the whole into three grand diviſions. 1ſt, Cetaceous-fiſh. 2d, Cartaliginous-fiſh. And 3d, Bony-fiſh. But in the ſubdiviſion of this laſt grand claſs, he follows Linnæus.

(*a*) The Porpoiſe. (*b*) The Dolphin. (*c*) The Grampus. (*d*) The Beluga, or white fiſh of the Ruſſians.

The

The jaws, long and ſlender; with ſixty teeth in each. No dorſal fin.

Soofoo is the name it is known by amongſt the Bengaleſe about Calcutta.

They are found in great numbers in the Ganges, even ſo far up as it is navigable, but ſeem to delight moſt in the ſlow moving labyrinth of rivers and creeks, which interſect the delta of that river to the South, S. E. and Eaſt, of Calcutta.

DESCRIPTION.

The Body (including the head) is of an ovate-lanceolate ſhape; by which term I mean rather long and ſlender, thickeſt about the fore part, from thence tapering to the tail; from the anus forward, nearly round *. The ſkin is ſoft, ſmooth, and of a ſhining pearl grey, or lead colour, when dry; with here and there lighter coloured ſpots, or clouds, particularly when old; but when the animal is alive, and as we then ſee it wet when it riſes to breathe, it appears much darker. The length of the individual, (a young, little more than half grown male,) from which this deſcription is taken, ſix and a half feet, and at the thickeſt part, which is nearly about, or rather behind, the pectoral fins, three in circumference: the weight one hundred and twenty pounds.

Head obtuſe, ſomewhat carinated on the upper and anterior part, ſuddenly tapering to a long, ſlender, but ſtrong beak, or mouth; (not unlike that of ſome birds.) The jaws are ſtrong, though ſlender: nearly equal, and almoſt ſtraight. Taken ſingly, they are ſub-cylindrical, and without lips, or any other ſubſtance to hide the teeth. Their length is nearly about a ſixth part of the length of the whole animal, beak and tail included.

Teeth, in both jaws one hundred and twenty; of which there are thirty in each ſide of each jaw; thoſe before are longer, ſharper, more approximated, and ſomewhat incurved; they become gradually ſmaller, ſhorter, and more remote, as they approach the throat; and are fitted to lock into thoſe of the oppoſite jaw when the mouth is ſhut.

Tongue large, oval, firmly attached in its whole length to the integuments which connect the poſterior furcated part of the lower jaw.

Eyes exceedingly minute, being only about a line in diameter, of a bright, ſhining, blackiſh colour; ſituate nearly two inches above the poſterior angles of the mouth; and ſunk pretty deep in their ſmall round orbits.

Fiſtula, or ſpout hole, is ſituate on the upper part or crown of the head; it is linear, and ſomewhat bent like the letter *f*.

Ears external, two ſmall, ſemilunar apertures, conſiderably behind, and a little above the eyes.

Fins pectoral, of an oblique fan-ſhape, about nine inches long and ſeven broad at the poſterior margin, which is ſcolloped; beneath their ſkin may be felt the bones, extending to the angles of the ſcolloped margin. Inſtead of a dorſal-fin, there is only a

* But behind that aperture, the vertical diameter exceeds the horizontal conſiderably.

pro-

projecting angle about half way between the fiſtula and tail.

Tail horizontal, (as in the reſt of the order Cete,) creſcent ſhaped; expands, at the extreme points fourteen inches. Depth of the concave ſide of the creſcent about two inches: beſides, there is a fiſſure in the center, which penetrates about an inch and a half farther into the tail.

Genital organs of the male. The aperture is about twelve inches behind the inſertion of the pectoral fins, and about ten before the anus. The member itſelf, in its flaccid ſtate, is about ten inches long, and then entirely hid in the belly. It is compoſed of two portions, having their limits marked by two large projecting lobes, affixed to the under ſide: theſe are of a firm liver-like texture and colour. The poſterior portion is perfectly cylindric, and about as thick as a man's finger; the anterior part is much ſmaller, and tapers to a fine point; they are nearly of equal lengths; that is, about five inches each.

The female has not yet been examined.

When in purſuit of the fiſh on which it feeds, it moves with great velocity, and uncommon activity; but at all other times, ſo far as I have been able to obſerve, or learn the motions of this animal are ſlow and heavy, often riſing to the ſurface of the water to breathe.

Between the ſkin and the fleſh, is a coat of pale yellowiſh coloured fat, more or leſs thick, according to the ſtate of the animal. This the Hindoos ſet a high value on, as an external medicine, of great efficacy for removing pains of various kinds. The fleſh is like the lean of beef in colour, nor has it any diſagreeable ſmell; yet, ſo far as I can learn, the natives never eat it.

In the ſtomach were found only ſome grains of paddy, (rice in the huſk,) a few minute fragments of ſhells, and many living active Aſcarides*. Notwithſtanding the contents of the ſtomach of this individual, there is no doubt of the animal being piſcivorous.

The Palm Tree.

From Winterbottom's Account of the native Africans near Sierra Leone.

AMONG all their vegetable productions, however, there is none for which they ought to be more grateful than for the palm tree, one of the moſt uſeful inhabitants of the foreſt, as well as one of its greateſt ornaments. The leaves of the palm tree afford an excellent thatch for houſes, and a kind of hemp of which fiſhing lines, &c. are made. The inner bark is manufactured into a thick kind of cloth, on various parts of the coaſt; and from the outer bark of the young tree are frequently manufactured baſkets, mats, &c. This tree has been not unaptly compared to the maſt of a large veſſel, having its ſummit crowned with verdure.

* Theſe (Aſcaris Delphini they may be called) are about two inches long, of a pale almoſt white colour, tapering little, but equally towards each end: the mouth is ſituate in the center of three tubercles; over the anus is a ſmall pointed hornlet on the obtuſe tail of the animal

Its fruit*, which is nearly as large as a hen's egg, when roasted is esteemed a great delicacy, and yields the palm oil, which they hold in much esteem, and use in all their dishes instead of butter. To procure the oil, the palm nuts are gathered when ripe, which is known by their fine red colour, and beaten in a mortar until the pulp is completely separated from the nucleus. A quantity of water is then added, and the whole mass is poured upon a kind of sieve, formed of split bamboo. The water, together with the pulpy part of the nut, passes through, and is received into a large iron pot, leaving behind the fibrous part and the stones; the former is thrown away, but the latter are reserved. The pot, with its contents, is placed upon the fire to boil, and as the oil, which is of a crimson colour, rises, they skim it off for use. When no more oil can be extracted by boiling, the contents of the iron pot are poured into a hole dug in the ground, and when the water has drained off, the solid part is taken out, and exposed to the sun to dry. To this is added, in order to form a soap, a quantity of the small unripe fruit of the papaw sliced, together with a certain proportion of an alkaline lixivium obtained by burning the leaves and stems of the plantain and banana trees, and the capsules of the wild cotton or pullom tree. The ashes are put into a kind of basket composed of bamboo, and water is poured upon them so as to obtain a saturated solution; the ingredients, to which this ley is added, are frequently stirred, and boiled until they become stiff. An oil is also extracted from the kernels of the palm nuts, the shells of which are broken between two stones, and the kernels picked out. The latter are then parched in an iron pot, and afterwards pounded in a large mortar; they are next boiled in water, and the oil skimmed off as it floats on the surface. This is used for the same purposes as palm oil, but more nearly resembles butter, as it has no peculiar smell. This oil is mentioned by Cada Mosto, who made a voyage to Senegal, in the year 1455. He says, "they make use of a certain oil in the preparation of their victuals, though I could not learn whence they drew it, which possesses a three-fold property, that of smelling like violets, of tasting like oil of olives, and of tinging victuals like saffron, with a colour still finer †." Herodotus appears to describe the same kind of oil, when he says the Ethiopians wash themselves in a certain *fountain*, which renders their skins as shining as oil, and imparts to them a smell like violets ‡. To this cause he attributes their attaining so great an age, that of 120 years, hence called Macrobii, or long lived. As this tree does not grow in the

* The fruit of the palm tree is thus described by Froger, who visited this coast in the year 1695. "The negroes made a present to us, as a choice banquet, of certain large fruits that resemble small gourds, but, under the skin, is only a kind of substance like dressed flax: they cause them to be roasted under embers, and afterwards chew them to suck out the juice, which is as yellow as saffron: this fruit has a stone as large as an egg, and as hard as iron."

† Voyages of the Portuguese during the 15th and 16th centuries.

‡ Herodot. Thalia, 23.

Foola country, or at leaſt not in ſufficient abundance, the Foolas are obliged to purchaſe the oil, of which they are extremely fond, from their neighbours *.

The palm tree, moreover, affords the natives for drink

"Its freſhning wine,
More bounteous far than all the frantic juice
Which Bacchus pours."

To procure the palm wine requires no ſmall degree of agility and addreſs. As the trunk of the tree is too rough to allow the hands and knees to be applied in climbing to its ſummit, the natives uſe a kind of hoop of an elliptical form, made of bamboo, and open at one ſide. The perſon about to aſcend, firſt paſſes the hoop round the ſtem of the tree, including himſelf alſo, he then faſtens the hoop by twiſting its two ends into a kind of knot. The hands are applied to the ſides of the hoop, while the feet are firmly preſſed againſt the tree, and the lower part of the back ſupported by the oppoſite end of the hoop. In order to advance, the perſon thus prepared draws his body a little forwards, keeping his feet ſteady, and at the ſame moment ſlips the hoop a little higher up the tree, after which he advances a ſtep or two with his feet. In this manner he alternately raiſes the hoop and his feet, and thus advancing, he gains at length the upper part of the ſtem, juſt below where the branches are thrown off. Here, at the height of 50 or 60 feet, with no other ſupport than the preſſure of his feet againſt the tree, and of his back againſt the hoop, he ſits with perfect compoſure. In a ſmall bag hung round his neck or arm he carries an auger to bore the tree, and a gourd or calibaſh to receive the wine. A hole is bored, about half an inch deep, below the crown of the tree, and into this is inſerted a leaf rolled up like a funnel, the other end of it being put into the mouth of a calibaſh capable of containing ſeveral quarts, which is filled in the courſe of a ſingle night. The liquor is diſcharged more abundantly during the coolneſs of the night and morning than in the heat of the day. About a quart of wine may thus be procured twice a day, for the ſpace of a month, from each tree, without any injury to it, as it will yield the ſame quantity for many ſucceeding years. If, however, wine be taken from it for a longer time than about a month, the tree either dies, or requires a much longer reſpite to recover. When the palm wine has been drawn off, the hole is carefully filled up with mud, to prevent inſects from depoſiting their eggs in it, the larvæ of which would deſtroy the tree. Upon the Kroo coaſt it is the cuſtom to cut the tree down, and to burn or ſcorch the outſide before they tap it, probably to excite a degree of fermentation. Palm wine, when freſh drawn, is ſweet, remarkably cool and pleaſant, and very much reſembles whey in appearance, and ſomewhat in taſte. In this ſtate it is not in the leaſt

* The oil obtained from the fruit of a plant called ſillicyprion by Herodotus, poſſeſſed ſome of the properties of that of the palm nut, and was perhaps ſomewhat of the ſame nature. The Egyptians procured it in the ſame manner in which the Africans obtain their palm oil, and they uſed it to burn in their lamps, as well as to anoint their bodies, notwithſtanding its unpleaſant odour.

degree

degree intoxicating; but after ſtanding twenty-four hours it enters into the vinous fermentation, and becomes very inebriating, and on that account is preferred by the natives. In order to increaſe the intoxicating effects of palm wine, they infuſe in it a little of the bark of a ſpecies of plumb, called by the Bulloms rot; they alſo render the natural fermentation more briſk by adding the lees of a former brewing *. When drunk to exceſs, it is ſaid to produce a violent headache, though perhaps only in thoſe who are not much accuſtomed to it. Palm trees ſometimes grow in ſandy places, but are in general indicative of a good ſoil, and it is further remarked, that "wherever palm trees grow, however arid the ſoil, there is always water to be found, by opening the ground to the depth of ten to fifteen feet †." This has not eſcaped the obſervation of the Africans.

Account of the Cameleon.
(From Galberry's Travels.)

THE cameleon, an animal ſo long celebrated, and to which eloquence and poetry, have attributed the faculty of aſſuming the colour of every object which it approaches; which they have ſo frequently employed to embelliſh their metaphors, and which they have made the emblem of falſhood and impoſture, yet remains unknown; and it is more than probable, that the natural hiſtory of this ſingular reptile, has hitherto been explored only in a faint manner.

Claſſed in the third genus of lizards, the cameleon is particularly a native of the torrid zone, and it is moſt common in the burning countries of Africa; though it may be ſeen in great quantities in the weſtern parts of this continent compriſed between Cape Blanco and Cape Palmas; it is aſtoniſhingly numerous on the banks of the Senegal, and it was at Iſle St. Louis during the winter of 1786, and 1787, that I collected a great quantity at once, on which I made thoſe obſervations which will form the ſubject of this chapter.

One of the moſt extraordinary characteriſtics of this animal is that it appears to be compoſed of a light oſſified carcaſe, covered with a very ſubtile and tenuous ſkin, which is as it were entirely deſtitute of fleſh; and when moſt handſome in appearance, and apparently moſt fat and beautiful, it is in reality filled only with an aëriform ſubſtance, which it is capable of imbibing and expelling at pleaſure;

* Herodotus informs us, that the palm wine was procured in great quantity in the province of Babylon. From the ſame tree, (phœnix dactyliſera?) he ſays, was obtained bread, wine, and honey ‡. This latter practice is explained by Dr. Shaw, who ſays, "in the Eaſt, they, on great occaſions of feſtivity, cut off the branches of a ſtrong tree, and ſcoop out the crown or top of the trunk into the form of a baſon; in this collects every day for the ſpace of a fortnight or three weeks, about three quarts or a gallon of fluid, ſweeter than, and of the conſiſtence of a thin ſyrup, which ſoon, however, thickens, ferments, and becomes intoxicating. This quantity of fluid daily diminiſhes, and in about ſix weeks or two months the tree is totally exhauſted, and fit only to be burnt §. It is probable that the African palm tree will not yield a ſimilar produce, as the natives do not practiſe this method. They make uſe of the medullary part found in the crown of the tree as an article of food. This has been called the palm cabbage, from its reſemblance to the vegetable of that name, both in appearance and taſte.

† Vincent's Voyage of Nearchus.

‡ Clio, 193.

§ Travels in the Levant.

hence it may be conceived, that ſuch animals cannot exiſt but in the hotteſt climates, and that exceſſive warmth alone can agree with its ſingular organization.

The ſize, exterior form, &c. of this ſpecies of lizard, are ſufficiently known to render a deſcription of them here unneceſſary; the attention and reſearches of naturaliſts, ſhould be now confined to its other more obvious peculiarities, and its more rare and ſingular properties.

There are many phenomena to be found in the cameleon, which have not yet been ſufficiently explained or demonſtrated; ſuch as its variation of colour; its abſorption and expulſion of air at pleaſure; its power of living a conſiderable time, without taking any kind of nouriſhment; and laſtly, its poſſeſſing certain viſual perfections and advantages which I believe are found in no other work of creation.

Towards the end of the year 1786, I collected at one time many cameleons of all ſizes and ages, and I amuſed myſelf with obſerving them, with conſiderable attention; my firſt object was directed towards the variations of colour which are obſervable in this lizard, and on the nature and alternation of theſe varieties.

I was very ſoon convinced that the cameleon does not aſſume its colour from the circumambient objects, or from thoſe with which it may be covered, but that the alterations which its natural colour undergoes originates entirely in the painful ſenſations which this animal internally experiences, and of which it is ſingularly ſuſceptible.

Its natural colour is a fine emerald green. Such have I always ſeen it, when in a ſtate of liberty perched like a parrot on the branch of ſome young tree, ornamented with gay foliage, in the midſt of which, it is with much difficulty perceived; or when it lazily baſks in, or creeps along the freſh graſs.

At this time, it is not only always of that fine emerald green colour, but it is alſo in its moſt healthful and corpulent ſtate. Hence, it appears to me, that to preſerve theſe two qualities, a ſtate of liberty, and the power of living in the graſs, or in the midſt of freſh foliage, are indiſpenſable.

From the moment that the liberty and ſecurity of this reptile was either conſtrained or interrupted, I could perceive very palpable alterations in the brightneſs and vivacity of its colour, and in the rotundity of its form.

It may be confidently aſſerted, that the cameleon is an animal very timid and fearful, and at the ſame time, equally ſlow and indolent. Its very ſubſiſtence and health, is doubtleſs owing to its colour, for from this circumſtance, it is confounded with the graſs or leaves in the midſt of which it delights to exiſt. It remains immoveable when on the branch of a tree or in the herbage; and lolls out its glutinous tongue, which reſembles an earth-worm, and poſſeſſes moſt probably ſome peculiar ſmell, which attracts the little inſects who form its nouriſhment; when the tongue is thus covered with a ſufficient quantity, it immediately draws it in with an amazing rapidity.

This economy is inceſſantly repeated,

peated, and always with ſucceſs, for the inſects deceived by the colour, and immobility of the cameleon, approach without ſuſpicion, and are taken in the ſnare.

The fine green of the ſkin of this lizard, in its healthful ſtate, ſo completely confounds it with the trees or graſs in which it is hidden, that it is impoſſible to diſcover it except by chance; this brilliant colour, alſo proves its ſecurity againſt thoſe animals who would injure it, but are unable to ſee or diſtinguiſh it; in fact it requires a well-organized ſight to make this diſcovery.

This reptile, therefore, well knows that it is only when thus confounded that it is able to procure its food, and eſcape its enemies: and when therefore, it is deprived of its liberty, and deſtitute of theſe advantages, it becomes full of apprehenſion, of fear, and of terror; its life is one continued torment, and it ſuſtains all the anguiſh of dread: its health viſibly declines, and the freſhneſs of its natural colour rapidly decays. Thus whenever I took a cameleon out of the graſs, or from off a branch whereon it was perched, I perceived in a very ſhort time, not only a very obvious alteration in its colour which began to fade, but alſo a diminution in the rotundity of its body.

If I placed the animal on the arid ſand, or on the floor, or in a cage, it immediately became of a yellow tinge, and inſenſibly expelled the air with which it was inflated: it hence decreaſed in ſize, and the ſmallneſs of its body become obvious even to the naked eye.

If I afterwards replaced it in the graſs, or on the branch of a tree, the fine green colour in a ſhort time returned, and its body expanded, and aſſumed its wonted rotundity.

Whenever I kept my cameleons confined in a cage, and there plagued and tormented them, I always eaſily ſucceeded, in exciting a degree of irritation and anger, which they manifeſted by expiring the air ſo ſtrong, as to be heard: they likewiſe became thin, and their colour gradually became dull. If I continued to diſquiet them, the dull green changed to a yellow tinge; then to yellow, ſpotted with red; next a yellow-brown, ſpotted with red-brown; then a grey-brown, ſpotted with black; and laſtly from ſhade to ſhade, they at length became almoſt black, and more and more thin. Theſe are the only colours in which I could ſucceed in making them aſſume.

After having thus tormented and kept them priſoners during a number of days, I ſet them free. I carried them to a tree, or into the graſs; and however black and meagre they were, they quickly aſſumed their green colour, and their uſual ſtate of ſolidity.

Reiterated experiments have therefore convinced me, that the cameleon, in a ſtate of perfect liberty, is always fat, and of a green hue; and that in a ſtate of captivity, not only its colour becomes changed, but its health alſo experiences an alteration.

I have often wrapped my camelions, up in white, red, blue, violet, green and yellow ſtuffs, and left them thus for whole days together; at the end of which, when I viſited my poor captives, I found them neither white, red, blue, violet, yellow, nor a fine green; but on the contrary, always of that yel-

low-green, that tarniſhed yellow, or that grey-black, which they for ever aſſume, when in diſtreſs and ſuffering.

The ſkin of the cameleon is extremely fine and delicate, and very ſoft and cold to the touch; when examined with a ſtrong lens, on the living animal, it appeared like that kind of prepared ſkin, which is called ſhagreen.

This epidermis is not ſhiny, but it is ſingularly fine and elaſtic. The ſmall points or protuberances of this ſhagreen ſkin, is as it were imperceptible, and hardly diſtinguiſhable by the naked eye. Though it is exceſſively delicate, fine, and pliable, it has notwithſtanding a conſiderable degree of tenacity, and is likewiſe gifted with a ſtrong elaſtic property, as well as with the power of expanding and contracting itſelf at pleaſure.

It is doubtleſs to this contexture, to this kind of tiſſue, which the ſkin of the cameleon has, that we muſt attribute its facility in varying its colour, according to the degree of dilatation or contraction which it may experience: in fact, we may ſafely aſcribe to this, thoſe ſudden alternations of colour which ſo much aſtoniſh us. But whatever it may be, its fine green colour is always a ſign of happineſs and health, and it never exiſts in all its ſplendour, but when the animal is well ſaturated with the atmoſphere, and perfectly free: on the contrary, when it is in a ſtate of captivity and ſuffering, this lively colour fades, and progreſſively degenerates from a fine emerald green, to perfect black, which is the ſign of its greateſt diſtreſs and moſt poignant grief.

But, in my opinion, the cameleon poſſeſſes a ſtill more aſtoniſhing faculty than this of varying its colour, viz. that of expanding and contracting itſelf at pleaſure. With the air which it inſpires, it is enabled to expand; but how ſhall we account for the power which it has, of ſwallowing, retaining, and, as it were, directing this aëriform fluid, ſo as to remain in a ſtate of expanſion, which is at the ſame time that of its moſt perfect health and happineſs?

What therefore is its peculiar organization, whence it derives the power, not only of inhaling a conſiderable quantity of the atmoſpheric air, but likewiſe of keeping, abſorbing, and, as I before ſaid, of directing it? for the air, inſpired by the cameleon, does not remain in its breaſt, in its ſtomach, or in its inteſtines; it ſpreads and percolates through every part of its body; and this ſo completely and ſo generally, that it is every where fat and plump; at the very extremities of its feet and tail; and even its eyes are affected, for they become more round and projected.

It muſt therefore be admitted, that the air thus inhaled by the cameleon, penetrates, enters, and inſinuates itſelf into every, even the minuteſt, part of the body; and it is likewiſe certain, that this faculty of imbibing the atmoſpheric air, is very extenſively poſſeſſed; for I have ſeen my cameleons, after many days of faſting, or more properly ſpeaking of ſtarving, become almoſt immediately fat, and in a ſtate of the fineſt plumpneſs. In the ſame manner, I have ſometimes ſeen them remain expanded for fifteen days together, and then all

at

at once decreaſe, ſo as to become nothing but ſkin and bones.

It muſt not be ſuppoſed that the cameleon, when thus in a ſtate of *embonpoint*, looks merely like a bladder blown up with air. It has all the appearance of a well diſtributed and natural plumpneſs, and in every part of its body it is equal and regular.

In its utmoſt ſtate of contraction, and when it has almoſt entirely voided the atmoſpheric air, retaining only a quantity ſufficient for the preſervation of its vital faculties, the extreme tenuity of its body is truly aſtoniſhing. The extraordinary appearance which it preſents, is greatly augmented when the animal moves, and particularly when it convolves, for it then looks like an empty ſack twiſted up.

This faculty of expanding itſelf, ſo as to appear abſolutely full and adipoſe; of remaining in this ſtate for whole months, or only for a few hours, as it pleaſes, and then contracting itſelf, ſo as to preſent a mere fleſhleſs body; with the ſpine of its back pointed, and the fleſh of its ſides actually united, and apparently but of one piece, is doubtleſs one of the moſt extraordinary circumſtances which is to be found in the natural hiſtory of the cameleon; and the cauſe of which, though but little known, yet ſeems worthy of the utmoſt attention and reſearch which naturaliſts can beſtow.

I wiſhed to convince myſelf, how far we might admit the aſſertion, that the cameleon is capable of living on air, and exiſting for a conſiderable time without eating. Towards the end of the year 1786, being then at iſle St. Louis, my cameleons, which were then in their full ſtrength, were deſtined to the following experiments. I was at that time in poſſeſſion of ſeven.

I took five of them, and confined them ſeparately in a cage of iron wire, covered all over with very fine gauze, the texture of which was too compact to admit any inſect to enter. I then ſuſpended my cages by means of cords and pullies to the ceiling of my chamber; and the five ropes being united at the extremities, I incloſed them in a little wooden box, which was faſtened againſt the wall, and locked with a key; by this precaution, I was certain no perſon could lower down the cages, to convey nouriſhment to the cameleons, and therefore the abſtinence to which they were condemned, would be abſolute, and unmitigated. For the ſake of convenience, I ſhall number the cages 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

On the firſt of November, 1786, I began my experiment; and viſited four times in the ſpace of four and twenty hours, my unhappy captives doomed to periſh by famine.

In a few days they became thin, and aſſumed that grey-black colour which is the certain indication of their diſtreſs. But when they had attained a greater degree of exility, they remained in a fixed ſtate during a month; ſo that I was unable to perceive any ſenſible diminution in their ſtrength during that time.

The cages in which I had confined them, were fifteen inches high, and interſected by little pieces of wood in the ſame manner as bird-cages are in general. Whenever I lowered them down, to obſerve my cameleons, they opened their mouths, and expired the air

very ſtrongly againſt me. Theſe expirations were eaſily felt, and became even audible.

During the firſt ſix weeks, my priſoners uſed to run all over the cage from top to bottom. In the morning I moſt generally found them at the top; but towards the end of the ſixth week I perceived they did not mount ſo high, and at the concluſion of two months they no longer quitted the bottom of their cage. Their tenuity had now become exceſſive; their weakneſs and langour was very obvious: their ſkin was almoſt black, and I alſo obſerved a great flowneſs in the motion of their eyes. They ſtill preſerved the faculty of expanding themſelves, though at the moſt not more than half as much as uſual; their bodies were never perfectly diſtended, and they ſoon contracted again.

Towards the early part of January, they had attained to ſuch a degree of thinneſs, that they were mere animated ſkeletons, and I concluded that it was impoſſible for them to live much longer. Number 3, however, which died the firſt, did not expire till the 28th of January, 1787. Number 1, died on the 30th of the ſame month. Number 4, expired on the night of the 13th of February following. Number 5, ſuſtained the torment of hunger till the 23d of February, on the morning of which day it fell a victim.

Number 2, lived till the 24th of February, and was ſo weak and emaciated, that I was ſtrongly tempted to think the period of its exiſtence alſo at hand. I was reſolved, however, to ſhew it ſome mercy, though I had not the leaſt reaſon to ſuppoſe it would live. It had now exiſted upon air three months and 24 days. I liberated it, and carried it into the government garden, where I placed it among the foliage; in fifteen days it regained its colour and ſtrength, and even began to aſſume its uſual ſtate of expanſion.

On the 30th of March, it appeared once more green, though of a very faint tinge, and it had entirely recovered its faculty of ſwelling itſelf. During the month of April, it appeared to me to be in total poſſeſſion of its health and ſtrength. At the end of this month it eſcaped, and all my endeavours to recover it were totally ineffectual; hence I could not ſatisfy myſelf with regard to the perfect reeſtabliſhment of the health of my reſuſcitated cameleon; though doubtleſs the long abſtinence which it had ſuſtained, muſt have abridged the duration of its exiſtence.

From the ſeven cameleons which I had deſtined to the above-narrated experiments, I ſelected two, which I confined in the ſame cage without any nouriſhment whatever.

As ſoon as they were incloſed together, they placed themſelves oppoſite to each other with mutual looks of ſteadineſs; their mouths open, and expelling their breath with great energy. They remained in this ſituation for a conſiderable time; though it was eaſy to diſcover, from their looks, that they were very much enraged, and that they occaſioned mutual fear and apprehenſion.

One entire day paſſed in this attitude of reciprocal menace, and it was only towards the evening that one of them ſlowly climbed to the top of the cage; the other remained

ed at the bottom; but though thus separated, they constantly kept their eyes fixed on each other; their mouths remained open, and they expelled their breath with great rapidity.

On the following morning, I found them in the same attitude and place as on the preceding evening; but there had been a battle between them during the night, the effects of which were easy to be perceived; for I saw on their skins various wounds, and the vestiges of biting; but the one which had retired to the top of the cage, had manifestly experienced the worst of the conflict.

These evidences of a combat between my two prisoners excited my curiosity, and I observed them with a great deal of attention, but nothing passed between them during the whole day. The vanquished one remained at the top of the cage, while the conqueror kept his place at the bottom.

The whole day passed in this manner, and in a sort of immobility, during which, however, they constantly looked at each other, and reciprocally expelled their breath with great force.

I foresaw that, during the subsequent night, they would again wage another battle, I therefore hid a lighted taper in an adjoining chamber; and keeping myself perfectly still in the dark, I watched, during the night, the movements of the two cameleons.

I soon heard a slight noise; they did not emit any cries, but the agitation of the cage, a dull movement, and a very audible and strong expiration of their breath, all concurred to persuade me that my two prisoners were now engaged.

I therefore lowered the cage down to the floor very softly, and procuring my taper, I saw my two cameleons grappled together, with their talons, and biting each other's sides with great vengeance.

I did not separate the combatants, but the appearance of the light, no doubt, excited greater fear in them than they had before experienced anger; they mutually ceased the attack; and the strongest who had commenced the combat with the other at the top of the cage, now descended to the bottom. His antagonist had been sadly treated; his body was covered with wounds; his flesh was almost torn off, and he appeared in a state of extreme lassitude.

This warfare was continued for nine successive days, at the end of which time, the one which had regularly been vanquished at length fell, and I found him dead in the bottom of the cage, where his carcase lay extended.

The conqueror had now taken refuge in the top of the cage, owing no doubt to the horror which he felt at seeing the dead body of his enemy. He lived, however, seventeen days longer without eating, and perished from inanition and extreme leanness, though perhaps the wounds which it received considerably hastened its end.

It now remains for me to speak of the eyes of the cameleon, which certainly possess some very remarkable singularities. The eye-ball not only projects much farther from the head than that of any other animal, but its exterior surface appears to be conically formed, and terminates in a point. The eyes of the cameleon are covered with a membrane, which serves it instead of an eye-lid.

This membrane is like a case perforated

perforated by a longitudinal hole of about half a line in breadth in its wideſt part; it is by means of this orifice that the animal is enabled to ſee, and expoſes to view a brown coloured pupil, bordered by a ſmall circle of gold, extremely bright and ſhining. This caſe is gifted with the faculty of following all the motions of the eye, in which reſpect it differs totally from the eye-lids of any other animal. With regard to the cameleon, the motion of its eye-lids agree ſo perfectly with thoſe of the eye, that they are abſolutely one and the ſame; and in all the movements, the little aperture of the eye-lid is preciſely correſpondent to the central point of the pupil.

But what is ſtill more ſingular, and which I believe is to be found in no other animal of the creation, is the faculty which the cameleon poſſeſſes of moving its eyes in every poſſible direction; and this motion is conducted totally independent of each other.

The cameleon moves one of its eyes, while the other remains motionleſs; with one eye he looks before him, while with the other he will look behind; the one is ſometimes directed towards the heavens, and the other is bent towards the earth.

Theſe oppoſite motions are performed either at once, or alternately, with aſtoniſhing rapidity. They are carried to ſuch a degree, that at one time the pupil paſſes even under the projection which ſerves for the eye-brow, and then ſuddenly buries itſelf in the corner of the orbit, by which means the animal readily and at once diſcovers the objects which are placed behind him, and thoſe immediately in its front without moving his head in the leaſt degree, which is ſtrongly confined to his ſhoulders.

Theſe rapid evolutions enable him to ſee at once in every direction, and inceſſantly to obſerve whatever paſſes around him.

The object of this perfect conformation is doubtleſs the perſonal ſecurity of the cameleon, and the ſucceſs of its purſuit of ſmall inſects and flies, with which it is pouriſhed; it projects its glutinous tongue, and leaves it pendant on the ſide, where it perceives the prey which it wiſhes to entrap.

I have now ſaid ſufficient to prove, that the cameleon is in many reſpects a very extraordinary and curious animal, and that it poſſeſſes many peculiarities, which are well deſerving the attention of naturaliſts.

USEFUL

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Liſt of Patents for New Inventions, granted during the Year 1803.

ROBERT Wilſon, of the pariſh of St. Saviour, Southwark, Surry, plaiſterer; for an apparatus for the purpoſe of ſtopping ungovernable horſes. Dated January 20.

Joſeph Jacob, of Greek Street, of the pariſh of St. Anne, Soho, Middleſex, coachmaker; for a metal box for the axle-trees of wheels, carriages, mills, engines, and machines. Dated January 20.

George Matcham, of the city of Bath, eſquire; for a principle or mechanical power for raiſing weights, in preventing ſhips from ſinking, in raiſing ſhips when ſunk, in rendering ſhips, which are diſproportioned to ſhallow water, capable of entering rivers, paſſing bars or ſhoals, or otherwiſe moving in ſhallow water; and for a variety of other uſeful purpoſes. Dated January 29.

Edward Stephens, of the city of Dublin, for a furnace ſtove or fire place, which can conveniently be applied to the burning of lime-ſtone, at the ſame time that it is uſed for the heating of all manner of corn kilns, evaporating ſtove, and drying houſes. Dated January 29.

James Gayleard, of New Bond Street, Middleſex, ſtay-maker; for long ſtays, and corſetts, on an improved conſtruction. Dated February 1.

Stephen Hooper, of Walworth, Surry; for machines, or machinery, upon improved principles, and methods of uſing the ſame, for the purpoſe of cleaning Creeks, bars of harbours, and preventing bars from making. Dated February 5.

William Henry Clayfield, of the city of Briſtol, wine merchant; for a method of reducing and extracting lead, and other metals, from a compound ſubſtance commonly known by the name of regulus. Dated February 10.

Timothy Cobb, of Banbury, Oxfordſhire, woollen manufacturer; for improvements in the manufacturing a certain kind of piece

piece goods, called ſhag, or pluſh. Dated February 21.

Jonathan Woodhouſe, of Aſhbey-de-la-Zouch, Leiceſterſhire, engineer; for a method of forming a caſt iron rail, or plate, which may be uſed in making iron rail roads, or ways, for the working and running of waggons, carts, drays, and other carriages, on public and other roads, and alſo a new method of fixing, faſtening, and ſecuring, ſuch caſt iron rail or plate on ſuch roads. Dated February 28.

Robert Kirwood, of Edinburgh, engraver and copper-plate printer; for improvements on the copper-plate printing preſs. Dated February 28.

Thomas Johnſon, of Bradbury, Cheſhire, weaver; for a method of preparing and dreſſing cotton warp. Dated February 28.

Robert Maſon, of Cumberland Street, Portſea, Hampſhire, gentleman; for improvements on a common waggon, whereby the ſame may be ſeparated, and uſed as two carts, which he denominates the "Patent Hampſhire waggon." Dated February 28.

Benjamin Haden, of the pariſh of Sedgley, Staffordſhire, bagging weaver; for an improvement in the manufacture of Bagging, for packing of nails and other purpoſes. Dated February 28.

Barker Chiſney, of London, gentleman; for improvements in the manufacturing and preparing roofing ſlates, and in laying the ſame. Dated March 8.

James Bennet, of Oldham Street, Manchester, Lancaſhire, manufacturer; for a method of felting woollen cloth, and alſo of felting cloth manufactured of ſheeps wool, and other combined materials. Dated March 10.

Samuel Miller, of the pariſh of St. Pancras, Middleſex, engineer; for his improved method of applying the repelling or repulſive force of nature, in order to give a ſtronger impulſe to any ſubſtance or body in motion, as well as to deſtroy the bad effects of its baneful activity. Dated March, 16.

Edward Shorter, of New Crane, Wapping, Middleſex, mechanic; for an apparatus for working of pumps. Dated March 21.

Robert Clark, of Fitzroy-place, Middleſex, inſtrument maker; for improvements in the conſtruction of a truſs, to be worn in the caſe of rupture. Dated March 23.

Deers Egg, of the pariſh of St. Martin's in the Fields, Middleſex, gunmaker; for improvement upon fire arms. Dated March 23.

William Bainbridge, of Little Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Middleſex, muſician; for improvements on the flageolet or engliſh flute. Dated April 1.

William Boond, of Manchester, Lancaſhire, cotton manufacturer; for a new invented manufacture of mixed and coloured cotton velvets, velveteens, velverets, thickſets, cords, and other cotton piece goods, commonly called fuſtians. Dated April 5.

Richard Francis Hawkins, of Woolwich, Kent, gent.; for a method of applying a certain power to the working of ſhips and other windlaſſes, ſhip and other winches, cranes and other purpoſes, to which the ſame hath never been employed. Dated April 5.

John Leach, of Merton abbey, Surry,

Surry, calico printer; for improvements on Steam engine boilers, which improvements are applicable to boilers in general. Dated April 7.

Daniel Paulin Davis, of Bloomsbury Square, Middlesex; for a method of cleansing and sweeping chimnies. Dated April 11.

John Todd, of Bolton, Lancashire, cotton spinner; for a method of weaving and manufacturing woollen cotton, linen, silk, and worsted cloth or stuffs; and also certain improvements on, and additions to the machines used in weaving, by means of looms wrought by water, steam engines, or any other power. Dated April 14.

William Horrocks, of Stockport, Cheshire, cotton manufacturer; for improvements on the loom for weaving cotton, and other goods, by steam or water. Dated April 20.

Samuel Day, of Charter-house, Hinton, Somersetshire, esq.; for an engine or time piece, which he denominates, "The Watchman's Noctuary and Labourer's regulator." Dated April 20.

James Hall, of Mellor, in the parish of Glossop, Derbyshire, weaver; for improvements upon Looms. Dated April 27.

Elizabeth Bell, of Hampstead, Middlesex, spinster; for a method of sweeping chimnies, and of constructing them in such a manner as to lessen the danger and inconvenience from fire and smoke. Dated May 10.

George Beaumont, of South Crosland, near Huddersfield, Yorkshire, and Walter Beaumont, of the same place, manufacturer of woollen goods; for a mixture to be used in the preparation of sheep or lamb's wool, for various purposes. Dated May 17.

Joshua Green, of Banbury, Oxfordshire, manufacturer; for a method of manufacturing corded and ribbed shags or plushes, composed of different materials on a principle entirely new. Dated May 17.

James Roche, of King Street, Holborn, Middlesex, gent.; for a medicine for the cure of the hooping cough. Dated May 23.

Chester Gould, of Red Lion Street, Clerkenwell, Middlesex; for a glass on a new principle, to be used by mariners at sea, instead of the common sand glasses when heaving the log, for the purpose of ascertaining the ship's rate of sailing; and also for other uses, either on land or at sea. Dated May 28.

Thomas Fulcher, the elder, of Ipswich, Suffolk, Surveyor and Builder; for a water-proof composition, in imitation of Portland Stone, for stuccoing and washing new and old stone, and brick buildings; and for cementing the joints, and tucking and pointing all stone and brick works that require proof against water and damps. Dated May 28.

John Gamble, of Leicester Square, Middlesex, gent.; for improvement on and additions to a machine for making paper in single sheets without seams or joinings. Dated June 7.

John Randall Packham, of White Lion street, Clerkenwell, Middlesex, watchmaker; for improvements on a lock to a musket, fusee, carbine, fowling-piece, or pistol. Dated June 10.

James Fussell, of Mills, Somersetshire, iron manufacturer; for a method

a method of working water wheels for raiſing of water, and in a great meaſure, preventing water wheels from being flooded, and other uſeful purpoſes. Dated June 14.

John Wood, of Manchester, Lancaſhire, machine maker; for improvements upon machines for ſpinning and reeling of cotton. Dated June 14.

James Thomſon, of the city of Edinburgh, bell hanger; for improvements in the hanging of bells, window curtains, window and other blinds. Dated June 14.

John Harriott, of Wapping Middleſex, and Edmund Cobb Hurry, of Goſport, Southampton, eſqrs. and William Criſpin, of Goſport aforeſaid, ſhipwright; for a method of making and working windlaſſes. Dated June 14.

Thomas Newſtead, of kingſton upon Hull, Yorkſhire, Chemiſt; for a method of preparing barrilla and kelp, and the neutral ſalts obtained therefrom. Dated June 18.

Peter Storck, of John Street, Tottenham Court Road, Middleſex, baker; for a ſubſtitute for Brewer's yeaſt, which may be made and uſed in all weathers and climates. Dated June 21.

Thomas Brown, of Alnwick, Northumberland, whiteſmith; for a machine for the cutting of tobacco, tallow for tallow chandlers and ſoap boilers; and alſo for the cutting of turnips, cabbages, carrots, and other kind of roots, for the feeding of cattle. Dated June 21.

Joſeph Everett, of Saliſbury, Wiltſhire, clothier; for an article manufactured of different materials, and wove in a peculiar manner, ſo as to give it the appearance of velvet, which he denominates "Saliſbury Angola Moleſkin." Dated June 28.

George Woods, of Barbican, in the city of London, gentleman; for a method of conſtructing harps, harpſichords, piano fortes, violins, guitars, and other ſtringed muſical inſtruments. Dated June 28.

Archibald Earl of Dundonald; for a method of treating or preparing hemp and flax, ſo as materially to aid the operation of the tools called hackles, in the diviſion of the fibres, and which is likewiſe attended with other advantages. Dated June 28.

Edward Warner, the younger, of Little New Street, in the city of London, braſs founder; for an improvement upon the air lamp, the properties whereof conſiſt in reflecting a more general and ſtronger light by means of certain valves, and a newly conſtructed burner. Dated June 29.

James Roberts, of Abbotſton Farm, Southampton, yeoman, and George Cathery, of New Alreſford, in the ſame county, gent.; for a method of completely and effectually eradicating ſmut from wheat; and that wheat, when cleanſed by their invention, will produce flour of as good quality and value as flour made from wheat of the beſt growth. Dated July 6.

Joſeph Manton, of Davies Street, Berkley Square, in the pariſh of St. George's Hanover Square, Middleſex, gun-maker; for a hammer upon a new conſtruction, for the locks of all kinds of fowling-pieces and ſmall arms. Dated July 6.

James Stuart, of London Street, in the pariſh of St. Dunſtan, Stepney, Middleſex; for a method

to

to ſtrengthen ſhips or floating veſſels. Dated July 27.

John Norton of Roll's buildings, Fetter Lane, Fleet Street, London, mathematical inſtrument maker; for an improvement in the conſtruction of a water mill. Dated July 28.

Thomas Kentiſh, of Baker Street North, Portman Square, Middleſex, eſq.; for a dewick, for the purpoſe of more expeditiouſly, with leſs labour and at leſs expence than heretofore, loading and unloading ſhips and veſſels, removing heavy bodies in any direction, and which is alſo applicable to other uſeful purpoſes. Dated July 29.

Arthur Woolf, of Wood Street, Spa fields, Middleſex, engineer; for an improved apparatus for converting water or other liquid, into vapour or ſteam, for the working of ſteam engines, for the heating of water or other liquid employed in brewing, diſtilling, dying, bleaching, tanning and other proceſſes connected with arts and manufactures; calculated alſo to make a ſtronger extract than can be obtained by the proceſſes commonly in uſe from a given quantity of any vegetable or other ſubſtance from which extracts are or may be made without the danger of burning, ſcorching, or ſinging, ſuch vegetable or other ſubſtance, and applicable to various other proceſſes. Dated July 29.

Laver Oliver, of Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk, upholder and cabinet maker; for dining, card, pembroke, and other tables, upon an improved conſtruction. Dated Auguſt 3.

James Hall, of Mellor, in the pariſh of Goſſop, Derbyſhire, weaver; for an improvement to the loom, whereby a new and cheap method of perpetually taking away the articles woven therein, as they are woven, is effected. Dated Auguſt 3.

Francis Godbold, of Craven Street, Weſtminſter, dice-maker; for new invented dice. Dated Auguſt 3.

John Edwards, of Vine Street, Lambeth, Surry, engineer; for improvements in diſtilling, rectifying, and dying, whereby the ſame will be conſiderably accelerated, and the conſumption of fuel will be materially reduced. Dated Auguſt 3.

Bryan Donkin, of Dartford, Kent, mill-wright; for a mode of producing a rotatory motion applicable to uſeful purpoſes. Dated Auguſt 3.

Michael Logan, of Paradiſe ſtreet, in the pariſh of St. Mary Rotherhithe, Surry, engineer; for a conſervative lock for the uſe of inland or canal navigation. Dated Auguſt 5.

Cathcart Dempſter, of St. Andrews, North Britain, gent.; for improvements in the manufacture of canvas or ſtrong cloths, of vegetable materials, for ſails, tents, packages, and other uſeful purpoſes. Dated Auguſt 30.

Cheſter Gould, of Red Lion ſtreet, Clerkenwell, Middleſex, gent.; for an hydrometer on a new principle, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the ſtrength of ſpirits, and determining the ſpecific gravity of fluids. Dated September 3.

John Iſaac Hawkins, late of Bordenton, in the United States of America, now reſiding in King Street, Clerkenwell, Middleſex, Merchant; for machinery and methods for writing, painting, drawing,

ing, ruling lines, and other things; and for applying part of the aforesaid machinery to other purposes. Dated September 24.

Robert Ransome, of Ipswich, Suffolk, iron founder, being one of the people called quakers; for a method of making and tempering cast iron plough-shares, and other articles of cast iron for agricultural uses. Dated September 24.

Robert Atkins, of Fenchurch street, in the city of London, mathematical instrument maker; for improvements in the construction of hydrometers, for ascertaining the strength of spirituous liquors; and a sliding rule of correction for temperature to the hydrometer, and various improvements thereof. Dated October 31.

Edward Thomason, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, button and toy manufacturer; for a new mode of making hearth brushes. Dated October 31.

Booth Hodgetts, of Dudley, in the County of Worcester, nail ironmonger; for machinery for rolling iron for shanks, and for forming the same into shanks for nails. Dated November 8.

Richard Younger, of Pittman's Buildings, Old Street, in the County of Middlesex, gent.; for an improved method of extracting worts from malt, barley and other grains and substances. Dated November 12.

William Freemantle, of Bunhill row, in the parish of St. Luke, Old Street, in the county of Middlesex, watchmaker; for improvements in the construction of Steam Engines. Dated November 17.

James Bevans, of Castle Street, City Road, in the county of Middlesex, carpenter, being one of the society of the people called Quakers; for methods of applying machinery for the purposes of more expeditiously striking or sticking mouldings, and for rabetting, ploughing, or grooving, fluting, and excavating wood, in every manner, now usually performed by any kind of plane. Dated November 19.

George Penton, of New Street Square, in the city of London, brass founder; for an improvement on lamps, commonly called Argand's lamps. Dated November 19.

James Sturman Searles, of little Alie Street, Goodman's fields, in the Parish of Saint Mary, Whitechapel, in the county of Middlesex, gun maker; for an improvement or improvements to be applied to any kind of fire arms or defensive instruments. Dated December 3.

Charles Wyatt, of New Bridge Street, in the City of London, Merchant; for a new invented process of purifying ardent spirits. Dated December 21.

Robert Cross, of Quaker's Brook within Houghton, in the County of Lancaster, tanner; and Thomas Southworth, of Houghton, aforesaid, cotton manufacturer; for their new invented mode of heating such pans, vats, cisterns, and other vessels as are required to be heated by fire, and used for working steam engines, and in the businesses of Calico printer, dyer, brewer, paper maker, bleacher, salt maker, tanner, and other such like trades; by which invention much expence will be saved, not only in the fuel to be used

uſed in the heating of ſuch veſſels, but alſo in conſtructing the veſſels themſelves. Dated December 31.

On the Nature of the Varieties of engrafted Fruit-Trees, and a Plan for increaſing the Number of new valuable Fruits. By Thomas Skyp Dyot Bucknal, Eſquire.

From the Tranſactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

SOME friends have requeſted that I would introduce another paper on the nature of the valuable varieties of engrafted fruits, as they are of opinion that the Eſſay in the ſeventeenth volume of the Tranſactions of the Society is not ſufficiently extended for a ſubject ſo important to the fruit-growers, and thoſe intereſted in the productions of fruits. As a proof of my willingneſs to make the orchardiſt as perfect as I can, I beg you to preſent my compliments to the Society with the following elucidations.

This is a ſubject in rural economy which ought to be much better underſtood than it is, in order to enable the planters to judge of the ſorts proper to be planted, either as an article of pleaſure, profit, or recreation; as much of the credit of the plantation muſt ariſe from judiciouſly chooſing trees of the beſt, new, or middle-aged ſorts, and not of the old worn-out varieties, which latter cannot, in the planting of orchards in common ſituations, ever form *valuable trees*, and muſt end in the diſappointment of the planter.

Engrafted fruits, I have before ſaid, and I now repeat, are not permanent. Every one of the leaſt reflection muſt ſee that there is an eſſential difference between the power and energy of a ſeedling plant, and the tree which is to be raiſed from cuttings or elongations. The ſeedling is endued with the energies of nature, while the graft, or ſcion, is nothing more than a regular elongation, carried perhaps through the ſeveral repeatings of the ſame variety; whereas the ſeed from having been placed in the earth, germinates and becomes a new plant, wherever nature permits like to produce like in vegetation; as in the oak, beech, and other maſt-bearing trees. Theſe latter trees, from each paſſing through the ſtate of ſeedlings, are perfectly continued, and endued with the functions of forming perfect ſeeds for raiſing other plants by evolution, to the continuance of the like ſpecies.

This is not the caſe with engrafted fruits. They are doomed by nature to continue for a time, and then gradually decline, till at laſt the variety is totally loſt, and ſoon forgotten, unleſs recorded by tradition, or in old publications.

Reaſon, with which Providence has moſt bountifully bleſſed ſome of our ſpecies, has enabled us, when we find a ſuperior variety, to engraft it on a wilding ſtock, or to raiſe plants from layers and cuttings, or even to raiſe up the roots, and thus to multiply our ſources of comfort and pleaſure. This, however, does not imply that the multiplication of the ſame variety, for it is no more, ſhould laſt for ever, unleſs the ſpecies will naturally ariſe from ſeed.

Nature, in her teaching, ſpeaks in very intelligible language; which language is conveyed by ex-

perience and obſervation. Thus we ſee that among promiſcuous ſeeds of fruits of the ſame ſort, one or more may ariſe, whoſe fruits ſhall be found to poſſeſs a value far ſuperior to the reſt in many diſtinguiſhable properties. From experience alſo, we have obtained the power, by engrafting, of increaſing the number of this newly-acquired tree, can change its country, give it to a friend, ſend it beyond the ſeas, or fill a kingdom with that fruit, if the natives are diſpoſed ſo to do. Thus we ſeem to have a kind of creative power in our own hands.

From the attention lately paid to the culture of engrafted fruits, I hope we are now enabled to continue a ſuppoſed happily-acquired tree, when we can find it, for a much longer duration than if ſuch variety had been left in the ſtate of unaſſiſted nature; perhaps I may ſay for a duration as long again, or ſomething more. After theſe ſanguine expectations, I may reaſonably be aſked, to what does all this amount? for here there is no direct permanency—and why? The *why* is very obvious—becauſe the kernels within the fruit, which are the ſeed of the plants for forming the next generation of trees, will not produce their like. I allow they may do ſo accidentally; but nothing more can be depended on.

For example, ſuppoſe we take ten kernels or pips of any apple raiſed on an engrafted ſtock: ſow them, and they will produce ten different varieties, no two of which will be alike; nor will either of them cloſely reſemble the fruit whence the ſeeds were collected. The leaves alſo of thoſe trees raiſed from the ſame primogenious or parent ſtock, will not *actually* be a copy of the leaves of any one of the varieties or family, to which each is connected by a vegetable conſanguinity. I intentionally uſed the word *actually*, becauſe a reſemblance may be found though not much of that is to be expected.

I beg that what has been laſt mentioned may not be taken as a diſcouragement to attempts for raiſing new varieties. I was obliged to ſpeak very ſtrongly, in order to place the culture upon its true foundation. I think it need not be obſerved, that there is no acquiring a new variety but through the means of a ſeedling plant; and therefore whoever wiſhes to ſucceed muſt attempt it that way, or wait till others in their plantations may more fortunately produce it.

In chooſing the ſeeds, that apple is moſt likely to produce the cleareſt and fineſt plants, whoſe kernels are firm, large, and well ripened. The ſize of the fruits is not to be regarded; for large apples do not always ripen their fruit well, or rather the ſmall fruits are generally preferred for making the ſtrongeſt, higheſt-flavoured liquor. And from what I have been able to collect in the cider-countries, it is there the opinion, that an apple ſomething above the improved crab promiſes the beſt ſucceſs. This advantage alſo attends the practice: if there are no valuable apples raiſed from that attempt, theſe wildings will make excellent ſtocks to engraft upon.

Gentlemen who actually employ themſelves in attempting to acquire new varieties, ſhould remember

ber that they ought to ſelect all the ſets, from the bed of apple-quick, whoſe appearance is in the leaſt degree promiſing, and plant them together, at ſuch a diſtance as to allow each to produce its fruit, which will happen in about twelve, fifteen, or eighteen years. My friend Mr. Knight, who undoubtedly is the firſt in actual exertions for procuring theſe happily-acquired new varieties, has had two plants bear fruit at ſix years old, and one at five. The cider-countries have offered ſeveral premiums for procuring new varieties, and ſome with good effect. Premiums have been given both to Mr. Knight and Mr. Alban.

When the new variety is to be raiſed from a valuable *admired* apple, I ſhould recommend the placing theſe ſeeds in a garden-pot, filled with mould from an old melon-bed; carrying the pot into a retired ſituation near the water, and giving attention to run the plants to as large a ſize as is convenient within eighteen months. With this view, the pot ſhould be placed in the green-houſe the firſt winter; and when the plants are afterwards to be ſet out in the ſpots, they ſhould not be placed under the drip of trees, or much expoſed to the winds.

Two inſtances have been mentioned, the improved crab, and moſt admired apple; but prudence ſays, try all ſorts, and ſomething probably will ariſe; and the proceſs is attended with little trouble or expence to a perſon who conſtantly reſides in the country: yet, after all this ſcientific care, the apple may want flavour, and be in other reſpects nothing better than a common wilding.

It is an undoubted fact, and worthy of obſervation, that all the different trees of the ſame variety have a wonderful tendency to ſimilarity of appearance among themſelves; and that the parent-ſtock, and all engrafted from it, have a far greater reſemblance to each other, than can be found in any part of the animal creation; and this habit does not vary to any extent of age.

As an encouragement in attempting to increaſe the number of new valuable fruits, we can prove that the Golden Pippin is native Engliſh. The Red-ſtreak a ſeedling of Herefordſhire, if not raiſed, yet was firſt brought into notice by Lord Scudamore, and was for a long time called Scudamore's Crab. The Stire Apple was accidentally raiſed in the Foreſt of Dean, in Glouceſterſhire, and took the name of *Foreſt Stire*. The cider made from this apple was the ſtrongeſt the country ever produced, according to any living record. The Haglo-crab, the beſt cider-fruit now remaining, was diſcovered in the pariſh of Ecloe, on the banks of the Severn; and about ſixty or ſeventy years ago, many ſcions were taken from this tree by Mr. Bellamy, and engrafted on ſeedling-ſtocks about Roſs. Theſe are now grown old; and, to aſcertain the age of the variety, I went with Charles Edwin, Eſq. to Ecloes, in hopes of ſeeing the parent-ſtock of this family. The proprietor of the eſtate acquainted Mr. Edwin that it had ceaſed to bear years ago, and was cut down. Thoſe at Roſs are but poor bearers now, and I ſhould ſuppoſe the variety muſt be 140 years old, though Marſhal, who wrote in the year 1786, men-

tions theſe trees were prolific, and he ſuppoſes the ſort to be about eighty years old; but, from preſent experience, it muſt be much more. The Tinton-ſquaſh pear is of Glouceſterſhire; the Barland and Old-field were near Ledbury, Herefordſhire. The two laſt pears clearly bear the names of the two fields where they were raiſed. The Barland fell about ſix years ago, viſibly from weight and longevity, which was ſuppoſed to have been about 200 years. There have been many other names of eſtimation handed down to us, though the realities are now totally worn out, and have ceaſed to exiſt. Can any better proof be deſired, that engrafted fruits are not permanent, than the regret we feel for the loſs of theſe old valuable fruits?

To make my paper as ſhort as convenient, I have dwelt only on the apple and pear; yet all the engrafted fruits are under the ſame predicament of the ſeed not producing its like, and the offspring in time falling into a nothingneſs of growth and bearing, though that ſpace of time muſt certainly depend on the natural longevity and hardneſs of the ſort, ſoil, poſition, care, &c. All theſe are more fully expreſſed in the papers publiſhed in the different volumes of the Tranſactions of this Society, and the two volumes of the Orchardiſt, wherein the whole ſyſtem is extended, to form a rational culture for the management of ſtandard fruits.

It ſhould be remembered, that as I am now alluding to the ſtate of actual permanency, fifty years are to be accounted as nothing; and as often as we come to that point, we are compelled to reſort to our firſt aſſertion, "That engrafted fruits are not permanent, they being continued from elongations, and not raiſed as a repetition of ſeeds." This is the only rational way as yet introduced of accounting for the loſs of the valuable old varieties of fruits. Should a better ſyſtem be introduced, I ſhall readily adopt it; but this ſufficiently anſwers the purpoſes of the planter.

Some years ago, from due inveſtigation and thorough conviction, I propagated this principle; and it was publiſhed in the ſeventeenth volume of the Society's Tranſactions, in the following words: "All the grafts taken from this firſt tree, or parent-ſtock, or any of the deſcendants, will for ſome generations thrive; but when this firſt ſtock ſhall, by mere dint of old age, fall into actual decay, a nihility of vegetation—the deſcendants, however young, or in whatever ſituation they may be, will gradually decline; and, from that time, it would be imprudent, in point of profit, to attempt propagating that variety from any of them. This is the dogma which muſt be received. I do not expect a direct aſſent, neither do I wiſh it, for it ſhould be taken with much reſerve; but it is undoubtedly true." Theſe conſiderations ſhould ſtimulate us in ſearching after new varieties, equal or perhaps ſuperior to thoſe of which we regret the loſs.

Obſerve that, from the time the kernel germinates for apple-quick, ſhould the plant be diſpoſed to form a valuable variety, there will appear a regular progreſſive change, or improvement, in the organization of the leaves until that

that variety has ſtood, and grown ſufficient to bloſſom, and come into full bearing; that is, from the ſtate of infancy to maturity; and it is this and other circumſtances by which the inquiſitive eye is enabled to form the ſelection among thoſe appearing likely to become valuable fruits. But from that time the new variety, or ſelected plant, compared with all the engraftments which may be taken from it, or any of them, theſe ſhall ſhew a moſt undeviating ſameneſs among themſelves.

It is readily allowed, that the different varieties of fruits are eaſily diſtinguiſhed from each other by many particulars, not only reſpecting their general fertility, and the form, ſize, ſhape, and flavour of the fruit, but alſo the manner of the growth of the tree, the thickneſs and proportion of the twigs, their ſhooting from their parent ſtem, the form, colour, and conſiſtence of the leaf, and many other circumſtances, by which the variety can be identified; and were it poſſible to engraft each variety upon the ſame ſtock, they would ſtill retain their diſcriminating qualities, with the utmoſt undeviating certainty.

The proper concluſion to be drawn from the ſtatement in the laſt paragraph, is this—that were any one to put the thought in practice on a full-grown hardy or crab ſtock, it would produce an excellent proof that engrafted fruits are not permanent. For if twenty different varieties were placed together, ſo that each might receive its nature from the ſame ſtem, they would gradually die off in actual ſucceſſion, according to the age or ſtate of health of the reſpective variety, at the time the ſcions were placed in the ſtock; and a diſcriminating eye, uſed to this buſineſs, would nearly be able to foretell the order in which each ſcion would actually decline. Should it alſo happen that two or three ſuckers from the wilding ſtock had been permitted to grow among the *twenty grafts*, ſuch ſuckers or wilding ſhoots will continue, and make a tree after all the reſt are gone. A farther conſequence would reſult from the experiment: among ſuch a number of varieties, each of the free growers would ſtarve the delicate, and drive them out of exiſtence only ſo much the ſooner. It muſt be obſerved, that this ſuppoſed ſtem is the foſter-parent to the twenty ſcions, and real parent to the ſuckers; and thoſe the leaſt converſant with engrafted fruits know the advantage acquired from this circumſtance. And here it is worth while remarking, that a Gaſcoyne, or wild cherry, will grow to twice the ſize that ever an engrafted cherry did.

By an experiment we have had in hand for five years, it will appear that the roots and ſtem of a large tree, after the firſt ſet of ſcions are exhauſted or worn out, may carry another ſet for many years; and we ſuſpect a third ſet, provided the engrafting is properly done, and the engrafter chooſes a new variety. Now the Ripſton Pippin, of Yorkſhire, is the favourite, as being a free grower and good bearer, with fine fruit. This however may certainly be depended on, that when a new apple is raiſed from ſeed, if a ſcion were placed in a retired ſituation, and conſtantly

ſtantly cut down, as a ſtool in a copſe-wood, and the apple never ſuffered to fulfil the intentions of nature in bearing fruit, the practitioners of the following ages may ſecure ſcions from that ſtool, to continue the variety much longer. Hence, though I have written as much as is in my power againſt permanency, yet I have taken ſome pains to aſſure the planters, that forecaſt, ſelection, pruning, cleanlineſs, and care, will make the orchards turn to more profit for the riſing generations than what they have done for the laſt hundred years.

To place the nature of varieties in its true light, for the information of the public, I muſt maintain, that the different varieties of the apple will, after a certain time, decline, and actually die away, and each variety, or all of the ſame ſtem or family, will loſe their exiſtence in vegetation; and yet it is a known fact, and mentioned in the ſeventeenth volume of the Tranſactions, that after the debility of age has actually taken poſſeſſion of any variety, it will yet thrive by being placed againſt a ſouthern wall, and treated as wall-fruit. Who, however, can afford to raiſe cider at that expence, except as matter of curioſity, to prove, that when the vital principle in vegetation is nearly exhauſted, a ſuperior care and warmth will ſtill keep the variety in exiſtence ſome time longer?

It ſhould be underſtood, that the external air of Britain is rather too cold for the delicate fruits, which is the reaſon why, in the Orchardiſt, I lay ſuch a ſtreſs on procuring *warmth* for the trees, by *draining*, *ſhelter*, and *manure*. It would be now loſt time to attempt to recover the old varieties as an article of profit.

If I have not expreſſed myſelf in this Eſſay on the Nature of Varieties, with ſo much clearneſs and conviction as might have been expected, it ſhould be conſidered that it is an abſtruſe ſubject, very little underſtood, and requiring at firſt ſome degree of *faith*, *obſervation*, and *perſeverance*. The prejudices of mankind revolt againſt it. They are not diſpoſed to allow the diſtinction of nature; and they imagine, that in the act of engrafting or multiplying they give new life, whereas it is only continuing the exiſtence of the ſame tree, ſtick, or bud. Obſerve what I ſaid before:—the ſeed of the apple, when placed in the earth, germinates, and unfolds itſelf into a new plant, which ſucceſſively paſſes through the ſtages of infancy, maturity, and decay, like its predeceſſors. I might ſay, all-created nature is ſimilar in this reſpect; though, from the circumſtance that varieties are much longer lived than man, the plants have appeared to be poſſeſſed of eternal powers of duration; nothing ſublunary, however, which poſſeſſes either animal or vegetable life, is exempt from age and death.

Whithin the laſt twenty years I have travelled many hundred miles, and converſed with the moſt intelligent men in each country; and I now want to convince mankind, for no other reaſon than becauſe it is their intereſt ſo to believe, that there is in creation an order of beings (engrafted fruits) ſo formed, that we have the power

of

of multiplying a single variety, to whatever number of trees we please;—that the first set arises from a small seed;—that the next and descendant sets are propagated by engraftings, or from cuttings, layers, &c.;—and that although these trees may amount to millions, yet, on the death of the primogenious or parent-stock, merely from old age, or nihility of growth, each individual shall decline, in whatever country they may be, or however endued with youth and health. I say they shall gradually begin to decline; and in the course of time, or of centuries, to those who would prefer that expression, the *whole variety* will scarcely have a single tree remaining to show what the fruit was. Let those who are not disposed to assent to this statement, ask themselves what is become of the old lost varieties? did they die, or did wicked men maliciously cut them up?

I, who am firmly convinced of the truth of what I have advanced on this subject, have no doubt but that the same would happen by engrafting on the oak or beech, if the mast raised from the engrafted tree did not produce the like; for there the question turns.

It is not known, that the woodman in setting out his sapling oaks always selects new seedling plants, and never continues one upon an old stool; and that if he should so blunder, that tree, from the stool, will neither have the freedom of growth, nor the size nor firmness of timber, equal to a new-raised plant.

I wish I could persuade my friends, that with the same attention with which the woodman acts, the planter is to raise his orchard from the young fruits which thrive in the neighbourhood, or are in health, and full-bearing in the country whence they are to be brought.

The fruit-grower should look to selection, cleanliness, and care. To me it is a circumstance perfectly indifferent, whether he is to use Mr. Forsyth's composition, Mr. Bullingham's boiled linseed oil, or my medication. I only maintain that the wounded parts of trees want something to destroy the insects and vermin, and heal the wood, from which the trees are kept in health.

Let those who are blessed with fruit-plantations attend to their preservation, and not leave them to the state of unassisted nature.

ANTIQUITIES.

Remarks on a Gimmal Ring by Robert Smith, Esq. F. R. S. and F. A. S.

(From Archæologia Vol. XIV.)

Sir,

I HAVE the pleaſure to exhibit to the Society a curious Gimmal Gemmow Ring; which was dug up, a few months ago, by the workmen employed on ſome buildings belonging to George Shepley Eſq. at Horſley-down, in Surry. It was diſcovered about eight or nine feet below the ſurface of the earth, in what is called made-ground, but which appeared to have lain undiſturbed for a conſiderable length of time. Other rings, and many ancient copper coins and medals, both Roman and Engliſh, were found near the ſame ſpot; as were the ſkeletons of ſeveral human bodies.

This Ring is conſtructed, as the name imports, of twin or double hoops, which play one within another, like the links of a chain. Each hoop has one of its ſides flat, the other convex; each is twiſted once round, and each ſurmounted by a hand, iſſuing from an embоſſed fancy-work wriſt or ſleeve; the hand riſing ſomewhat above the circle, and extending in the ſame direction. The courſe of the twiſt, in each hoop, is made to correſpond with that of its counterpart, ſo that on bringing together the flat ſurfaces of the hoops, the latter immediately unite in one ring. On the lower hand, or that of which the palm is uppermoſt, is repreſented a heart; and, as the hoops cloſe, the hands ſlide into contact, form with their ornamented wriſts, a head to the whole. The device thus preſents a triple emblem of love, fidelity and union. Upon the flat ſide of the hoops are engraven "Uſé de Vertu," in Roman capitals; and, on the inſide of the lower wriſt, the figures "990." The whole is of fine gold, and weighs two pennyweights four grains.

It is of foreign workmanſhip, probably French, and appears to be of no great antiquity; perhaps about the reign of our queen Elizabeth: for though the time of the introduction into Europe of the Arabic numerals be referred by ſome to an æra nearly correſponding with the figures on the Ring, the better opinion ſeems to be, that the Arabian

bian method of notation was unknown to the Europeans until about the middle of the 13th century. I conjecture, therefore, that the figures were meant to expreſs, not a date, but the artiſt's number; ſuch as we ſee ſtill engraven on watches. The workmanſhip is not incurious; and as the Ring furniſhes a genuine ſpecimen of the gimmal (a term now almoſt forgotten), I preſume to offer it to the notice of the Society.

Rings, it is well known, are of great antiquity; and, in the early ages of the world, denoted authority and government. Theſe were communicated, ſymbolically, by the delivery of a ring to the perſon on whom they were meant to be conferred. Thus Pharaoh, when he committed the government of Egypt to Joſeph, took the ring from his finger and gave it to Joſeph, as a token of the authority with which he inveſted him. So alſo did Ahaſuerus to his favourite Haman, and to Mordecai, who ſucceeded him in his dignity

In conformity to this ancient uſage, recorded in the Bible, the Chriſtian church afterward adopted the ceremony of the ring in marriage, as a ſymbol of the authority which the huſband gave the wife over his houſehold, and over the "earthly goods" with which he endowed her.

But the Gimmal Ring is comparatively of modern date. It ſhould ſeem that we are indebted for the deſign to the ingenious fancies of our Gallic neighbours, whoſe ſkill in diverſifying the ſymbols of the tender paſſion has continued unrivalled, and in the language of whoſe country the mottoes employed on almoſt all the amorous trifles are ſtill to be found. And it muſt be allowed, that the double hoop, each apparently free yet inſeparable, both formed for uniting, and complete only in their union, affords a not unapt repreſentation of the married ſtate.

Among the numerous love-tokens which lovers have preſented to their miſtreſſes, in all ages, the ring bears a conſpicuous part; nor is any more likely than the gimmal to "ſteal the impreſſion of a miſtreſs's fantaſy," as none ſo clearly expreſſes its errand. In the "Midſummer-Night's Dream" of Shakſpeare, where Egeus accuſes Lyſander, before the Duke, of having inveigled his daughter's affections, or, as the old man expreſſes it, "witch'd the boſom" of his child, he exclaims,

"Thou haſt given her rhimes,
And interchang'd love-tokens with my child:
Thou haſt, by moon-light, at her window ſung,
With feigning voice, verſes of feigning love;
And ſtol'n the impreſſion of her fantaſie,
With bracelets of thy hair, rings, gawds, conceits."

From a ſimple love-token, the gimmal was at length converted into the more ſerious "*ſponſalium annulus*," or ring of affiance. The lover putting his finger through one of the hoops, and his miſtreſs her's through the other, were thus, ſymbolically, yoked together; a yoke which neither could be ſaid wholly to wear, one half being allotted to the other *.

* Among the explanations given of Gemmellus, by R. Stephens, in his Theſaurus, is the following, "Gemellos quoque vocat Paulus Equos forte bijuges, id eſt, binos & geminos conjungi ſolitos: ut in l. proinde D. ad legem Aquil. Veluti ſiquis ex comœdis, aut ſymphoniacis, aut gemellis, aut quadriga, aut parimularum unum vel unam occiderit."

And

And in this use of the gimmal may be seen typified, a community of interests, mutual forbearance, and a participation of authority.

The French term for it is, "foi," or "alliance;" which latter word, in the "Dictionnaire de Trévoux," is defined, "bague ou jonc que l'accordé donne à son accordée où il y a un fil d'or, et un fil d'argent." This definition not only shews the occasion of its use, but supposes the two hoops to be composed, one of gold the other of silver; a distinction evidently meant to characterise the bride-groom and bride. Thus Columella calls those vines which produce two different sorts of grapes, "Gemellæ vites."

Our English glossaries afford but little information on the subject. Minshew refers the reader from gimmal to gemow; the former he derives from "gemellus," the latter from the French "jumeau:" and he explains the Gemow Ring to signify, "double or twinnes, because they be rings with two or more links." Neither of the words is in Junius. Skinner and Ainsworth deduce gimmal from the same Latin origin, and suppose it to be used only of something consisting of correspondent parts, or double. Dr. Johnson gives it a more extensive signification; he explains gimmal to mean, "some little quaint devices, or pieces of machinery," and refers to Hanmer: but he inclines to think the name gradually corrupted from geometry or geometrical, because, says he, "any thing done by occult means is vulgarly said to be done by geometry."

The word is not in Chaucer, nor in Spenser; yet both Blount in his "Glossography," and Philips in his "World of Words," have geminals; which they interpret twins.

Shakespeare has gimmal in two or three places; though none of the commentators seem thoroughly to understand the term. The most striking passage is that in "The Midsummer-Night's Dream," Act IV. Scene I.—Hermia and Helena, with their lovers, Demetrius and Lysander, having just awaked from the dream which gives name to the play, are relating the changes which they perceived to have taken place in their affections, during sleep. Hermia remarks.

"Methinks, I see these things with parted eye;
When every thing seems double."

Helena seizes the idea which the word double presented, and beautifully expands it, in a manner almost peculiar to the author. Applying it instantly to her lover, Demetrius, who had acted two such different parts that night, that she could hardly even then know whether to count or not upon his love, she replies,

"So methinks;
And I have found Demetrius like a jewel,
Mine own and not mine own."

Warburton, perceiving the corruption of the text, in the admission of the word jewel, reads the passage thus:

"And I have found Demetrius like a gemell,
Mine own, and not mine own."

But knowing nothing of the Gimmal Ring, or not recollecting its

its uſe, he derives his emendation from gemellus, a twin and there ſtops. Johnſon notices the biſhop's obſervation, and adds, "this emendation is ingenious enough to deſerve to be true;" but he proceeds no farther nor does the late Mr. Steevens, in commenting upon this paſſage, make any mention of the Gimmal Ring; which alone can remove the obſcurity of the laſt line, and render the whole intelligible. One half of the Gimmal Ring, as I before obſerved, being worn by the lover, the other by his miſtreſs, it might with the ſtricteſt truth be predicated, as well of his part as of her's, when either ſpake of it,

"it is
Mine own and not mine own."

Or, as the lawyers expreſs the tenure by joint tenancy, they were each "ſeiſed per mie & per tout;" that is, each of each half, and each of the whole, by a unity of title and poſſeſſion. "No other interpretation," (to uſe your own words, in the note, which you gave me on the above paſſage), "in my humble opinion, makes the paſſage worthy of Shakeſpeare."

Gimmal again occurs, in "King Henry the Fifth," Act IV. Scene II. where the French lords are proudly ſcoffing at the condition of the Engliſh army. Grandpree ſays,

"The horſemen ſit like fixed candleſticks,
With torch-ſtaves in their hands; and their poor jades
Lob down their heads, dropping the hide and hips:
The gum down-roping from their pale dead eyes;
And in their pale dull mouths the GIMMAL BIT
Lies foul with chaw'd graſs, ſtill and motionleſs."

We may underſtand the gimmal bit, therefore, to mean either a double bit, in the ordinary ſenſe of the word, (duplex), or, which is more appropriate, a bit compoſed of links, playing one within another (gemellus.)

The laſt paſſage which I ſhall notice, is, that in the "Firſt part of king Henry the Sixth," Act I. Scene II, in which gimmal ſeems to carry the broad ſignification aſſigned to it by Dr. Johnſon. In the ſcene before Orleans, after the French had been beaten back with great loſs, Charles and his Lords are concerting together the farther meaſures to be purſued. The king ſays,

"Let's leave this town, for they are hair-brain'd ſlaves,
And hunger will enforce them to be more eager:
Of old I know them; rather with their teeth
The walls they'll tear down, than forſake the ſiege.

To which Reignier ſubjoins,

"I think, by ſome odd *gimmals* or device,
Their arms are ſet, like clocks, ſtill to ſtrike on;
Elſe they could ne'er hold out ſo, as they do.
By my conſent we'll e'en let them alone."

Some of the commentators have the following note upon this paſſage, "A gimmal is a piece of jointed work, where one piece moves within another; whence it is taken at large for an engine, It is now vulgarly called "Gimcrack."

And

And in Ainſworth's Theſaurus, the Latin given for gimmal, or gimmer, is, machine quædam; without mentioning of what kind.

I have the honour to be,
Sir, your moſt obedient
Baſinghall Street, and moſt humble
6 Dec. 1800. Servant,
ROBERT SMITH.

The Rev. Mr. Brand, Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of London.

On the Cave of Trophonius.

(From Faber's Diſſertation on the Myſteries of the Cabiri.)

PORPHYRY concludes his treatiſe with a variety of refined remarks upon the olive which Homer repreſents as overſhadowing the Nymphèan cavern. None of them however are in the leaſt degree ſatisfactory, excepting his obſervation, that ſuppliants were accuſtomed to bear olive branches in their hands, from which they augured, that the gloom of their preſent calamities would be exchanged for light, happineſs, and proſperity *. Here we have ſome remains of the original matter of fact, though completely miſunderſtood and perverted by Porphyry. The olive in the Myſteries was commemorative of the olive-branch brought back to Noah by the dove: and it was the propitious omen, that the patriarch and his family would ſpeedily emerge from the gloom of the Ark to the light of day; that they would exchange their confinement for liberty; and that they would each ſoon be able to exclaim in the language of the myſtagogue, "I have eſcaped an evil, I have found a better lot †." With a ſimilar alluſion to the hiſtory of the deluge, the prieſts of Mithras were ſtyled Hierocoraces, or ſacred ravens ‡; and the oracular prieſteſſes of Hammon, Peleiades, or doves §: while, in conſequence of the cloſe connection of the dove and the olive, a particular ſpecies of that tree was denominated Columbas ‖.

Theſe remarks upon the treatiſe of Porphyry will prepare us for the examination of ſeveral other Mithratic caverns; one of the moſt celebrated of which was that of Trophonius in Beotia.

Upon the death of Orchomenus, whom I have ſhewn to be Orca-Menu, or the arkite Noah, his kingdom was ſuppoſed to have devolved to Clymenus, the grandſon of Phrixus. Clymenus was ſlain by the Thebans at the feſtival of the Oncheſtian or oceanic Neptune, and he was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Erginus, the father of Trophonius and Agamedes. Trophonius is ſaid to have been nurſed by Ceres-Europa; and he had a conſecrated grove near the city Orchomenus, and in it a famous oracular cavern. Upon the bank of the adjacent river ſtood a ſmall

* Λειπεται δε παραςησαι το της πεφυτευμενης ελαιας συμβολον, ὁ ὅτι ποτε μηνυει— Εν ταις λιτανιαις και ἱκετηριαις τας της ελαιας θαλειας προτεινωσιν εις το λευκον αυτοις το σκοτεινον των κινδυνων μεταβαλλειν ὀπτευομενοι. Porh. de Ant. Nymph. p. 269, 270.

† Εφυγον κακον, εὑρον ἀμεινον. Vide ſupra vol. i. p. 276.

‡ Ban. Mythol. vol. i. p. 289.

§ Herod. lib. ii. cap. 55.

‖ Athen. Deipnoſ. lib. ii. p. 56.

temple of the nymph Hercyna, who was worſhipped in conjunction with him, and who was ſuppoſed to have been the companion of Proſerpine. Near the river was alſo a tumulus, ſaid to be the monument of a perſon called Arceſilaus; and a chapel, dedicated to Ceres-Europa. Within the cavern were ſtatues of Trophonius and Hercyna, holding in their hands rods, around which ſerpents were intwined. Not far from the oracle was a ſtatue of Jupiter-Pluvius: and, upon the ſummit of the hill, a temple of Apollo; another of Proſerpine, and Jupiter; and a third of Juno, Jupiter, and Saturn. The rivulet itſelf was named Hercyna; and the cavern, which Pauſanias informs us was artificial, was ſo contrived, that the ſtream flowed out of it. When any perſon wiſhed to conſult the oracle, he was firſt waſhed in this conſecrated water by two youths, each of whom bore the title of Mercury or Caſmilus. He was then directed to drink of the ſtreams of Lethè and Mnemoſynè; the firſt of which removed from his recollection all profane thoughts, and the ſecond enabled him to remember whatever he might ſee in the cave. Afterwards he was dreſſed in a linen robe, and conducted in ſolemn proceſſion to the oracle. The mouth of the cavern was ſhaped like an oven *, being extremely narrow and ſteep; and the method of deſcending into it was by means of a ſmall ladder. Arriving at the bottom, the votary found another cave; the entrance into which was yet more ſtraight than that of the former. Here he proſtrated himſelf upon the ground, holding in either hand the offerings to Trophonius, which conſiſted of cakes mixed with honey. Immediately his feet were ſeized, and his whole body was drawn into the cavern, by the agency of ſome inviſible power. Here he beheld ſuch viſions, and heard ſuch voices, as ſeemed beſt to the tutelary deity of the place. The reſponſe being given, he forthwith felt himſelf conveyed out of the cavern, in the ſame manner as he had been drawn in, his feet in both caſes being foremoſt. As ſoon as he once more emerged to open day, he was conducted by the officiating prieſts to the chair of Mnemoſynè, and ſtrictly interrogated with reſpect to what he had ſeen or heard. Generally ſpeaking however, through the operation doubtleſs of ſuperſtitious terror, the votary was drawn up in a ſwoon. In this caſe he was carried to the temple of the Good Genius, till he ſhould have come to himſelf again: after which he was required to write down the anſwer of the oracle in a book kept ſpecially for that purpoſe. Pauſanias adds, that he gave this account from his own perſonal knowledge, for that he had had curioſity to deſcend himſelf into the cave and to conſult the god †.

From this deſcription of the cavern of Trophonius the reader

* From the circumſtance of the mouths of the artificial Mithratic grottoes being thus ſhaped originated the notion of the more modern Perſians, that the waters of the deluge burſt forth from the oven of an old woman, called Zala-Cupha. In libro Pharh Surmemoratur mons illuſtris, ubi tunc habitavit Noah, cum ex eo erumperet aqua diluvii: et ibidem, Zala Cupha dicitur fuiſſe nomen vetulæ, ex cujus furno aqua diluvii primo erupit. Hyde de Rel. Vet. Perſ. cap. 10.

† Pauſ. Bœot. p. 784—792.

will

will ſufficiently perceive, without the aſſiſtance of a formal enumeration and compariſon of particulars, that it was an oracular Mithratic grotto; and he will be confirmed in his opinion by the fabulous hiſtory of Trophonius and Hercyna.

With regard to Trophonius, the whole of his genealogy, as we have juſt ſeen, is purely mythological; both his imaginary deſcent, and his myſterious worſhip, relating entirely to the helio-arkite devotion. He was the ſame in ſhort as the infernal or diluvian Mercury*; and his title Trophonius ſeems to be a corruption of Tora-Phont, the prieſt of the heifer.

As Trophonius was the ſolar Noah, ſo the goddeſs Hercyna, worſhipped in conjunction with him, is Erca-Nah, the Noëtic Ark; and the rods, which their ſtatues bore, intwined with ſerpents, point them out to be the ſame characters as Eſculapius and Salus, or the Noëtic Sun and the arkite Moon. Hercyna in fact was no other than Ceres-Europa, the allegorical nurſe of Trophonius; and conſequently ſhe was the ſame as Hippa, Nuſa, or Ino, the ſuppoſed nurſes of Bacchus. Accordingly Lycophron informs us, that Ennèa, Hercyna, and Erinnus, were all titles of Ceres †; and his commentator Tzetzes obſerves, that Hercyna was at once an epithet of Ceres, and the name of the daughter of Trophonius. He further adds, that ſhe was debauched by Neptune, being firſt metamorphoſed by him into a Hippa, or mare ‡. It is almoſt ſuperfluous to obſerve that it matters little, whether Ceres-Europa-Hercyna-Hippa was eſteemed the nurſe or the daughter of Trophonius, in either caſe ſhe will be equally a perſonification of the Ark.

As for the ſuppoſed tomb of the hero Arceſilaus, which was thrown up on the bank of the rivulet Hercyna, I apprehend it to have been merely a high place of Arc-Es-El, the helio-arkite deity; while the two miniſtering youths, denominated Mercurii, are evidently the Caſmili of the Samothracian Myſteries, or the Camilli of the antient Tuſcans.

The cavern of Trophonius then being thus deſtined for the celebration of the diluvian worſhip, we ſhall not be ſurpriſed to find it ſituated near the town of Orchomenus, or the arkite Noah, and in Beotia, or the land of the ſymbolical heifer.

Antiquities of Siwah.
(From Horneman's Travels in Africa.)

AS we approached the ſpot deſtined for our encampment in the Vale of Siwah, I deſcried to the weſtward ſome ruins of an extenſive building, a few miles diſtant from the road, and concluded them

* Alter (Mercurius) Valentis et Phoronidus filius, is, qui ſub terris habetur, idem Trophonius. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. cap. 22. Sub terra eſt alter (Mercurius) Trophonius qui eſſe jactatur. Arnob. adv. Gent. lib. iv. p. 170.

† Οὐ παπποι εν γαμφαισιν Ενναια ποτε,
Ἔρκυν', Ερινυς—— Lycoph. Caſſ. ver. 152.
Ennèa is only a variation of Antèa, Anèa, Nanèa, Nana, or Anu. Vide ſupra vol. i p. 145.

‡ Tzet. Schol. in loc.

to

to be the ſame as noticed by a late Engliſh traveller, (Mr. Brown), of whoſe diſcoveries I heard firſt in London, and afterwards, when in Egypt. Circumſtances rendered it neceſſary for me to be particularly on my guard, and to defer any viſit to, or actual inſpection of, theſe antiquities, until I had retrieved the confidence of the natives, who, on my very firſt appearance, (as I was informed,) had taken me and my interpreter, for Chriſtians; and to this ſuppoſition they were induced, from our fairer complexion, from our gait and manners, and from our Turkiſh dreſſes. When I took advantage of the diſturbances at Cairo and its environs, to get introduced as a Mahomedan to the caravan, I could not indeed ſpeak readily, either Turkiſh or Arabic; but in this, I flattered myſelf, the aſſumed character of a young Mameluke might be my excuſe; and I further derived confidence from the experience and abilities of my interpreter, who (a German by birth,) had been forced, twelve years paſt, to embrace the Mahomedan religion at Conſtantinople, and whoſe addreſs and knowledge, I hoped, might preclude, or extricate me from, any conſequences of jealouſy or ſuſpicion.

Conſidering the importance of my miſſion, and the great purpoſe of exploring the whole of Northern Africa, with which I was entruſted, perhaps it had been more wiſe and prudent on my part, not to have expoſed myſelf to general intercourſe, until better qualified to ſuſtain the character I had aſſumed; had I ſo done in the preſent inſtance, and abſtained from viſiting the curioſities of Siwah, and expoſing myſelf in the novelty of the attempt, to examinations and ſuſpicions, I might have avoided a danger which (as will appear in the ſequel) nearly proved fatal to myſelf, and therewith to the object of my voyage.

Making ſuch candid admiſſion of not having the requiſite forbearance, with objects of ſo juſt curioſity in view, I proceed to ſtate the courſe of my inquiries, and the reſult.

I firſt viſited the ruins of the extenſive edifice before obſerved. I accoſted ſome men working in the gardens near, and queſtioning them as to what they knew of this building, they anſwered, "that in former times Siwah was inhabited by infidels moſt of whom lived in caves, but ſome inhabited theſe buildings." One ſpokeſman, pointing to a building in the centre, ſaid, "tradition tells us, *that edifice* was the hall in which the divan uſed to aſſemble; at the time of its conſtruction men were ſtronger than I am; for thoſe huge ſtones ſerving as a roof to the fabric, were lifted up and placed there by two men only: there is much gold buried under the walls." When I then entered into the ruins, I was followed by all the people near, and thus prevented examining the place with any accuracy. On a ſecond viſit I was not more ſucceſsful; and when, after a few days, I returned thither again, ſome Siwahans directly ſaid to me, "thou undoubtedly art yet a Chriſtian in thy heart, elſe why come ſo often to viſit theſe works of Infidels." In order to maintain the character I had aſſumed, I was thus neceſſitated to abandon any further project of nice examination or admeaſure-

meaſurement, and reſtrict myſelf to general obſervations, ſuch as I now ſubmit in detail as they occurred.

Ummebeda (the name given to the ſite of thoſe ruins by the natives) lies near a village called *Scharkie* or *Agrmie*, between that place and an iſolated mountain, on which a copious ſpring of freſh water is ſaid to riſe. The buildings are in ſuch a ſtate of dilapidation, that a plain obſerver, who forms an opinion only from what he ſees, and does not accommodate the object in application and conjecture to preconceived notions of a particular ſtructure which he is to look for, and trace out, could ſcarcely, (I think) from theſe rude heaps, and mouldered and disjointed walls, ſuggeſt the preciſe form or original purpoſe of the building when firſt raiſed. Its materials might ſuggeſt, that it was built in the rudeſt ages, and when the Troglodytæ of theſe parts firſt left their caves, and in their firſt attempt of building, took their ſcheme and plan of architecture from their old manſions, heaping rock on rock, in imitation of the dwelling places which nature had before furniſhed.

I aſcertained the general bearings of the building by my compaſs, and found the outward walls conſtructed with aſpects facing the four cardinal points, the aberration being only of twelve degrees, and which might have occurred from variation of the needle. The total circumference may be ſeveral hundred yards, and is to be traced out and followed by the foundations of a wall, in moſt parts viſible, and which, from the maſſes remaining, appears to have been *very ſtrong*. The outward wall, in moſt places, has been thrown down, and the materials carried away, and the interior ground has been every where turned up, and dug, in ſearch of treaſure.

In the centre of this extenſive area, are ſeen the remains of an edifice, which perhaps may be regarded as the principal building, and to which all around may have been mere appendage, and ſubordinate.

The northern part of this building ſtands on a native calcareous rock, riſing above the level of the general area, within the outer walls, about eight feet. The height of the edifice appears to be about twenty-ſeven feet; its width twenty-four, and its length ten or twelve paces. The walls are ſix feet in thickneſs, the exterior of which within and without is conſtructed of large free ſtones, filled up in the interſtice with ſmall ſtones and lime. The ceiling is formed by vaſt blocks of ſtone, wrought and fitted to ſtretch over and cover the entire building. The breadth of each ſuch maſs of ſtone is about four feet, and the depth or thickneſs three feet. One of theſe ſtones of the roof has fallen in, and is broken; the entire ſouthern wall of the building hath likewiſe tumbled, and the materials have moſtly been carried away. But the people have not been able to remove the large fragments fallen from the roof, which their anceſtors were enabled to bring from the quarry, and to raiſe entire to the ſummit of the edifice. Such are the viciſſitudes of art, of knowledge, and of human powers and means, as well as of human happineſs and fortunes!

The ſtones that have fallen, lie ſunk, with their ſurface lower than the

the base of the yet standing part of the building, and their bottom almost on a level with the area of the great inclosure. The appearance of these fallen stones of the southern wall, leads to a conjecture, that this extremity of the original edifice had its floor or base *lower than that of the northern part.* The entrances to this building are three, the principal one to the north, and the others to the east and west. The inside walls (beginning at half their height from the ground) are decorated with hieroglyphics sculptured in relief, but the figures seem not to have been sufficiently engraved in *alt*, or *salient*, to resist the ravages of time and weather; and in some places they are wholly mouldered and defaced, and especially on the ceiling.

On different parts of the wall appear marks of paint, and the colour seems to have been green. I could no where discover traces of the edifice having in any part been lined or inlaid with a finer stone or material. A few paces from the chief entrance, I observed two round stones, of about three feet diameter, each indented, as if to receive the base of some statue or other ornament. The general material of which the building is constructed, is a lime-stone, containing petrifactions of shells and small marine animals; and such stone is to be found and dug up in the vicinity.

On examining the country around these ruins, I found the soil contiguous to the foundations of the outward wall on the south to be marshy, and was informed that it contained salt springs. I asked if no considerable spring of fresh water was to be seen near; and was shewn a fine rivulet of sweet water, about half a mile from the ruins, which takes its rise in a grove of date trees, and in a most romantic and beautiful situation: it is not, however, its delightful scene that recommends it to the native of Siwah, but an opinion that it is a specific against certain diseases.

I am conscious that the above description of the remains of antiquity near Siwah, is by far too cursory and incomplete, for any purpose of just and accurate inference; and that it must yet remain a mere conjecture, whether these ruins are those of the famous *Temple of Jupiter Ammon.* It must be obvious, from many points I have adverted to in my description, that I had the site of this renowned temple in view, and that it was a principal object of my research. Circumstances I was under, and of which the reader is already apprised, prevented my pursuing this great subject of just and learned curiosity with the nicety of inspection, and care in the consideration, which I could have wished to employ. Supposing, on reference to ancient writers, the comparison of the buildings not to bear me out in the idea which I entertain; yet on many other grounds I should contend, that Siwah had been a residence of the ancient Ammonites. I draw my conclusion from the relative situation of the country; from the quality of the soil, from its fertility; from the information of its inhabitants, that no other such fruitful tract is to be found any where near; and, in addition to the certainty, at least, that some great and magnificent building once here stood, I derive a further conclusion from the numerous catacombs to be found in the vicinity,

and which I shall have occasion more particularly to notice. In regard to the memorable Temple of Ammon, should even my own description of the existing vestiges of building not accurately agree with general accounts of that edifice, yet, notwithstanding, I must continue to hold an opinion, from the general appearance and from the situation of those ruins, that they *may be* remains of the *Temple of Jupiter Ammon*. A delineation and decipher of the hieroglyphic figures, which adorn the inner walls of the building, might be conclusive on this question.

I will further add on this subject, that on inquiry after *Edrisi's Santrich*, no one knew it even by name; but I was told that at a distance of seven days journey from *Siwah*, fix from *Faiume*, and two or three * from *Biljoradec*, there exists a country, similar to that of Siwah, its inhabitants less in number, and speaking the same language. That region I should take to be the *Minor Oasis* of the ancients. I speak of this place from mere report, and could gain no more accurate, or further account; perhaps it lies among the mountains which traverse the great Desert near *Ummesogeir*, extending towards the south.

I come now to the subject of the *various catacombs*, to be found in the territory of Siwah, and which I was enabled more fully to examine, as lying in more sequestered spots, and where I was less liable to observation.

If I well understood my companion, an inhabitant of Siwah, there are four principal places, where catacombs are found. The first, *Belled-el-Kaffer*; the second, *Belled-el-Rumi*; both these terms, denote one and the same thing, namely, "place or town of infidels;" the third is, *El-Mota*, or place of burial; the fourth, *Belled-el-Chamis*, or *Gamis*. My inquiries were in particular directed to *El-Mota*, situated at the distance of about one mile north-east from Siwah. It is a rocky hill, with a number of catacombs on the declivity, but the most remarkable, are on the summit. There is a separate entrance to each, and the descent inwards is gentle and gradual. The passage from the aperture, leads to a door-way, from which the space of the room is enlarged, and on each side, are smaller excavations for containing the mummies. The stones rising from the threshold are cut in a form that shews a door to have been formerly hung, and to have closed the entrance. The catacombs are of different extent, and each is wrought with great labour and neatness of work, and especially the uppermost, which contains no traces of any mummy. In others are found various remains. I long, but in vain, searched for an entire head: I found fragments, and especially of the *occiput* in abundance, but none with any investiture remaining; and even in the *occiputs* most entire I could not discover any stain or mark of their once having been filled with *resin*. The cloth still adhered to some *ribs*, but so decayed, that nothing could be further distinguished, than that the stuff in which the mummy had been wrapt, was of the coarsest kind.

The ground in all these cata-

* The distance from Biljoradec is not clearly expressed in the original.

combs

combs has been dug and explored in ſearch of treaſure, and I was told, by my guide, that in every one of theſe ſepulchres gold has been, and is yet ſometimes found.

There is every probability that entire mummies might be diſcovered in the catacombs at a greater diſtance to *weſtward* of Siwah. I was credibly informed, that beſides the open catacombs on the mountains, there are others under ground, and the entrance of which is to be found at no great depth; and that *Biut-el-Nazari*, (houſes of Chriſtians, ſynonymous here to Infidels,) exiſt on both ſides of a long ſubterraneous paſſage, forming a communication, between two catacomb-mountains. The catacombs met with on *Gibel-el-belled*, being the hill on which *Siwah* is built, are ſmall, and conſiſt of a little antichamber, leading generally to two caverns where the mummies were depoſited. Of theſe the two moſt remarkable are two large and high caverns on the north ſide; the one is twenty, the other ſixteen feet ſquare, and both are open to the north.

There are likewiſe two other caverns, of ſimilar dimenſions, but not ſo lofty, to be ſeen weſtward of *Siwah*, and leading to *Augila*; their entrance is low and narrow, and the two excavations are ſo near, that the partition, as appears from a ſmall perforation, is only ten inches thick.

Quitting the ſubject of antiquities in the territory of Siwah, I have only to add, that in the neareſt plain weſt of the town, there are other maſſive remains of ſome building, but which bear no token or note of remote antiquity, ſuch as may be attributed to the ruins I firſt deſcribed.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

On the Dialect of London.

From Anecdotes of the Engliſh Language.

In a Letter to an Antiquary.

(By Samuel Pegge Eſq.)

SO much has been ſaid of the Engliſh language ſince the death of Dr. Johnſon, that I have been induced to look minutely into one branch of it, which has had the misfortune to be ſeverely reprobated, "The local dialect of London and its environs." I am well aware that the ſubject is too trivial to be brought before the tribunal of the Society of Antiquaries at large; and therefore throw it into the world to find advocates under your benevolent protection, and as a cloſet-amuſement for individuals, in a vacant hour.

The charge againſt the Londoners, is, that they have *corrupted* and *debaſed* our language; to ſupport which, the accuſers bring forward the dialect of the preſent age as the ſtandard, which, on examination, will be found to be very far from the truth.

Not being myſelf a Cockney, if I produce evidence ſufficient to acquit the Londoners, I ſhall, at leaſt, eſcape the imputation of partiality, if I am not honoured with the freedom of the City in a gold box.

Few people trouble themſelves about the daily provincial ſeeming jargon of their own County, becauſe, being ſuperficially underſtood, it anſwers the purpoſes of the natives without farther inveſtigation: though, I believe, it may be affirmed that every dialect in the kingdom of England has (for the moſt part) a radical exiſtence in one or other of the languages whereof our own is compounded. I dare, at leaſt, confidently aſſert that there is a leſs number of provincial words and expreſſions in London and its vicinities (within twenty miles), than in any other part of the kingdom, from a given centre; that the verbal peculiarities are comparatively few; and that what is called *vulgarity* is barely a reſiduum of what was anciently the eſtabliſhed national dialect, at different periods, from time immemorial *.

* Mr. Ray has given us a conſiderable number of North Country words, and left a vaſt many behind him; whereas the dialect of London (as far as my penetration goes) produces comparatively but few.

In

In support of this asseveration I shall not refer you to dictionaries, which seldom give us more than one descent of the word in question; whereas, if extended higher, they would contain the genealogical history of a language. This will appear from the following remarks, whereby some aboriginal words, in more languages than our own, will unexpectedly transpire.

Do not be alarmed by supposing that I am leading you into a dogmatical detail regarding the English language in general: but suffer me to say two or three words on it, whether they have, or have not, been said an hundred times before. Dr. Johnson was scarcely at all aware of the authenticity of ancient dialectical words, and therefore seldom gives them any place in his dictionary. He seems not to consider them as *free-born*, or even as *denizens*; but rather treats them as *out-laws*, who have lost the protection of the commonwealth: whereas they generally contain more originality than most of the spurious words of modern date.

I do not, Sir, contend for the strict legitimacy of our language; for the provincial branches of it are not all by one common parent. Thus, for instance, if you would seek for the terms and expressions of the Northern people of England, it will be in vain to ransack the British tongue, which fled with the natives into the fastnesses of Wales: for the Northern dialect (Scotland included) is for the most part *Saxon*. On the other hand, it would be as fruitless to search in the Saxon forests of the North for the language of the Western counties of England, which (except by transplantation) is of British growth. In Kent and Sussex, and the immediate Southern counties (coast-wise at least) our pursuit may be directed in a great degree to *Gallicisms*, in point of idiom as well as words: and lastly, in London (the great Babel of them all) every language will be found incorporated; though that of the true Cockney is, for the most part, composed of *Saxonisms*. The Danes left us some traces of their language, though it is but a dialect of that extensive tongue, which, under the different names of Teutonick, Gothick, Celtick, &c. &c. was known in every region of what is called *the North of Europe*. As to the irruption of words from the Southern parts of the Continent, we have the French which came in with the Conqueror, and continued in full force, so long as our Law Pleadings ran in that language, and our Statutes were penned in it. From Italy we have gathered a few words (not a great many), introduced perhaps first by the Lombards, then by Nuncios who came hither from the Pope, and by Ecclesiasticks who were perpetually scampering to Rome before the Reformation; to which may be added other words imported by our merchants trading to Italy and the Levant.

Of modern date we have a few more, that have been smuggled over by our fine travelled Gentlemen, or which have made their *entrée* with the Singers, Fidlers, and Dancers at the Opera.

The Spanish language will afford more adopted words (especially in the military branch) than the Italian; a circumstance perhaps to be attributed to our royal inter-

marriages. Katharine of Arragon lived here many years, even after her divorce, in whoſe ſuite were probably many Spaniards; and king Philip muſt have contributed a large re-inforcement of Spaniſh words and phraſes, as he had an hundred Spaniſh body-guards in daily pay. Katharine, the queen of king Charles II. may be ſuppoſed to have introduced a few Portugueſe terms; but thoſe are ſo nearly allied to the Spaniſh, as to be ſcarcely diſcernible from them.

Many Flemiſh and Dutch words might alſo be imported by emigrants, who fled hither from perſecution on the ſcore of religion at different periods.

Theſe, Sir, I conceive to have formed the apparently component parts of our language; but not without a retroſpect to the Latin and Greek tongues: and yet, notwithſtanding that the Romans were in poſſeſſion of this iſland for four hundred years as a colony, I rather imagine that the reliques of their language have, for the moſt part, been derived to us through the media of the Northern nations, with the addition of the French, Italian, and Spaniſh. As to the Greek, Dr. Meric Caſaubon, * and after him more copiouſly the Rev. George William Lemon in his Dictionary, have laboured to bring our language in a very great degree to the ſtandard of the Greek. Mr. Camden concurs as to a ſtrong plauſibility in the deduction of ſome words in his Remains, but cautions us againſt an implicit belief. Franciſcus Junius was of opinion that the Gothick was really a dialect of the Greek; and Junius, from the turn of his ſtudies, was perhaps a better judge than Camden. Dr. Hickes, the great Saxoniſt, alſo allows that the Gothick language has a bold mixture of the Greek in it; for, ſays he, "Gothica Lingua *in multis locis græceſſat* †." To this opinion the Rev. William Drake, (late vicar of Iſleworth), a very accurate critick of the preſent day, ſays he is much inclined to accede, as it ſeems to be the only rational way to account for that variety of Greek idioms and terms that are ſo plentifully interſperſed in his own language. Sir John Forteſcue Aland likewiſe, in his elaborate notes on Sir John Forteſcue's Treatiſe on Monarchy, inſinuates that the *Gothick* and *Greek* tongues probably originated from one common language, and carries his ſuppoſition ſo far as to imagine that this common language was that ſpoken by the ſons of Japhet, and refers us to the Book of Geneſis, Ch. x. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

This, if you pleaſe, we will leave to the deciſion of others, and of this Dr. Parſons will tell you more perhaps than you want to know. As to the Latin tongue, Dr. Blackwell, in his court of Auguſtus, obſerves, that the body and general ſtructure of that language is, "clipped Greek."

Apart from the ſurmiſe of Dr. Hickes and Sir John Forteſcue Aland, if you have ſufficient curioſity to collate the formation of the major part of the capital letters (about 15.) in the *Mæſo-Gothick* alphabet (as given by Dr. Hickes) with the correſponding letters in the *Greek* alphabet, you will find

* De Linguâ Saxonicâ.

† Saxon Grammar.

an

an internal evidence of the affinity, if not of the conſanguinity, between the two languages. Dr. Hickes, however, goes farther, and points out a very ſtriking feature of reſemblance in the ſimilar pronunciation of G. G. when in contact, by obſerving that, in this ſituation, the firſt G. had, in the Mœſo-Gothick, the ſound of N. as it has in the Greek. This he exemplifies in the Gothick verb *Gaggan* (to go) which, he tells us, from ſuch pronunciation produced the Saxon verb *Gangan* *.

The Goths here ſpoken of were thoſe who inhabited Mœſia, not far from the Northern borders of Greece (a vaſt tract of country now comprehended in Turkey), whoſe language, with different dialects, probably extended over all the North of Europe, nearly in the ſame latitude, from the coaſt of Norway to the Black Sea.

To compound the matter. It is hence pretty clear that there was formerly either a *Græcitas* in the *Gothick*, or a *Gothicitas* in the Greek language; or, in other words, it becomes a queſtion whether the *Goths* ſpoke *Greek*, or the *Greeks* ſpoke *Gothick?* Who ſhall decide which was the parental language? Be this as it may, it would not be to my purpoſe to enter into an inveſtigation of ſuch a nature; and therefore let the ſubject be diſmiſſed with an obſervation, that, whatever Greek we may find ſcattered about in our language, it was brought hither North-about in neutral bottoms, and took the ſeveral names of the importers, whether Saxons, Danes, or others, who carried with them more or leſs of the language of every country which they overſpread, or with which they were connected.

Taking our language mixed and modified as we find it, give me leave to apprize you, by one little previous diſquiſition, that the moſt unobſerved words in common uſe are not without fundamental meanings, however contemptible they may appear to us in this age of refinement.

To elucidate this, I have ſelected two words from the humbleſt line of humble language; for, when our waggoners and carmen make uſe of the terms *ge* and *wo* to their horſes, they ſpeak in language well known to, and in actual uſe (in their general ſenſes reſpectively) among our anceſtors. Horſes are made to move or ſtop mechanically by theſe words at the pleaſure of the drivers, being drilled into an obſervance of them by habitual ſound and the fear of puniſhment. Now the word *ge*, Sir, does not appear to me to be an artificial or whimſical term, without any other meaning than as applied to the motion of a cart-horſe; on the other hand, with a very trifling modification, it ſeems to be the imperative "*Geh*," of the German verb "*Gehen*"—"*To go* †." The pronunciation of "*Geh*," I am told, is hard ("*Ghey*"), which, with us, has by length of time, and for more eaſy utterance, been ſoftened into "*Ge*," conformably to the ſound of "*Geh*" in Engliſh; for, in our language, the letter *E*,

* Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica, p. 43. Whence our verb "to *Gang*."
† See the German Dictionaries and Grammars.

preceded by the letter *G*, is allowed to have a ſoft tone; as, where *G* comes into contact with the vowels, the intonations are thus:—"Ga, Jee, Jy, Go, Gu."

In Yorkſhire, in Lancaſhire, and other Northern parts of the kingdom, the term "*Ge*" is applied in other caſes; for where things do not ſuit or fit each other, or where neighbours do not accord, the expreſſion is,—"They do not *Ge* well together." You will ſee the word "*Ge*" given, in this ſenſe, in the gloſſary to the Lancaſhire dialect in the works of Tim Bobbin *:—nay, I can ſay that I have been an ear-witneſs to this expreſſion myſelf.

But to return. The horſes by this word "*Ge*" are put in motion, when, if their pace be too ſlow, the command is doubled or re-doubled by—"*Ge, Ge, Ge,*" which, in caſe of non-compliance, is enforced by the whip.

Our Lexicographers, Bailey and Dr. Johnſon, allow the word a place in their Dictionaries; but content themſelves by obſerving, that "*Ge*" (ſo they write it) is a term among waggoners to make their horſes go faſter, without recurring to the radical word—which you will allow me to call a *Primum Mobile*.

Let us now proceed to the ſecond principal word underſtood by horſes, viz. "*Wo.*" which will be found to be a term of high degree, anciently applied to valourous knights and combatants in armour (or harneſs as it was called), though now it is degraded to horſes in the harneſs of the preſent day. When, therefore, a waggoner uſes this interjection to his horſes, he ſpeaks in the Daniſh language, in being a broad pronunciation of the word *Ho!* which is a word commanding ceſſation and deſiſtance. It had antiently, as I have hinted, an honourable attachment to tilts and tournaments; for when the king, or preſident at the combat, gave the ſignal of diſcontinuance, by throwing down his warder (or baton), the Heralds cried out to the combatants *Ho!* that is ſtop †. The French have enlarged the term to a diſſyllable by the aſſiſtance of their favourite adjunct *La*, and uſed the compound word *Ho-la* (or ſtop there) in combats, and which we have adopted in common language, when we call to a perſon to ſtop. "Mettre entre ëux le *Hola*," is a French expreſſion, borrowed from the *Tilt-yard*, uſed for putting an end to a diſpute or verbal controverſy. Shakeſpeare gives us the word *Hola* in one paſſage, where it is cloſely connected in metaphor with a horſe's motion, when Celia ſays, in "As you like it," (Act III. ſc. 2.) —"Cry *Hola!* to thy tongue I prythee; it *curvets* unſeaſonably."

Of the ſimple term *Ho!* uncom-

* A writer not often quoted and not known to thouſands of people who look into books.

† See a note on a paſſage in the Tragedy of Macbeth, in the edition by Dr. Johnſon and Mr. Steevens, 1778, p. 478; and alſo a note to Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, by Mr. Tyrwhitt, lines 1708 and 2658, when Holinſhed is cited. See alſo the Reliques of ancient Engliſh Poetry, vol. I. p. 20. 3d Edition. Dr. Johnſon likewiſe in his Dictionary, produces authorities for it both from Shakeſpeare and Dryden.

pounded in the ſenſe of ſtop, you have theſe two inſtances in Gawen Douglaſs's Tranſlation of Virgil:

"Forbiddis Helenus to ſpeik it—and cries Ho!"

In this example it appears in the proper form of an interjection; but in the ſecond it is uſed as a verb, where ſpeaking of Juno he ſays:

"That can of wraith and malice never Ho."

In nautical language it ſtill exiſts inſenſibly, and in its pure and natural ſtate, with a very trifling expanſion; for when one ſhip hails another, the words are—"What ſhip? *Hoy!*"—that is, "*Stop*, and tell the name of your ſhip, &c. *"

Take this little diſquiſition as a ſpecimen of the dry matter with which I am proceeding to encumber you; and do not let your patience too haſtily throw down its warder, and cry Ho!

But to return. Your long and intimate acquaintance with every thing relating to our fore-fathers gives me the boldneſs to aſk an eleemoſynary patronage of the following addreſs. It is in behalf of ſome old, unfortunate, and diſcarded words and expreſſions, turned out to the world at large by perſons of education (without the ſmalleſt protection) and acknowledged only by the humbler orders of mankind, who ſeem charitably to reſpect them as decayed Gentlefolks that have known better days. I am confident, Sir, that you, as an Antiquary, whoſe voluntary office it is to ſuccour and preſerve the aged from perdition, will not withhold your attention from hearing me in defence of the injured parties which I ſhall bring before you in your judicial capacity as a literary man: when I hope to prove that my clients are not mere *Certificate-men*, but that they have *whilom* gained *legal ſettlements* by long ſervice, though now ouſted by uſurpers, to the verification of the adage, that "Might overcomes Right."

Though the ſubject of the following pages be too trivial for the conſideration of the great tribunal of the Society of Antiquaries collectively, it may, nevertheleſs, ſerve to amuſe you for an hour as an individual.

The ear, Sir, is equally negligent with the eye; and we take no more note of ſounds which we daily hear, than of objects which we daily ſee. Thus, while we are commenting on Shakeſpeare, mending or marring his text, the dialect of the hour paſſes by our ears unheeded.

The language of every country is as ſubject to change, as the inhabitants, property, buildings, &c.; and while Antiquaries are groping for the veſtiges of tottering caſtles, and poring over fragmentary inſcriptions juſt riſen from the grave;—why not advert alſo to words and phraſes which carry with them the like ſtamp of age? Such will theſe be with which I am now going to trouble you, and which, though current every day, and ſuſpected of a baſe alloy, will be found to bear the fire, and come

* Perhaps the little trading veſſel, termed a Hoy, may have received its original name from ſtopping at different ſmall places in its voyage, to take in goods or paſſengers, when called to or hailed from the ſhore.

up

up to the ſtandard. I know it is felony, without benefit of clergy, to ſcour an old coin, be the legend ever ſo illegible; but the objects before us will appear more antient for the operation, when the modern duſt and dirt which obſcure them ſhall have been bruſhed away.

By all that has been hitherto obſerved, I would prepare you, Sir, for what follows;—meaning only to inſinuate that there is food for an Antiquary in the daily dialect of London, which, with all its ſeeming vulgarity, owes its birth to *days of yore*, as much as any other object of the ſenſes on which time has laid his unfeeling hand.

Biſhop Wilkins remarks, that "All languages which are vulgar (or living languages) are ſubject to ſo many alterations, that in tract of time they will appear to be quite another thing than they were at firſt." Every ſchool-boy knows (and perhaps very feelingly) the debaſement of the Greek tongue, the ſubdiviſions of which into dialects have occaſionally brought him to the block. The Biſhop adds, that "every change is a gradual corruption, partly by refining and mollifying old words for the more eaſy and graceful ſound." This is ſo far from an accuſation that can be brought againſt the parties before you, that it operates ſtrongly in their favour; for, if a Cockney chuſes to adhere to the dreſs of his anceſtors, or to their language, he cannot, in either caſe be called an innovator. Moſt people admire family plate; but family language (forſooth!) muſt be melted down and modernized.

If the Cockney merely ſpeaks according to the uſage of his progenitors,—what ſhall be ſaid of a man who actually wrote ſuch language, two hundred years ago, on a conviction that it was ſtronger and more energetick than that of his own time, which he had courage enough to deſpiſe, though it was then reputed to be in a ſtate of refinement? The author I point at is Spenſer, whoſe language, both in his Paſtorals and in his Fairy Queen, is evidently not of the age when he wrote (the reign of Queen Elizabeth), but is profeſſedly introduced in imitation of Chaucer. The reaſon for this is given by a commentator, (known by the initials E. K.) who was Spenſer's contemporary and friend, and therefore knew his motives. To all this Mr. Thomas Warton accedes *.

This Commentator, to uſe his own words, gives the Poet great praiſe, for that—"he laboured to reſtore, as to their rightful heritage, ſuch good and natural Engliſh words as have been long time out of uſe, and almoſt cleane diſherited."

Some of theſe inſulted parties it is now my province to endeavour to vindicate, and to replace them in their patrimonial reſpectability and rights of primogeniture.

And now, Sir, before I move a ſtep farther, you have a natural right to call upon me for an explanation of the word—"Cockney;" but, alas! it is confeſſed to be of moſt others the leaſt defineable. Bailey in his Dictionary, and after

* E. K. means Edward Kerke, as appears from Mr. Warton's note on a paſſage, in Act II. Sc. 1. of Shakſpeare's firſt part of Hen. IV. Edit. Johnſon and Steevens, 1778.

him

him Dr. Johnſon, give it as a term the origin of which is much controverted. Gloſſariſts have written about it and about it,—the game has been ſtarted; but not one of them had the ſatisfaction of hunting it down *. Dr. Meric Caſaubon would perſuade us, as he attempts to do in moſt poſſible caſes, that it and its article taken together, (a Cockney,) complete the Greek word—"Oicognes," born and bred at home. The learned Doctor may not indeed be far from the meaning, however he may err in the etymon. The Greek word, to be ſure, is picturesque, and the combined ſounds approximate: but, as far as derivation is concerned, I beg to take my leave. Dr. Hickes deduces it from the old French "Cockayne," now "Coquin," to which laſt Cotgrave (among other ſenſes of the word) gives us that of "A Cockney;" and Cotgrave ſeems to have ſeen farther into the intrinſic meaning of the word than he here expreſſes, as will be ſhewn before we quit the ſubject. To obtain Dr. Hickes's point, the word "Cockayne" muſt become a tri-ſyllable; but he gives no authority by accent in proſe, or by metre in verſe; though his conjecture may find ſupport hereafter.

If, Sir, you will inſiſt upon the vulgar and received opinion, as delivered by ſtory-tellers, vivâ voce, we learn that the word is compounded of Cock and neigh; for that, once upon a time, a true-born and true-bred Londoner went into the country, and, on firſt hearing a horſe neigh, cried out—"How the horſe laughs!" but, being told that the noiſe made by the Horſe was called neighing, he ſtood corrected. In the morning, when the cock crew, the Cit immediately exclaimed, with confident conviction, that the cock neighed! This traditional hiſtory is mentioned by Dr. Skinner, who treats it deſervedly, as a mere forced conceit—"De quo," ſays he, "nota Fabula eſt, revera Fabula †." It might have paſſed well-enough among Dean Swift's jocular etymons.

Let us not, however, ſo raſhly favour the ſtory as to believe that the firſt exclamation produced the common term, "A horſe-laugh;" for that expreſſion, I think, reſts upon different ground. Some etymologiſts contend that it is a corruption of hoarſe laugh; but in ſuch caſe it muſt be confined to thoſe who either naturally have a very rough voice, or have got a violent cold, neither of which circumſtances are abſolutely neceſſary; for what we call a horſe-laugh depends rather upon loudneſs, rude vehemence, or vulgarity of manner. It ſeems to be, in fact, no more than an expreſſion of augmentation, as the prepoſitive horſe is applied variouſly to denote ſeveral things large and coarſe by contra-diſtinction. Thus in the vegetable ſyſtem we have the horſe-radiſh, horſe-walnut, and horſe-cheſnut. In the animal world there is the horſe-emmet (or formica-leo), the horſe-muſcle, and the horſe-crab; not forgetting that a fat, clumſey, vulgar woman

* The French have, at Paris, the word Badaud, according to Boyer, exactly in the ſame ſituation as our word Cockney; this is confirmed by Mr. Menage. The French word by the way, is equally obſcure and unaccounted for. (Menage, Dictionarie Etymologique.)

† Etymologicon, in voce Cockney.

is jocularly termed a horſe-god-mother. To cloſe all, we ſay, "As ſick as a horſe," to expreſs a great diſcharge by vomiting, whereas a horſe never experiences that ſort of ſickneſs.

Notwithſtanding the definition lies ſo remote, yet moſt interpreters ſeem to agree in the meaning of the word that the term Cockney is intended to expreſs a perſon bred up and pampered in the City of London, and ignorant of the manners and ideas of all the reſt of the world, which agrees with Dr. Skinner's deſcription (and coincides with other writers) that a Cockney is, "Vir urbanus, rerum ruſticarum prorſus ignarus." Dr. Hickes, indeed, carries the criterion to another point, collaterally not very foreign, when he ſays that the old French word Cokayne implied, one who loved good eating and drinking, "Gulæ et ventri deditus." The Gloſſariſt to Chaucer, however, goes abundantly too far in annexing any degree of derogation to the word, which he renders as expreſſive of very opprobrious qualities, ſuch as, rogue, knave, &c. terms which are never of neceſſity implied: for though many raſcals may perhaps be Cockneys, yet the converſe will by no means hold good. On the other hand, from the ſituation in which we find the word in written language (taken with the context) it applies merely to the fondled Citizen, whoſe notions are confined within the walls of the Metropolis *. In Chaucer it imports no more than a ſilly fellow, devoid of wit or courage,—

I ſhall be held a daffe (i. e. a fool) or a Cockney.

The antiquity of the word may be carried up much higher; for Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, in the reign of king Stephen, had a ſtrong caſtle at Bungay in Suffolk, which he held to be impregnable; and, when ſpeaking of the wars between that King and the Empreſs, whoſe partiſan it is evident he was, he ſaid,

"Were I in my caſtle of Bungay,
Upon the River Wavenay,
I would not value the king of Cockney."

By Cockney, I preſume, the Earl meant to expreſs the whole City of London indiſcriminately. The Earl of Dorſet, in his Poems, uſes the term to denote a native of the metropolis. Shakſpeare, in one paſſage ſeems to contraſt the idea of a Cockney's cowardice with a ſwaggering braggadocio, where, in Twelfth-night, the Clown ſays,

"I am afraid this great lubber the world will prove a Cockney."

In another place he paints the party in bolder colours, and in exact conformity with the received opinion. The words are from the tragedy of King Lear. In an agony of deſpair, the King exclaims,

"Oh me, my heart, my riſing heart!—but down!"

to which the Fool replies,

"Cry to it, Nuncle, as the Cockney did to the Eels, when ſhe put them into

* It ſeems very odd at this day to ſuppoſe that any man born in London ſhould never have been in the country; but we muſt take the ſtate of the roads in former times, and various other things into the conſideration:—but the term Cockney itſelf is now pretty well worn out.

the

the paſty alive:—ſhe rapped them o' th' coxcombs with a ſtick, and cried, Down, wantons, down! It was her brother that, in pure kindneſs to his horſe, buttered his hay."

Eels being always ſold alive, the ignorant maid, who we are to preſume had not dreſſed any of them before, never thought of killing them; but treated them as rebellious creatures, wondering that they did not ſubmit themſelves as quietly as other fiſh, which came dead to her hands. The above cited inſtances point ſtrongly at the —"Rerum ruſticarum ignarus:" and as to the "Buttering the hay," it is no bad ſympathetic type of the—"Gulæ et ventri deditus."

Thus much for traits of our own Cockneys; and, as I have hinted at thoſe of Paris, I give you the following ſpecimen of French Cockney-ſhip (Badauderie) from Mr. Menage. A Pariſian, who could not ſwim, bathing in the Seine, got out of his depth, and would have been inevitably drowned had not ſome ſwimmers been at hand to ſave him. On recovering, he proteſted that he would never venture into the water again till he had learned to ſwim.

Upon the whole, Sir, the term Cockney, being one of thoſe inexplicable words which has puzzled the greateſt Gloſſariſts, I may well be excuſed from any inveſtigation; with obſerving that the eſtabliſhed criterion of this claſs of people (as to the natale ſolum) is the having been born within the ſound of Bow bell; that being taken, I preſume, as the moſt central point of the antient City of London within the walls. In ſupport of this teſt, the fantaſtick and aſpiring daughter of honeſt Touchſtone (the goldſmith of Cheapſide), in the Comedy of "Eaſtward Hoe!" (printed 1605), ſays, in contempt of her birth, family, and at the horrid thought of being a Cockney that ſhe uſed—"to ſtop her ears at the ſound of Bow bell."

For the honour of the Cockneys, be it remembered, that in the Chriſtmas feaſts, which were formerly held with ſo much fooliſh expence at our Inns of Court, The King of Cockneys (an imaginary Lord-mayor of London, choſen from their own community) was entertained with extraordinary reſpectability; of which we have a full account in Dugdale's "Originis Juridiciales:"—for in the 9th year of king Henry VIII. it was ordered that—"The King of Cockneys ſhould ſit, and have due ſervice; and that He, and his marſhal, butler, and conſtable-marſhal, ſhould have their lawful and honeſt commandments, by the delivery of the officers of Chriſtmas."

After all that has been ſaid, Sir, let us not be unmindful of ſome real and ſubſtantial benefits which have ariſen to ſociety from this order of Citizens in particular, who have thus innocently fallen into ſuch unmerited contempt. At the time when Mr. Strype publiſhed an enlarged edition of Stowe's Survey of London and Weſtminſter, there was an annual feaſt, held at Stepney, expreſsly called "The Cockney's Feaſt," on which day a contribution was made, either at church or at dinner (or at both), with which the pariſh children were apprenticed. Mr. Strype (who was himſelf a Cockney) adds, that he had more than once preached before the ſociety on the occaſion. Mr. Lyſons ſays, that the principal

principal purpose of the society was the apprenticing poor children to the sea-service; and that the institution was patronized by several persons of distinction; among which he adds, that the Duke of Montagu and Admiral Sir Charles Wager were the stewards for the year 1734. It gave place at length to a more general institution, "The Marine Society," established 1756. So long as the primary fraternity lasted, a secondary effect was produced, as it certainly tended to keep up the breed of true and genuine Cockneys, and thereby operated toward the preservation of the purity of the English language, as will appear from the circumstance and examples which follow.

Having said thus much, Sir, to no purpose, I will have the boldness to throw out one word of comfort, that seems to point at the semblance of an etymon, and will risque a conjecture, which, as far as I know, has not been hazarded before. The French have an old appropriated verb (not to be met with in the modern Dictionaries—but you will find it in Cotgrave) viz. "*Coqueliner un enfant*," to fondle and pamper a child. The participle passive of this verb will therefore be "*Coqueline*," which by no great violence may, I think, be reduced to "*Coquené*;" for, in pronunciation, the penultimate syllable (*li*) will easily melt in the mouth, and accord, in our spelling, with the word Cockney *.

Thus I have brought together every thing material that I can find relative to the term in question:—nor had I urged so much, but that I felt myself amenable to you for something on the subject—and here I leave it.

Hieroglyphic Characters.

(From the additional Notes on Darwin's Temple of Nature.)

THE outlines of animal bodies, which gave names to the constellations, as well as the characters used in chemistry for the metals, and in astronomy for the planets, were originally hieroglyphic figures, used by the magi of Egypt before the invention of letters, to record their discoveries in those sciences.

Other hieroglyphic figures seem to have been designed to perpetuate the events of history, the discoveries in other arts, and the opinions of those ancient philosophers on other subjects. Thus their figures of Venus for beauty, Minerva for wisdom, Mars and Bellona for war, Hercules for strength, and many others, became afterwards the deities of Greece and Rome; and together with the figures of Time, Death, and Fame, constitute the language of the painters to this day.

From the similiarity of the characters which designate the metals in chemistry, and the planets in astronomy it may be concluded that these parts of science were then believed to be connected; whence astrology seems to have been a very early superstition.

* Baret, in his Alvearie, says, that a child which sucks long used to be called "A Cockney, after St. Augustine," meaning the well-known Doctor of the Church.

These,

Theſe, ſo far, conſtitute an univerſal viſible language in thoſe ſciences.

So the glory, or halo, round the head is a part of the univerſal language of the eye, deſignating a holy perſon; wings on the ſhoulders denote a good angel; and a tail and hoof denote the figure of an evil demon; to which may be added the cap of liberty and the tiara of popedom. It is to be wiſhed that many other univerſal characters could be introduced into practice, which might either conſtitute a more comprehenſive language for painters, or for other arts; as thoſe of ciphers and ſigns have done for arithmetic and algebra, and crotchets for muſic, and the alphabets for articulate ſounds; ſo a zigzag line made on white paper by a black-lead pencil, which communicates with the ſurface of the mercury in the barometer, as the paper itſelf is made conſtantly to move laterally by a clock, and daily to deſcend through the ſpace neceſſary, has ingeniouſly produced a moſt accurate viſible account of the riſe and fall of the mercury in the barometer every hour in the year.

Mr. Grey's Memoria Technica was deſigned as an artificial language to remember numbers, as of the eras, or dates of hiſtory. This was done by ſubſtituting one conſonant and one vowel for each figure of the ten cyphers uſed in arithmetic, and by compoſing words of theſe letters; which words Mr. Grey makes into hexameter verſes, and produces an audible jargon, which is to be committed to memory, and occaſionally analyſed into numbers when required. An ingenious French botaniſt, Monſieur Bergeret, has propoſed to apply this idea of Mr. Grey to a botanical nomenclature, by making the name of each plant to conſiſt of letters, which, when analyſed, were to ſignify the number of the claſs, order, genus, and ſpecies, with a deſcription alſo of ſome particular part of the plant which was deſigned to be both an audible and viſible language.

Biſhop Wilkins in his elaborate "Eſſay towards a Real Character and a Philoſophical Language," has endeavoured to produce, with the greateſt ſimplicity, and accuracy and conciſeneſs, an univerſal language both to be written and ſpoken, for the purpoſe of the communication of all our ideas with greater exactneſs and leſs labour than is done in common languages, as they are now ſpoken and written. But we have to lament that the progreſs of general ſcience is yet too limited both for his purpoſe, and for that even of a nomenclature for botany; and that the ſcience of grammar, and even the number and manner of the pronunciation of the letters of the alphabet, are not yet determined with ſuch accuracy as would be neceſſary to conſtitute Biſhop Wilkins's grand deſign of an univerſal language, which might facilitate the acquirement of knowledge, and thus add to the power and happineſs of mankind.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1803.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Esq. Poet Laureat.*

THOUGH the tempeſtuous winds no more
The main with angry pinion ſweep,
Though raging 'gainſt the ſounding ſhore,
No longer howl th' impetuous ſeas;
But ſooth'd to reſt, the billows ſleep,
Save where ſoft Zephyr's tepid breeze
Fans with its ſilken wing the rippling deep;
Yet ſtill with unremitting eye
The pilot marks th' uncertain ſky,
The ſeaman watches ſtill the gale,
Prompt or to ſpread or furl the ſail,
Mindful of many a danger paſt,
Toſt by the turbid wave, check'd by the adverſe blaſt.

Not keen Suſpicion's jealous glance,
Not fierce Contention's feveriſh rage,
Shall bid Britannia point the lance,
New realms to graſp, new wars to wage.
In conſcious rectitude elate,
In conſcious power ſecurely great,
While ſhe beholds the dangerous tide
Of Battle's crimſon wave ſubſide,
Though firm ſhe ſtands in act to dare
The ſtorms of renovated war,
Her ready ſword, her lifted ſhield,
Provoke not the enſanguin'd field,
More than the wary pilot's cautions urge
The wind's tempeſtuous ſtrife, or ſwell the foaming ſurge.

O from our ſhores be exil'd far
Ambition's wild and reſtleſs crew,
Who, through the bleeding paths of war,
Falſe Glory's dæmon form purſue;

Whoſe

Whoſe burning thirſt, ſtill unſubdu'd
By deluges of guiltleſs blood,
Glares on the regions round with fiend-like eyes,
While ſcarce a vanquiſh'd world its wiſh ſupplies;
Yet ne'er may Sloth's inglorious charm
Unnerve the manly Briton's arm,
Nor Sophiſtry's inſidious art
E'er lull the manly Briton's heart.
May Peace, with Plenty by her ſide,
Long, long, o'er Albion's fields preſide!
Long may her breath, with placid gale,
Of Commerce ſwell the happy ſail;
But, rous'd in Juſtice' ſacred cauſe,
Inſulted rights or violated laws,
Sill may her ſons with fierce delight
Flame in the gleamy van of fight,
Spread o'er the tented plain, or brave
With warlike prow the hoſtile wave;
And on each firm ingenuous breaſt
Be this eternal truth impreſs'd,
Peace only ſheds perennial joys on thoſe
Who guard with dauntleſs arm the bleſſing Peace beſtows.

ODE *for his* MAJESTY's *Birth-Day, June* 4, 1803.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, *Eſq. Poet Laureat.*

I.

BRITAIN, alas! has woo'd in vain,
Reluctant Peace, thy placid charms;
Compell'd, ſhe treads once more th' enſanguin'd plain,
Where Fame, where Freedom, call aloud for arms.

II.

Yet be awhile the battle's ſound
In notes of feſtive triumph drown'd:
Whether the fiends of Diſcord fly
Portentous through the fiery ſky,
Or, bound in Fate's coercive chain,
Howl 'mid th' infernal ſeats in vain;
On this auſpicious day the Muſe,
Jocund, with grateful voice, her wonted theme purſues.

III.

Amid the boaſt of tyrant pride,
The pomp of ſtate, the arm'd array,
Can all the ſhouts of ſlav'ry hide
That ſlaves unwilling homage pay?

No force can ſhield Ambition's head
From noontide care, from midnight dread,
When the ſtill monitor within
Searches th' abode of blood and ſin:
While he who rules with virtuous ſway,
Whom freemen glory to obey,
Sees ev'ry breaſt the bulwark of a throne,
His people's ſureſt guard, its ſacred rights their own.

VI.

Then let the Muſe, with duteous hand,
Strike the bold lyre's reponſive ſtrings,
While ev'ry tongue through Albion's land
Joins in the hymn of praiſe ſhe ſings;
And Labour, from the furrow'd plain,
And Commerce, from the billowy main,
With voice ſymphonious bid ariſe,
That pureſt incenſe to the ſkies,
Above the proudeſt wreath of fame,
Which ever grac'd the victor's name,
A nation's votive breath by truth conſign'd
To bleſs a patriot king—the friend of human kind.

Elegy on the Death of a Young Lady. By John Greenſhields Eſq.

From the Poetical Regiſter for 1803.

DEAR to my ſoul, oh early loſt,
Affection's arm was weak to ſave,
And Friendſhip's pride, and Virtue's boaſt,
Have ſunk to an untimely grave.

Clos'd ever clos'd, thoſe ſpeaking eyes,
Where ſweetneſs beam'd where candour ſhone!
And ſilent that heart-thrilling voice,
Which Muſic lov'd and called her own.

That gentle boſom now is cold,
Where Feeling's veſtal ſplendors glow'd;
And crumbling down to common mould,
That heart, where love and truth abode!

Yet I behold the ſmile unfeigned,
Which doubt diſpelled and kindneſs won;
Yet the ſoft diffidence, that gained,
The triumph it appeared to ſhun.

Deluſion

Deluſion all—forbear my heart,
Theſe unavailing throbs reſtrain;
Deſtruction has performed his part,
And Death proclaims thy pangs are vain.

Vain tho' they be this heart muſt ſwell
With grief that time ſhall ne'er efface;
And ſtill with bitter pleaſure dwell,
On every virtue, every grace.

For ever loſt! I vainly deemed,
That Heaven my early friend would ſpare;
And darker as the proſpect ſeem'd,
The more I ſtruggled with deſpair.

I ſaid—yet a preſaging tear,
Unbidden roſe, and ſpoke more true,
She ſtill ſhall live—the unfolding year,
Shall baniſh pain, and health renew.

She yet ſhall tread the flowery field,
And catch the opening roſes breath;
To watchful Love Diſeaſe ſhall yield,
And Friendſhip ward the ſhafts of Death.

Alas! before the violet bloom'd,
Before the ſnows of winter fled,
Too certain Fate my hopes conſum'd,
And ſhe was numbered with the dead.

She died—deſerving to be mourn'd
While parted worth a pang can give;
She died—by Heaven's beſt gifts adorned,
While Folly, Falſehood, Baſeneſs, live.

Long in their vileneſs live ſecure
The noxious weed, and wounding thorn;
While ſnatched by violence ere mature,
The lily from her ſtem is torn.

Flower worthy Heaven—and Heaven alone,
Thee, good and pure, deſerved to ſhare—
On earth a ſtranger, only ſhown,
To teach what angel natures are.

Yet, who ſhall blame the heart that feels,
When Heaven reſumes the good it gave?
Yet, who ſhall ſcorn the tear that ſteals
From Friendſhip's eye at Virtue's grave?

Friend, Parent, Sifter, tendereſt names,
May I, as pale at Memory's ſhrine,
Ye pour the tribute anguiſh claims,
Approach, unblam'd, and mingle mine?

Long on the joys of vaniſhed years,
The glance of ſadneſs ſhall be caſt;
Long, long, the emphatic ſpeech of tears,
Shall mourn their bloom for ever paſt.

And Thou! who from the orient day,
Return'ſt, with Hope's gay dreams elate,
Falſely ſecure, and vainly gay,
Unconſcious of the ſtroke of Fate.

What waits thee?—not the approving ſmile
Of faithful love that chaſes care;
Not the fond glance, o'erpaying toil,
But cold and comfortleſs Deſpair.

Deſpair! I ſee the phantom rove,
By *Cant's* green banks, no longer bright,
And fiercely graſp the torch of love,
And plunge it in ſepulchral night.

Farewell, ſweet Maiden! to thy tomb
My ſoul in ſadneſs oft ſhall ſtray,
More dear to me the hallowed gloom,
Than Life's broard glare, or Fortune's day.

And oft, as Fancy points thy bier,
And mournful eyes thy lonely bed,
The ſecret ſigh ſhall riſe—the tear,
That ſhuns obſervance ſhall be ſhed.

Nor ſhall the thought of Thee depart,
Nor ſhall my ſoul regret reſign,
Till memory periſh—till this heart,
Be cold and motionleſs as thine.

To———. *By R. A. Davenport, Eſq. From the ſame.*

'TWAS not the quick and dazzling glance,
That fires and overpowers the ſoul,
And wrapt it in delicious trance,
That bow'd me to thy ſweet controul.

No!

No! 'twas from eyes of heavenly blue,
A languid, tender, timid ray,
Stealing through lids of darkeſt hue,
That won me from myſelf away.

'Twas not the firm commanding voice,
Whoſe rapid eloquence o'erflows,
And ſeems at homage to rejoice,
That rouſed my breaſt from dull repoſe.

No! 'twas the ſoft and melting tones,
Like nectar dropping from thy tongue,
By which my heart thy empire owns;
Its every chord to Paſſion ſtrung.

And while that winning voice I hear,
And while thoſe beaming eyes I ſee,
Than light, or life, to me more dear,
My boſom's ſovereign thou muſt be.

To a Lady with a Preſent of Violets. By Theophilus Swift, Eſq.

From the ſame.

THESE Violets to my fair I bring,
The purple progeny of Spring;
Nor thou, dear girl, the gift refuſe,
Love's earlieſt tribute to the Muſe.
Whate'er has beauty, worth or power,
Or grace, or luſtre, is a flower.
Wit is a flower, and bards prepare
The flowers of Fancy for the fair.
In flower of Youth, the Loves appear,
Leading in flowery youth the year;
And Beauty's flowery fetters bind,
In ſweet captivity the mind.
With flowers the graces Venus deck,
And theſe adorn a fairer neck;
That neck whoſe paradiſe to range,
A flower I'd prove and bleſs the change;
One little hour I'd live—then die—
A Violet in that heaven to lie.
Still as you charm, ſome flowers we trace,
Some bloſſom of the mind or face,
Does Laura lead the courtly dance?
We hail the *Flower of Elegance.*

Does Faſhion's wreath adorn her brow?
The *Flower of Taſte* is Laura now,
In Laura's mien, in Laura's mind,
The twin born *Flowers of Grace* we find;
And in her bluſhing cheek we ſee,
The *Royal Roſe of Dignity*.
Yon Lily ſymbol of her youth,
Blooms next her heart the *Flower of Truth*.
Oh, might theſe violet buds expreſs,
The opening *Flower of Tenderneſs!*
But not the brighteſt flower of Spring,
That Fancy paints, or poets ſing;
Nor theſe, nor all the ſweet's that blow,
The Roſe's bluſh, the Lily's ſnow,
With thee in excellence compare,
Or breathe ſo freſh, or bloom ſo fair.
For in thy boſom lives a flower,
Not Time ſhall ſpoil, nor Death devour,
A flower that no rude ſeaſon fears,
And Virtue's ſacred name it bears.

Hannah. Sacred to the Memory of her who is dead to me. By J. Montgomery, Eſq.

From the ſame.

AT fond ſixteen, my roving heart
Was pierced by Love's delightful dart:
Keen tranſport throbb'd in every vein,
I never felt ſo ſweet a pain!

Where circling woods embower'd the glade,
I met the dear romantic maid:
I ſtole her hand, it ſhrunk—but, no!
I would not let my captive go.

With all the fervency of youth,
While paſſion told the tale of truth,
I mark'd my Hannah's downcaſt eye:
'Twas kind, but beautifully ſhy.

Not with a warmer, purer ray,
The ſun enamour'd wooes young May;
Nor May, with ſofter maiden grace,
Turns from the ſun her bluſhing face.

But, ſwifter than the frighted dove;
Fled the gay morning of my love;

Ah!

Ah! that ſo bright a morn, ſo ſoon,
Should vaniſh in ſo dark a noon!

The angel of affection roſe,
And in his train a thouſand woes:
He poured his vial on my head,
And all the heaven of rapture fled.

Yet, in the glory of my pride,
I ſtood—and all his wrath defied;
I ſtood—though whirlwinds ſhook my brain,
And lightenings cleft my ſoul in twain.

I ſhunn'd my nymph; yet knew not why,
I durſt not meet her gentle eye;
I ſhunn'd her—for I could not bear,
To marry her to my deſpair.

Yet, ſick at heart with hope delay'd,
Oft the dear image of that maid,
Glanced, like the rainbow, o'er my mind,
And promis'd happineſs behind.

The ſtorm blew o'er, and in my breaſt,
The halcyon peace rebuilt her neſt;
The ſtorm blew o'er, and clear and mild,
The ſea of youth and pleaſure ſmil'd.

'Twas on the morning of that day,
When Phœbus marries roſy May,
I ſought once more the charming ſpot,
Where bloom'd the thorn by Hannah's cot.

Oh! as I croſs'd the neighbouring plain,
I lived my wooing days again;
And Fancy ſketch'd my future life,
My home, my children, and my wife.

I ſaw the village ſteeple riſe—
My ſoul ſprang, ſparkling in mine eyes;
The rural bells rang ſweet and clear—
My fond heart liſten'd in mine ear.

I reached the hamlet; all was gay;
I love a ruſtic holiday!
I met a wedding—ſtept aſide!
O, God!——my Hannah was the bride!

——There is a grief that cannot feel;
It leaves a wound that will not heal!
——My heart grew cold—it felt not *then!*
When ſhall it *ceaſe* to *feel* again?

Combat between Amadis and Abyes, King of Ireland. From "Amadis de Gaul; a Poem, in three Books, freely tranſlated from the firſt Part of the French Verſion of Nicholas de Habezay. By W. J. Roſe, Eſq."

NOW dawn'd the morn, and, echoing from the fort,
Loud drums and trumpets wak'd the drowſy court.
From Erin's camp the ſame ſtern greetings ſound;
Thick groups of anxious Gauls the youth ſurround.
The church he ſought, as well beſeemed a Knight,
Pledg'd to the peril of a mortal fight;
The maſs-rite ſung, with pomp and mickle * ſtate,
Forth rode the champion from the weſtern gate.
With graceful eaſe a milk-white horſe he rein'd;
Gallia's bold lord himſelf his helm ſuſtain'd;
And young Agrayes bore his blazoned ſhield,
Whoſe ample orb diſplayed a golden field;
On this two azure lions, cloſed in fight,
Grappled for maſtery: ſuch the painter's flight,
Their ſinews ſem'd to ſwell, their manes to riſe,
And flames of fire to ſcatter from their eyes.
Erin's proud Prince came riding from the weſt,
A coal-black ſteed of mighty thewes he preſs'd,
And, that he once had ſlain in bloody field,
A furious giant, on his maſſive ſhield.
For his device, he bore the fight portray'd,
His lance uplifted caſt a lengthen'd ſhade,
All arm'd he was, ſave that his head was bare;
Bent were his ſcowling brows, and ſtern his air.
On the bold Child he caſt a withering look:
Gaul ſaw, and for her youthful Champion ſhook.
Each lac'd his helm, and fix'd his lance in reſt,
Then to his God a ſhort-lived prayer addreſs'd.
The trumpets ſound; the hills and vallies rang;
The impatient courſers from the barrier ſprang.
The beamy ſpears the oppoſing bucklers thirl'd †;
Prone on the field each foaming ſteed was hurl'd.
But ſtung with ſhame, and arm'd with inborn worth,
Their ſtalwart ‡ lords upſtarted from the earth;

* Mickle, Great. † Thirl, to bore or pierce. ‡ Stalwart, ſtrong.

From

From their pierced ſides the ſplinter'd truncheons wrung,
Aud in their lofty ſaddles lightly ſprung.
Swift round their heads their gleaming falchions threw,
And furious to the onſet ruſhed anew.
They laſh *, they foin †, their ſteads in circles wheel,
And with mad fury drive the flaming ſteel.
Each wounded wounds; and each to madneſs ſtung,
Strikes, as the fortune of the battle hung
On that one blow; their batter'd ſhields reſound,
Their arms, to ſplinters riven, ſtrew the ground.
The aſcending ſun had driv'n his car on high,
And ſhot his radiance from the middle ſky!
Faint wax'd the foes, when Abyes, panting cried;
'Both thou and I lack vigour to decide.
'The dubious conflict: breathe we from the ſtow'r,
'Till wearied nature re-aſſume her pow'r.
'From no baſe motive ſprings my fair requeſt;
'Fear is no inmate in this rugged breaſt.
'Or, could my ſoul admit ſo baſe a ſway,
'Vengeance ſhould drive thoſe daſtard thoughts away!
To whom the Child: 'Tyrant! no reſt from thee
'Has Gallia found, and none thou gain'ſt from me.
'Swift guard thy life, or to thy miſchief ‡ know,
'Wether this arm lack vigour for the blow!'
Again with tenfold rage the combat glows,
Thruſts follow thruſts, and blows are heaped on blows.
At length the furious King, with either hand,
Seiz'd and upheav'd in air his ponderous brand,
Then drove it thundering on his youthful foe;
His ſhield uplifted guards him from the blow,
But, ſtaggering with its fury, o'er the field
In giddy rounds his frightened courſer reel'd.
A ſickly ſweat the warrior's brows o'erſpread,
His ears inceſſant rang, his colour fled.
Fear blanch'd each gallic cheek; but ſwift return'd
The blood, and with freſh hope each boſom burn'd:
For the cleft ſhield the biting ſteel retain'd;
The King purſued the Child, and vainly ſtrain'd
To free the brand; but ſway'd with matchleſs force,
And half upheav'd the Warrior from his horſe.
Woke by the fierce purſuer from his trance,
The Child his eyes unclos'd; with ſudden glance
He viewed his vantage; and a furious thruſt,
Stretch'd the gigantic monarch in the duſt.
Swift from his lofty ſteed the victor ſprung;
High o'er the vanquiſhed foe his ſabre hung.

* Laſh, to cut. † Foin, to thruſt. ‡ To thy miſchief, to thy misfortune.
'Yield

'Yield thee, or meet thy death!' he sternly cried:
'Yield will I not,' the bleeding Prince replied;
'But thou, brave Knight, suspend thy vengeful sword,
'And let my parting soul receive her Lord *;
'And shriv'd † of sin, and eas'd her last desire,
'In the fond arms of faithful friends expire.'
'Thy boon is granted,' cried the Child. 'Thy deed,'
Replied the King, 'shall reap no worthless meed.
'Strait shall my chieftains bid their bands retire,
'And ravaged Gaul from fields of blood respire.'
Him to his proud pavillion, drenched in gore,
His sorrowing Knights with loud lamentings bore.
Each holy rite perform'd, that grace requir'd,
The Prince mid groups of weeping friends expir'd.
His chiefs, obedient to their lord's commands,
From Gallia's ravag'd coast retir'd their bands.

The Cast-Away ‡.

OBSCUREST night involv'd the sky;
Th' Atlantic billows roar'd;
When such a destin'd wretch as I,
Wash'd headlong from on board,
Of friends, of hope, of all bereft,
His floating home for ever left.

No braver chief could Albion boast
Than he, with whom he went,
Nor ever ship left Albion's coast
With warmer wishes sent.
He lov'd them both, but both in vain,
Nor him beheld, nor heard again.

Not long beneath the whelming brine,
Expert to swim, he lay;
Nor soon he felt his strength decline,
Or courage die away;

* Receive her Lord, receive the Sacrament. † Shrived, confessed.

‡ As this poem, says Mr. Hayley, is the last original production from the pen of Mr. Cowper, I introduce it here, persuaded that it will be read with an interest proportioned to the extraordinary pathos of the subject, and still more extraordinary powers of the poet, whose lyre could sound so forcibly, unsilenced by the gloom of the darkest distemper, that was conducting him, by slow gradations, to the shades of death.

On the 20th of March, 1799, he wrote the stanza, intitled the 'Cast-Away,' founded on an anecdote in Anson's voyage, which his memory suggested to him, although he had not looked into the book for many years.

But

But wag'd with death a lasting strife,
S upported by despair of life.

He shouted: nor his friends had fail'd
To check the vessel's course,
But so the furious blast prevail'd,
That, pitiless perforce,
They left their outcast mate behind,
And scudded still before the wind.

Some succour yet they could afford;
And such as storms allow,
The cask, the coop the floated cord,
Delay'd not to bestow.
But he (they knew) nor ship nor shore,
Whate'er they gave, should visit more.

Nor cruel as it seem'd could he
Their haste himself condemn,
Aware that flight, in such a sea,
Alone could rescue them;
But bitter felt it still to die
Deserted, and his friends so nigh.

He long survives who lives an hour,
In ocean self upheld:
And so long he, with unspent power,
His destiny repell'd:
And ever, as the minutes flew,
Entreated help, or cried '*adieu.*'

At length his transient respite past,
His comrades who before
Had heard his voice in every blast,
Could catch the sound no more.
For then, by toil subdued, he drank
The stifling wave, and then he sank.

No poet wept him: but the page
Of narrative sincere,
That tells his name, his worth, his age,
Is wet with Anson's tear.
And tears by bards or heroes shed,
Alike immortalize the dead.

I, therefore, purpose not, or dream,
Descanting on his fate,
To give the melancholy theme
A more enduring date.

But

But misery still delights to trace
Its semblance in another's case.

No voice divine the storm allay'd,
No light propitious shone;
When, snatch'd from all effectual aid,
We perish'd, each alone;
But I, beneath a rougher sea,
Am whelm'd in deeper gulphs than he.

The Snail. From the same.*

TO grass or leaf, or fruit or wall,
The Snail sticks close, nor fears to fall,
As if he grew there, house and all
Together.

Within that house secure he hides,
When danger imminent betides
Of storm, or other harm besides
Of weather.

Give but his horns the slightest touch,
His self-collecting power is such,
He shrinks into his house with much
Displeasure.

Where'er he dwells, he dwells alone,
Except himself has chattles none,
Well satisfied to be his own
Whole treasure.

Thus hermit-like, his life he leads,
Nor partner of his banquet needs,
And, if he meet one only feeds
The faster.

Who seeks him must be worse than blind,
He and his house are so combin'd
If finding it he fails to find
Its master.

* In the course of his academical exercises, Vincent Bourne, whose very amusements were classical, composed, or translated, many exquisite poems, in the purest Latinity. Cowper has very elegantly rendered many of them into English. He has chosen to translate the 'Limax' of his original into a measure of sweetness and simplicity, which the man of letters will remember to have listened to with approbation in the works of the gay Sir John Suckling.

Son-

Sonnet addreſſed by Mr. Cowper to Mrs. Unwin. From the ſame.

MARY! I want a lyre with other ſtrings;
Such aid from heaven, as ſome have feign'd they drew,
An eloquence ſcarce given to mortals, new,
And undebaſ'd by praiſe of meaner things!
That ere through age or woe I ſhed my wings,
I may record thy worth with honor due,
In verſe as muſical, as thou art true,
Verſe that immortalizes whom it ſings.
But thou haſt little need: there is a book,
By Seraphs writ, with beams of heavenly light,
On which the eyes of God not rarely look;
A chronicle of actions juſt and bright!
There all thy deeds, my faithful Mary ſhine,
And ſince thou own'ſt that praiſe, I ſpare thee mine.

Lines to a remonſtrating Friend. From Poems, by Peter Bayley, Jun. Eſq.

Ah! chide me not, if yet once more
I ſeek that love long ſought in vain;
Nor blame me if, while I adore,
My vows are anſwer'd with diſdain.

Yes, I confeſs, 'tis poor, 'tis weak,
To droop, to ſit with folded arms,
To bear a fever in my cheek,
And ſorrow for an ingrate's charms.

Yet let me ſtill my cares retain,
Still droop, with folded arms ſtill ſigh;
Nor mock me that I ſtill remain
The willing captive of her eye.

For Love, with all his keeneſt ſmart,
Divine enchantment mingles ſtill,
And, while he fires the conquer'd heart,
He charms with many a pleaſing thrill.

And tortur'd thus, thus doom'd to mourn,
I ſtill muſt feed this cheriſh'd grief,
And could my peace once more return,
My heart would ſcorn the poor relief.

The

Then chide me not, if yet once more
I ſeek that love long ſought in vain;
Nor blame me if, while I adore,
My vows are anſwered with diſdain.

A Lyric Rhapſody. From Poems Lyrical and Miſcellaneous, by the late Rev. Henry Moore of Liſkeard

BEAUTEOUS Siſter of the Sun!
Whoſe gentle rule the ſtarry quires obey,
In full-orb'd glory move majeſtic on,
And ſhed a ſober, a religious ray,
O'er the gloomy front of night
Caſt a ſweetly-ſolemn grace,
Shower o'er her ſable plumes thy pearly light,
And kindle into ſmiles her awful face.

Here, muſing in the ſecret glade,
While beneath the waving ſhade.
Dance on the chequer'd ground thy quiv'ring beams,
Or play bright ſparkling on the trembling ſtreams,
O'er the ſmooth lake a ſofter luſtre throw,
And the hill tops ſeem tipp'd with ſilver ſnow.
From Folly's laugh, from Splendor's idle glare,
The routs of Riot, and the toils of Care,
My ſoul to Solitude, to Silence, flies,
To Contemplation's pure and placid joys;
O let her here a calm aſylum find,
And leave the Buſy and the Gay behind!

Hail heavenly Contemplation! meek-ey'd Maid!
Fair Hermit! born beneath th' embowering ſhade,
And nurs'd by Silence, daughter of the Night,
Converſing in thy native wood
With holy Genii, guardians of the Good,
Wiſdom ſerene, and rational delight;
Receive the fugitive—my cares aſſuage,
And bid the ſwelling paſſions ceaſe to rage!
I long to hear the whiſper'd ſounds, that flow
From thy lov'd lips to cheer the lonely hours,
Mild as th' ambroſial gales of heaven, that blow
O'er amaranthine flowr's.

O come! and beaming full on Fancy's eyes
Bid Virtue's ſacred glories riſe,
Such as beſide Ilyſſus ſtreams,
Bleſt as her Plato's hallow'd dreams,

Whence his warm tranſported thought
Its high ecſtatic ſpirit caught!
Bid me with awful pleaſure trace,
Each mental charm, each moral grace,
In all, their fair attractions dreſt,
The Sages thought, the Patriot's flame,
The pure deſire, the generous aim,
And the bright ardor of the godlike breaſt!
The friendly heart, the ſocial glow,
The melting ſoul of tenderneſs,
The tear by Pity taught to flow,
To ſoothe the pangs of keen diſtreſs:
The firm reſolve, that dares defy
The lightning of the Tyrant's eye,
And, ſpite of Flattery, or force,
Holds on unmov'd its honeſt courſe!
Thus let me view, the mind-ennobling Maid,
In mingled majeſty and grace arrayed,
Till in my breaſt her thrilling pow'r inſpires
Her own divine delights, her own immortal fires.
But chief, above the ſublunary ſkies
Bid my bold ideas riſe
On Rapture's flaming car,
By fiery courſers born in boundleſs flight
Above the blazing height
Of yon dread concave gemm'd with many a ſtar,
To orbs inſpher'd in empyrean gold,
Where crown'd with flow'ry wreaths, that never die,
The blooming ſons of Immortality
Sport with young Joys in endleſs circles roll'd:
Where the firſt Beauty ſheds eternal day,
While round his ſapphire throne the flame-rob'd quire
Touch into tranſport high the heavenly lyre,
And to the Perfect Fair devote the lay;
And while around his peerleſs glories ſtream,
Glow with the warmth, and brightens in the beam.

Hail Excellence Supreme! above, below,
We ſee thy beauteous emanations flow.
Hence each ſublime, engaging grace,
That ſtrikes, or charms on Nature's race;
Hence Art derives her mimic power to pleaſe,
Her varied order, and her poliſhed eaſe:
Wiſdom from Thee, the parent Mind,
Imbibes her intellectual day,
The tow'ring ſentiment, the thought refin'd,
Are beamings of thy borrow'd ray:
When Virtue on her ſmooth unſullied breaſt
Beholds her moral charms confeſt,

Majeſtically

Majeſtically Great, or ſweetly Fair,
She views but thy reflected image there.
When at thy potent voice confuſion fled,
And from the dread abyſs of antient night
Young Nature roſe—while round her purple head
Play'd the mild luſtre of the new-born light;
When o'er the wide-extended globe
Celeſtial Beauty caſt her flowery robe,
With towering cedars crown'd, the hanging hill,
Shed o'er the plain, the grove, the glade,
Her ſweetly-varied light and ſhade,
And thro' the valley pour'd the vagrant rill;
While Life diffuſ'd thro' ocean, earth, and air,
In her variety of forms more fair,
Aloft on new-fledg'd pinions wing'd her way,
Or cleav'd with oary fins the foaming ſea,
Roam'd o'er the mountain, bounded thro' the brake,
Graz'd the ſmooth green, or lurk'd in ſedgy lake;
Still was there wanting, to command the whole,
A ruling pow'r, a reaſoning ſoul.

A work of more exalted kind
Thy great ideas then deſign'd;
Bade a majeſtic form ariſe,
And lift to heav'n the conſcious brow,
The ſeat of thought, and ſparkling eyes
All bright in Fancy's vivid glow.
Him, thy fair Image, did thy word ordain
The reaſoning Monarch of the land and main,
Supreme, but with a juſt and gentle ſway,
And bade the Brute his deſtin'd Lord obey.
Nor, for this world alone, a tranſient ſcene,
Form'ſt thou the ſoul—Some inſtinct from within,
Thine inſpiration, wings her wiſh ſublime
Beyond the bounds of nature and of time.
The ſtrong and reſtleſs energy of Mind,
That roves the fields of Science unconfin'd,
That ſpreads its darting plumes from pole to pole,
Wherever tempeſts rage, or oceans roll,
Explores the ſecrets of the realms on high,
Draws the red lightnings from the low'ring ſky,
Bids ſeven-fold light its magic dyes diſplay,
The blended glories of the golden day,
Treads the bright path the circling planets run,
Sports in the living ſplendors of the ſun,
Or far out-flies the comet's blazing race,
And ſeeks new ſyſtems thro' the wilds of ſpace—
Immenſe deſigns,

Immortal

Immortal hopes, and unextinguiſhed fires,
Exalt her vaſt aſpiring thought to Thee,
And only find a bound in thine Infinity.

But when, forgetful of her heavenly birth,
She droops her idle plumes, and ſinks to earth,
When loſt to Virtue's ſacred charms,
Her vigour melts in Pleaſure's arms,
Her grace and beauties by degrees decay,
And miſts of error cloud her mental ray;
Slaves to a tyrant luſt, divine no more,
Her towering faculties no longer ſoar;
Her nobler powers in wild confuſion toſt
By furious paſſions, or in languor loſt,
Lie drear and waſte, like once a beauteous world
Daſh'd into ruin, and in Chaos hurl'd.

Ode occaſioned by the Atheiſtical Tenets publicly avowed in France.

From the ſame.

"IS there a God?" the Sceptic cries,
Profanely daring, and abſurdly wiſe *.
Aſk the loud thunder! Aſk the lightning's glare!
When Terror riding on his fiery car,
Flaſhing thro' the blue profound
Shakes the vaulted heav'ns around:
Or aſk the troubl'd deep,
When o'er the ſurge the dire tornado's ſweep,
Bid the vex'd ſurface into mountains riſe,
And wild confuſion mingles waves and ſkies;
While the poor pilot, pale with dread,
Sees ghaſtly death hang foaming o'er his head;
Trembling ſhe'll tell, what awful pow'r preſides
To ſink, or ſwell to rage her hoarſe-reſounding tides.

Aſk of the ſkies, who form'd their ſhining frame;
Who rang'd the ſtarry legions in array;
Who thro' the void elanc'd the comets' flame,
And from its golden fountain pour'd the day?
Who bends the concave of the ſeven-fold bow?
Who gives the riſing morn its roſeate glow?
In tenfold darkneſs now involves the ſphere!
While ſtalk terrific thro' the dreadful night
Ravening death and pale affright,
And ſhake the ſhiv'ring heart with frantic fear?

* Hor. Od. 34. L. 1. Inſanientis Sapientiæ.

Are proofs of power too weak? behold around
Bounty profuse, and love, that knows no bound!
For thee ungrateful Man! his favourite care,
He sheds a thousand charms on Nature's face,
All sweetly blended—the sublime, the fair,
Order divine, and soul enchanting grace.
Cloth'd the gay pastures with enlivening green,
Arch'd with embow'ring shades the sylvan scene;
Swell'd the high mountain with majestic pride,
Slop'd the deep vale, and down its winding side
Bid many a fresh rill flow, that murmuring strays
Most musical in many a waving maze.
For thee his vernal Zephyr's play
And in rich colours blooms the flow'ry May;
For thee his handmaid Nature show'rs around
Her ample stores, and loads the gladden'd ground;
For thee his Moons their silver beams unfold,
And Suns with regal grandeur blaze in gold.

Yet Man with reason blind, perverse of will,
Caprice his guide, and lust his law,
Still prone to interdicted will,
Nor Love can melt, nor Pow'r can awe,
Of Heav'n's unnumber'd bounties while possest
The goodness he blasphemes, that makes him blest
Weak reptile! dares with impious pride
Oppose the Omnipotent's command,
Nor suffers his uplifted hand *
To lay the vengeful bolt aside.

Insatiate Famine, flame ey'd War,
Foul Disease's ghastly train,
And pining Grief and agonizing Pain,
Outrageous Frenzy, sullen-ey'd Despair,
Whose hand determined grasps the dart
To drive it to her heart,
Pale-ey'd Anxiety, that knows no rest
And fell Remorse with snaky tresses crown'd,
With all her thousand Fiends of horror round,
That pierce with guilty pangs the secret breast,
And that dread voice that dogs the godless crew,
Which silent long, at length with awful roll,
Like thunder pealing thro' the shuddering soul,
Compels it to believe and tremble too,
All at his footstool wait his dread command:

* ——————————————— neque
Per nostrum patimur scelus.
Iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina. Hor. Od. iii. L. I.

Gri.n.

Grim-viſaged Vengeance heads the griſly band;
Arm'd with her iron rod,
With all the flames and thunders of her God,
Her hoſt of marſhall'd ills ſhe leads below,
And deals around variety of woe.

Hail Greateſt! Wiſeſt! Beſt!
While peal thy thunders, and thy lightnings glow,
Let the bold tremble, and the haughty bow,
And thrilling terrors chill the Tyrant's breaſt!
But bleſs the pious, gentle, generous Race,
On whom impreſt, in many a lovely line
The beamings of thy beauty ſhine,
With full reflected grace?
Theirs is heart-cheering Hope, of eye ſerene,
Mild as ſome ſmiling Angel's placid mien;
Theirs is ſtrong-pinion'd Faith, that dares the ſky;
Theirs peace ethereal ever calm, and even;
Theirs the rapt Seraph's ſoul-entrancing joy;
Theirs the fair dawnings of the day of Heaven.

To them thy flaming bolts no terrors bear,
While in their dread Almighty King they view
The tender Father too,
Joy in thy love, and truſt thy faithful care.
Thus ſome bright Cherub ſtands before thy ſhrine,
Fearleſs his Maker's awful form ſurveys
Securely ſees his dreadful glories ſhine,
And in his lightning's livid flaſhes plays.

Tranſlation of a Part of Boilean's 1ſt Epiſtle. From the Works of Richard Owen Cambridge, Eſq.

"THUS of Pyrrhus enquired his old Tutor and friend:
Theſe elephants, ſoldiers, and ſhips, to what end?
PYR. To the ſiege; for I've oft been invited to come,
And with glory to conquer all-conquering Rome.
TUT. I agree that great glory from thence would enſue,
And 'tis worthy alone Alexander or you.
After ſuch an exploit, theres no more to be done.—
PYR. Yes—the countries that border on Rome muſt be won.
TUT. Any more? PYR. Don't you ſee Syracuſe is ſo near.
TUT. Any more? PYR. Give me that, and to Carthage I ſteer.
TUT. Now I ſee, you're reſolved to be maſter of all,
The near and the diſtant, the great and the ſmall;
And I plainly perceive you will not be at reſt
Till you've tried all the Eaſt, when you've conquer'd the Weſt.

So Egypt is your's. Your Ambition then ranges,
And bears you away to the Tigris and Ganges.
But when crown'd with ſucceſs, and with glory you tire us,
What's left to be done when return'd to Epirus?

PYR. Why to feaſt on good cheer, and good liquor to quaff;
And, forgetting our labours, to ſit down and laugh.

TUT. Then why ſhould we travel to Egypt and Rome?
Who forbids us to laugh without *ſtirring from home?*"

Youth and Age an Ode. From the Swediſh of Chevalier Edelcrantz. From Armine and Elvira. A legendary Tale. With other Poems. By Edmund Cartwright, M. A.

MINION of happineſs! to-day
'Tis your's in life's ſmooth path to ſtray,
While Youth and Health, twin ſiſters bring
The bloomy progeny of Spring.
A chaplet for your brow to weave;
While Hope, that ſmiles but to deceive,
With ſportive pinion fans the air,
Nor lets you ſee the growing care;
The ſenſes on your dazzled ſight
Unlock the ſluices of delight,
Deluge your heart with floods of joy,
Suſpecting not that they ſhall cloy.
Soon as the morning drinks the dew,
And flings around her roſeate hue,
For you the groves their ſweets prepare,
And new-blown roſes ſcent the air;
For you the groves their muſic breathe,
And form for you the feſtive wreath.
The flowing goblet to entwine,
Where of the rich Burgundian vine,
The juice nectareous, ſparkling bright,
Invites you with its ruby light.
Now jocund mirth and ſong abound,
And tales of heroes now go round;
Thoſe heroes of the Swediſh name,
Whoſe deeds reviv'd their country's fame,
Whoſe blood, profuſely flowing, dyed,
With ſtreams of glory, Finland's tide.
Now love your bounding heart engages,
In every vein the tempeſt rages;
Reaſon in chains of dalliance bound,
Each ſenſe in ſweet delirium drown'd,
Claſp'd in the Elyſium of her arms
You revel on the fair one's charms,

Nor

Nor dream, while thus entranc'd you lie,
The roſe of pleaſure e'er ſhall die!
Miſtaken youth! with quick decay
The roſe of pleaſure dies away!
An inſect of the ſummer hour,
You baſk upon a tranſient flower;
Faſt fall its leaves, they periſh all!
And with the falling leaf you fall!
Miſtaken youth! your dreams are o'er,
And exultation is no more!
As o'er the ſlumberer in the vale
Unnotic'd ſteals the paſſing gale,
So unperceiv'd youth's moments ſlide;
Days, months, and years, with hurried haſte,
Paſs on, their very track untrac'd!
With equal ſpeed, the pleaſures too
Their unremitting flight purſue.
In vain would you impede their pace,
And win them back to your embrace;
Mere unſubſtantial forms, alas!
Now only ſeen in memory's glaſs!
And even there how ſoon to fade,
As Time's dark wings extend their ſhade!
Ah! now what pangs your boſom ſhare!
See pain, and grief, and want, and care;
Anxiety that gnaws the heart,
And ſelf-reproach's burning ſmart,
And wild unſatisfi'd deſire,
All, all, againſt your peace conſpire!
Time on your locks his ſnow has ſpread,
The roſes on your cheeks are dead,
There ſorrow digs, with hand ſevere,
A furrow for the falling tear!
Unthinking ſorrower, ceaſe to mourn!
Tho' late, Reflection may return,
Reaſon again reſume her ſeat,
Calm Wiſdom, from her ſtill retreat,
Once more her precepts may impart,
And Friendſhip hold you to her heart!
Its foliage ſcatter'd by the wind,
Yet on the tree remains behind
Autumnal fruit, that ſhall adorn
The leafleſs branches, tempeſt-torn.

Apoſtrophe to Aurelia. From "Scenes of Infancy deſcriptive of Tiviotdale By John Leyden."

OFT have I wandered, in my vernal years,
Where Ruberſlaw his miſty ſummit rears,
And, as the fleecy ſurges clos'd amain,
To gain the top have traced that ſhelving lane,
Where every ſhallow ſtripe of level green,
That, winding, runs the ſcattered crags between,
Is rudely notched acroſs the graſſy rind,
In awkward letters, by the rural hind.
When fond and faithful ſwains aſſemble gay,
To meet their loves on rural holiday,
The trace of each obſcure, decaying name,
Of ſome fond pair records the ſecret flame:
And here the village maiden bends her way,
When vows are broke, and fading charms decay,
Sings her ſoft ſorrow to the mountain gale,
And weeps, that love's deluſions e'er ſhould fail.
Here, too, the youthful widow comes, to clear,
From weeds, a name to fond affection dear:
She pares the ſod, with burſting heart, and cries,
"The hand, that traced it, in the cold grave lies!"—
Ah dear Aurelia! when this arm ſhall guide
Thy twilight ſteps no more by Teviot's ſide,
When I, to pine in eaſtern realms, have gone,
And years have paſſed, and thou remain'ſt alone,
Wilt thou, ſtill partial to thy youthful flame
Regard the turf, where firſt I carv'd thy name,
And think, thy wanderer, far beyond the ſea,
Falſe to his heart, was ever true to thee?
Why bend, ſo ſad, that kind, regretful view,
As every moment were my laſt adieu?
Ah! ſpare that tearful look, 'tis death to ſee,
Nor break this tortured heart, that bleeds for thee!
That ſnowy cheek, that moiſt and gelid brow,
Thoſe quivering lips, that breathe the unfiniſhed vow,
Theſe eyes, that ſtill with dimming tears o'erflow,
Will haunt me, when thou canſt not ſee my woe.
Not yet, with fond but ſelf-accuſing pain,
Mine eyes, reverted, linger o'er the main;
But, ſad, as he that dies in early ſpring,
When flowers begin to blow, and larks to ſing.
When Nature's joy a moment warms his heart,
And makes it doubly hard with life to part,
I hear the whiſpers of the dancing gale,
And, fearful, liſten for the flapping ſail,

Seek, in theſe natal ſhades, a ſhort relief,
And ſteal a pleaſure from maturing grief.
Yes! in theſe ſhades, this fond, adoring mind
Had hoped, in thee, a dearer ſelf to find.
Still from thy form ſome lurking grace to glean,
And wonder, it ſo long remained unſeen,
Hoped, thoſe ſeducing graces might impart
Their native ſweetneſs to this ſterner heart,
While thoſe dear eyes, in pearly light that ſhine,
Fond thought! ſhould borrow manlier beams from mine.
Ah! fruitleſs hope of bliſs, that ne'er ſhall be!
Shall but this lonely heart ſurvive to me?
No! in the temple of my purer mind,
Thine imaged form ſhall ever live enſhrined,
And hear the vows, to firſt affection due,
Still breathed—for love, that ceaſes, ne'er was true.

Thomas the Rhymer. From the ſame.

BY every thorn along the woodland damp,
The tiny glow-worm lights her em'rald Camp;
Like the ſhot-ſtar, whoſe yet unquenched light
Studs with faint gleam the raven-veſt of night.
The fairy ring-dance now, round Eildon-tree,
Moves to wild ſtrains of elfin minſtrelſy:
On glancing ſtep appears the fairy queen;
The printed graſs, beneath, ſprings ſoft and green:
While, hand in hand, ſhe leads the frolic round,
The dinning tabor ſhakes the charmed ground;
Or, graceful mounted on her palfrey grey,
In robes, that gliſter like the ſun in May,
With hawk and hound ſhe leads the moonlight ranks,
Of knights and dames, to Huntly's ferny banks,
Where Rymour, long of yore, the nymph embraced,
The firſt of men unearthly lips to taſte.
Raſh was the vow, and fatal was the hour,
Which gave a mortal to a Fairy's power.
A lingering leave he took of Sun and Moon;
—Dire to the Minſtrel was the Fairy's boon!—
A ſad farewell of graſs and green-leaved tree,
The haunts of childhood doomed no more to ſee.
Through winding paths, that never ſaw the ſun,
Where Eildon hides his roots in caverns dun,
They paſs,—the hollow pavement, as they go,
Rocks to remurmuring waves, that boil below;

Silent they wade, where ſounding torrents eave
The banks, and red the tinge of every wave;
For all the blood, that dyes the warrior's hand,
Runs through the thirſty ſprings of Fairy-land.
Level and green the downward region lies,
And low the ceiling of the Fairy ſkies;
Self-kindled gems a richer light diſplay
Than gilds the earth, but not a purer day.
Reſplendent cryſtal forms the palace-wall,
The diamond's trembling luſtre lights the hall:
But where ſoft emeralds ſhed an umbered light,
Beſide each coal-black courſes ſleeps a knight;
A raven plume waves o'er each helmed creſt,
And black the mail, which binds each manly breaſt,
Girt with broad faulchion, and with bugle green—
Ah! could a mortal truſt the Fairy Queen!
From mortal lips an earthly accent fell,
And Rymour's tongue confeſſed the numbing ſpell:
In iron ſleep the Minſtrel lies forlorn,
Who breathed a ſound before he blew the horn.
So Vattock once, as eaſtern legends tell,
Sought the vaſt dome of ſubterranen Hell,
Where ghaſtly, in their cedar biers enſhrined,
The fleſhleſs forms of antient Kings reclined,
Who, long before primæval Adam roſe,
Had heard the central gates behind them cloſe.
With jarring clang the hebon portals ope
And, cloſing, toll the funeral knell of Hope.
A ſable tapeſtry lined the marble wall,
And ſpirits curſed ſtalked dimly through the hall:
There, as he viewed each right hand ceaſeleſs preſt,
With writhing anguiſh, to each blaſted breaſt,
Blue, o'er his brow, convulſive fibres ſtart,
And flames of vengeance eddy round his heart;
With a dire ſhriek, he joins the reſtleſs throng,
And vaulted Hell returned his funeral ſong.
Myſterious Rymour! doomed, by Fate's decree,
Still to reviſit Eildon's lonely tree,
Where oft the ſwain, at dawn of Hallow-day,
Hears thy black barb with fierce impatience neigh!
Say, who is he, with ſummons ſtrong and high,
That bids the charmed ſleep of ages fly,
Rolls the long ſound through Eildon's caverns vaſt,
While each dark warrior routes at the blaſt,
His horn, his faulchion, graſps with mighty hand,
And peals proud Arthur's march from Fairy-land?
Where every coal-black courſer paws the green,
His printed ſtep ſhall evermore be ſeen:

The

The silver shields in moony splendour shine——
Beware, fond youth! a mightier hand than thine,
With deathless lustre, in romantic lay,
Shall Rymour's fate, and Arthur's fame display.
O Scott! with whom, in youth's sereneſt prime,
I wove, with careless hand, the Fairy rhyme,
Bade chivalry's barbaric pomp return,
And heroes wake from every mouldering urn!
Thy powerful verse, to grace the courtly hall,
Shall many a tale of elder time recall,
The deeds of knights, the loves of dames, proclaim,
And give forgotten bards their former fame.
Enough for me, if Fancy wake the spell,
To eastern Minstrels strains like thine to tell,
Till saddening memory all our haunts restore,
The wild-wood walks by Esk's romantic shore,
The circled hearth, which ne'er was wont to fail
In cheerful joke, or legendary tale,
Thy mind, whose fearless frankness nought could move,
Thy friendship, like an elder brother's love.
While from each scene of early life I part,
True to the beatings of this ardent heart,
When, half-deceased, with half the world between,
My name shall be unmentioned on the green,
When years combine with distance, let me be,
By all forgot, remembered yet by thee!

The Soldier's Dream. From "The Pleasures of Hope, with other Poems. By T. Campbell."

OUR bugler sung twice; for the night cloud had lower'd,
And the sentinel stars set their watch in the sky;
And thousands had sunk on the ground overpower'd,
The weary to sleep, and the wounded to die.

When, reposing that night on my pallet of straw,
By the wolf-scaring faggot that guarded the slain,
At the dead of the night a sweet vision I saw;
And twice ere the cock-crow, I dreamt it again.

Methought from the battle-field's dreadful array,
Far, far, I had roam'd on a desolate track,
'Till autumn and sunshine arose on the way,
To the house of my father's that welcom'd me back.

I flew to the pleasant fields, travers'd so oft
In life's morning march, when my bosom was young;
I heard my own mountain-goats bleating aloft,
And knew the sweet strain that the corn-reaper sung.

Then

Then pledg'd we the wine-cup, and fondly I ſwore
From my home and my weeping friends never to part;
My little ones kiſs'd me a thouſand times o'er,
And my wife ſobb'd aloud in her fulneſs of heart—

"Stay, ſtay with us! reſt!—thou art weary and worn!"
(And fain was their war-broken ſoldier to ſtay)
But ſorrow return'd with the dawning of morn,
And the voice in my dreaming ear melted away!

German drinking Song. From the ſame.

SWEET Iſer were thy ſunny realm
And flowr'y fountains mine,
The waters would I ſhade with elm,
To prop the tender vine.
My golden flagons I would fill
With roſy draughts from ev'ry hill;
And under each green ſpreading bower
My gay companions ſhould prolong
The feaſt, the revel, and the ſong,
To many a ſportive hour.

Like rivers crimſon'd by the beam
Of yonder planet bright,
Our nectar cups ſhould ever ſtream
Profuſion of delight!
No care ſhould touch the mellow heart,
And ſad or ſober none depart;
(For wine can triumph over woe)
And Love and Bacchus, brother powers
Should build in Iſer's ſunny bowers,
A Paradiſe below!

Epigrams. From "Epigrams, in two Books." By William Barnes Rhodes.

To Mira.

THY ſmiles are like an April day,
Which, flattering in vain,
Firſt tempts me out in light array,
Then drenches me with rain.

Forbear, dear Maid, with cruel ſkill
To triumph a deceiver;
Than thus to act, t'were kinder ſtill
To frown on me for ever.

He

He who in age betakes a youthful bride,
May, like a fool, with juſtneſs be decreed
Who buys a valuable book through pride,
To lend unto his learned friends to read.

"I'll follow thy fortune," a termagant cries,
Whoſe extravagance cauſed all the evil,
"That were ſome conſolation," the huſband replies,
For my fortune has gone to the devil.

"Your countenance, Jack," ſays my father one day,
"Is formed to enſure you diſgrace;"
"Very likely," cried I, "it may be as you ſay,
For I know I've the family face."

I gave my fair a bluſhing roſe,
And told her, beauty, like the flower,
Its tranſitory empire owes,
Dependent on youth's ſmiling hour.

I told her that delays were wrong:
"O name the happy morn," I cried:
She own'd the moral of my ſong,
And ſmil'd, next morn, my rival's bride.

The Inconſtant.

LESSONS of Love a fair I taught,
And fondly hop'd a kind return;
For gentler pupil never ſought
Its pleaſing rudiments to learn.

But now above the ſcholar grown,
She muſt her maſter's rival be,
Yes, Roſalie to half the town
Has taught whate'er ſhe learnt of me.

Canzonet

Canzonet. From Poems from the Portugueſe of Camoens. By Lord Viſcount Strangford.

I WHISPERED her my laſt adieu,
I gave a mournful kiſs,
Cold ſhowers of ſorrow bath'd her eyes,
And her poor heart was torn with ſighs;
Yet ſtrange to tell 'twas then I knew
Moſt perfect bliſs.—

For Love, at other times ſuppreſs'd,
Was all betray'd at this—
I ſaw him weeping in her eyes,
I heard him breathe amongſt her ſighs,
And every throb which ſhook her breaſt,
Thrill'd mine with bliſs.

The ſight which keen Affection clears
How can it judge amiſs?
To me, it pictur'd hope; and taught,
My ſpirit this conſoling thought,
That Love's ſun, tho' it riſe in tears,
May ſet in bliſs.

Stanzas. From the ſame.

I SAW the virtuous man contend
With life's unnumber'd woes;
And he was poor without a friend—
Preſs'd by a thouſand foes.

I ſaw the Paſſions' pliant ſlave,
In gallant trim and gay;
His courſe was Pleaſure's placid wave,
His life, a ſummer's day.

And I was caught in Folly's ſnare,
And join'd her giddy train—
But found her ſoon the nurſe of Care,
And Puniſhment, and Pain.

There ſurely is ſome guiding Power
Which rightly ſuffers wrong—
Gives Vice to bloom its little hour—
But Virtue, late and long!

Canzonet.

Canzonet. From the same.

WHEN day had smil'd a soft farewell,
And night-drops bathe each shutting bell,
And shadows sail along the green,
And birds are still, and winds serene,
I wander silently.

And while my lone step prints the dew,
Dear are the dreams that bless my view,
To Memory's eye the Maid appears,
For whom have sprung my sweetest tears,
So oft, so tenderly.

I see her, as with graceful care,
She binds her braids of sunny hair;
I feel her harp's melodious thrill
Strike to my heart, and thence be still,
Re-echoed faithfully,

I meet her mild and quiet eye,
Drink the warm spirit of her sigh,
See young Love beating in her breast,
And wish to mine its pulses-prest,
God knows how fervently!

Such are my hours of dear delight,
And morn but makes me long for night,
And think how swift the minutes flew,
When lost amongst the dropping dew,
I wander'd silently!

Madrigal. From the same.

DEAR is the blush of early light
To him who ploughs the pathless deep,
When winds have rav'd throughout the night,
And roaring tempests banish'd sleep—
Dear is the dawn, which springs at last,
And shows him all his peril past.

Dearer to me the break of day,
Which thus thy bended eye illumes;
And clearing fear and doubt away,
Scatters the night of mental glooms,
And bids my spirit hope at last,
A rich reward for perils past.

Canzon. From the ſame.

THOU pride of the foreſt! whoſe dark branches ſpread
To the ſigh of the ſouth-wind their tremulous green,
And the tinge of whoſe buds is as rich and as red
As the mellowing bluſhes of maiden eighteen.

O'er thee may the tempeſt in gentleneſs blow,
And the lightnings of Summer paſs harmleſsly by,
For ever thy buds keep their mellowing glow,
Thy branches ſtill wave to the ſouthernly ſigh.

Becauſe in thy ſhade, as I lately reclin'd,
The ſweeteſt of viſions aroſe to my view;
'Twas the ſwoon of the ſoul—'twas the tranſport of mind—
'Twas the happieſt minute that ever I knew.

For this ſhalt thou ſtill be my favourite tree,—
In the heart of the Poet thou never canſt fade;
It ſhall often be warm'd by remembering thee,
And the dream which I dreamt in thy tremulous ſhade.

ACCOUNT

Account of Books for 1803.

The Life and Letters, of William Cowper, Esq. By William Hayley, Esq.

OF the motives which induced him to undertake this work, Mr. Hayley gives the following account in an introductory Letter to Earl Cowper. "Not long after his deceaſe, one of his particular friends preſumed to ſuggeſt to an accompliſhed lady, nearly related both to him and to your lordſhip, that ſhe herſelf might be the biographer moſt worthy of the poet. The intimacy, and correſpondence, which ſhe enjoyed with him, both in their lively hours of youthful friendſhip, and in the dark evening of his wonderfully chequered life; her cultivated and affectionate mind, which led her to take peculiar delight and intereſt in the merit and reputation of his writings; and laſtly, that generous attachment to her afflicted relation, which induced her to watch over his diſordered health, in a period of its moſt calamitous depreſſion, theſe circumſtances united, ſeemed to render it deſirable that ſhe ſhould aſſume the office of Cowper's biographer, having ſuch advantage for the perfect execution of that very delicate taſk, as perhaps no other memorialiſt could poſſeſs in an equal degree." The lady, however, declined the undertaking. "The natural diffidence of her ſex, uniting with extreme delicacy of health, induced her (eager as ſhe is to promote the celebrity of her deceaſed relation) to ſhrink from the idea of ſubmitting herſelf as an author, to the formidable eye of the public. Her knowledge of the very cordial regard with which Cowper has honoured me, as one of his moſt confidential friends, led her to requeſt, that ſhe might aſſign to me that arduous office, which ſhe candidly confeſſed ſhe had not the reſolution to aſſume."

Mr. Hayley's account of Cowper's family traces it from the times of Edward IV. when his anceſtors were reſident in Suſſex. His grandfather was a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and his father, Chaplain to George II. and rector of Great Berkhampſtead in Hertfordſhire, where the poet was born the 26th of November, 1731. The infancy of Cowper was delicate in no common degree; and his conſtitution diſcovered, at a very early ſeaſon, that morbid tendency to diffidence, to melancholy, and deſpair, which darkened, as he advanced

advanced in years, into periodical fits of the moſt deplorable depreſſion. He had ſpecks on both his eyes, which threatened to cover them. A female oculiſt in whoſe houſe he was lodged two years, failed in her attempts to cure them, and the malady was finally removed by the ſmall-pox, although he always continued ſubject to inflammations. His mother died when he was only ſix years old, and the following year he was ſent to Weſtminſter ſchool. "It appears a ſtrange proceſs in education," Mr. Hayley juſtly obſerves, "to ſend a tender child, from a long reſidence in the houſe of a female oculiſt, immediately into all the hardſhips that a little delicate boy muſt have to encounter at a public ſchool. How ill ſuited the ſcene was to his peculiar character, muſt be evident to all, who have heard him deſcribe his ſenſations in that ſeaſon of life, which is, often very erroneouſly, extolled as the happieſt period of human exiſtence. He has been frequently heard to lament the perſecution he ſuſtained in his childiſh years, from the cruelty of his ſchool-fellows, in the two ſcenes of his education. His own forcible expreſſion, repreſented him, at Weſtminſter, as not daring to raiſe his eye above the ſhoe buckle of the elder boys, who were too apt to tyranniſe over his gentle ſpirit. The acuteneſs of his feelings in his childhood, rendered thoſe important years (which might have produced, under tender cultivation, a ſeries of lively enjoyments) miſerable years of increaſing timidity and depreſſion; which in the moſt cheerful hours of his advanced life, he could hardly deſcribe, to an intimate friend, without ſhuddering at the recollection of his early wretchedneſs. Yet to this perhaps the world is indebted for the pathetic and moral eloquence of thoſe forcible admonitions to parents which give intereſt and beauty to his admirable poem on public ſchools. Poets may be ſaid to realize in ſome meaſure, the poetical idea of the nightingale's ſinging with a thorn at her breaſt; as their moſt exquiſite ſongs have often originated in the acuteneſs of their perſonal ſufferings. But in this ſituation, although the peculiar delicacy of his nature, might expoſe him to an extraordinary portion of juvenile diſcomfort; yet he undoubtedly acquired the accompliſhment, and the reputation of ſcholarſhip; with the advantage of being known and eſteemed by ſome aſpiring youth of his own age, who were deſtined to become conſpicuous, and powerful, in the ſplendid ſcenes of the world.

With theſe acquiſitions, he left Weſtminſter at the age of eighteen, in 1749; and as if deſtiny had determined, that all his early ſituations in life ſhould be peculiarly irkſome to his delicate feelings, and tend rather to promote, than to counteract, his conſtitutional tendency to melancholy, he was removed from a public ſchool to the office of an attorney. He reſided three years in the houſe of a Mr. Chapman, to whom he was engaged by articles for that time. Here he was placed for the ſtudy of a profeſſion, which nature ſeemed reſolved, that he never ſhould practiſe.

When he quitted the houſe of the ſolicitor, where he was placed to acquire the rudiments of litigation, he ſettled himſelf in chambers

of

of the Inner Temple, as a regular ſtudent of law; but although he reſided there to the age of thirty-three, he rambled (according to his own colloquial account of his early years) from the thorny road of his auſtere patroneſs, Juriſprudence, into the primroſe paths of literature and poetry. Even here his native diffidence confined him to ſocial and ſubordinate exertions. He wrote, and printed both verſe and proſe, as the concealed aſſiſtant of leſs diffident authors. During his reſidence in the Temple, he cultivated the friendſhip of ſome eminent literary characters, who had been his ſchool-fellows at Weſtminſter; particularly Colman, Bonnel Thornton, and Lloyd. His regard to the two former induced him to contribute to their periodical publication, entitled the Connoiſſeur, three excellent papers, which are republiſhed in the appendix. Beſide an intimacy with Lloyd, Cowper, while he reſided in the Temple, ſeems to have been perſonally acquainted with the moſt eminent writers of the time; and the intereſt, which he probably took in their recent works, tended to increaſe his powerful, though diffident, paſſion for poetry; and to train him imperceptibly to that maſterly command of language which he diſplayed, almoſt as a new talent, at the age of fifty. One of his firſt aſſociates has informed me, Mr. Hayley ſays, that before he quitted London, he frequently amuſed himſelf in tranſlating from antient and modern poets, and devoted his compoſition to the ſervice of any friend who requeſted it. In a copy of Duncombe's Horace, printed in 1759, I find two of the Satires tranſlated by Cowper. In theſe early effuſions, although ſlightly valued by the poet himſelf, were diſplayed a great poetic force, ſentiments of genuine piety, a vein of pure morality, and the rudiments of thoſe powers which were afterward ſo eminently conſpicuous in "The Taſk."

Although extreme diffidence, and a tendency to deſpond, ſeemed early to preclude Cowper from all expectation of climbing to the ſplendid ſummit of the profeſſion he had choſen; yet, by the intereſt of his family, he had proſpects of emolument in a line of life, that appeared better ſuited to the modeſty of his nature, and to his moderate ambition.

In his thirty-firſt year, he was nominated to the offices of Reading Clerk, and Clerk of the private Committees, in the Houſe of Lords; a ſituation the more deſirable, as ſuch an eſtabliſhment might enable him to marry early in life; a meaſure, to which he was doubly diſpoſed, by judgment and inclination. But the peculiarities of his wonderful mind rendered him unable to ſupport the ordinary duties of his new office; for the idea of reading in public, proved a ſource of torture to his tender and apprehenſive ſpirit. An expedient was then deviſed to promote his intereſt, without wounding his feelings. Reſigning his ſituation of Reading Clerk, he was appointed Clerk of the Journals, in the ſame Houſe of Parliament. This kindneſs was, however, productive of unforeſeen and melancholy effects. It was hoped from the change of his ſtation that his perſonal appearance in Parliament might not be required; but a Parliamentary diſpute made it neceſſary for him to ap-

pear at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, to intitle himſelf publicly to the office. Speaking of this important incident in a ſketch, which he once formed himſelf, of paſſages in his early life, he expreſſes, what he endured at the time, in theſe remarkable words: "They, whoſe ſpirits are formed like mine, to whom a public exhibition of themſelves is mortal poiſon, may have ſome idea of the horrors of my ſituation—others can have none."

His terrors on this occaſion aroſe to ſuch an aſtoniſhing height, that they utterly overwhelmed his reaſon: for although he had endeavoured to prepare himſelf for his public duty, by attending cloſely at the office for ſeveral months, to examine the parliamentary Journals, his application was rendered uſeleſs, by that exceſs of diffidence, which made him conceive, that, whatever knowledge he might previouſly acquire, it would all forſake him at the bar of the houſe. This diſtreſſing apprehenſion encreaſed to ſuch a degree, as the time for his appearance approached, that when the day ſo anxiouſly dreaded, arrived, he was unable to make the experiment. The very friends who called on him for the purpoſe of attending him to the Houſe of Lords, acquieſced in the cruel neceſſity of his relinquiſhing the proſpect of a ſtation, ſo ſeverely formidable to a frame of ſuch ſingular ſenſibility. The conflict between the wiſhes of his juſt ambition, and the terrors of diffidence, ſo intirely overwhelmed his health and faculties, that after two learned and benevolent divines (Mr. John Cowper, his brother, and the celebrated Mr. Martin Madan, his firſt couſin) had vainly endeavoured to eſtabliſh a laſting tranquillity in his mind, by friendly, and religious converſation, it was found neceſſary to remove him to Saint Alban's. He reſided there a conſiderable time, under the care of that eminent phyſician, Dr. Cotton, a ſcholar, and a poet, who added to many accompliſhments, a peculiar ſweetneſs of manners, in very advanced life.

From December, 1763, to the following July, the mind of Cowper appears to have laboured under the ſevereſt ſufferings of morbid depreſſion; but the medical ſkill of Dr. Cotton, and the cheerful benignant manners of that accompliſhed phyſician, gradually ſucceeded, with the bleſſing of heaven, in removing the undeſcribable load of religious deſpondency, which had clouded the admirable faculties of this innocent and upright man. His ideas of religion were changed from the gloom of terror and deſpair, to the luſtre and comfort of delight; and this juſter and happier view of Evangelical truth, is ſaid to have ariſen in his mind while he was reading the third chapter of Saint Paul's Epiſtle to the Romans. Devout contemplation became more and more dear to his reviving ſpirit; reſolving to relinquiſh all thoughts of a laborious profeſſion, and all intercourſe with the buſy world, he acquieſced in a plan of ſettling at Huntingdon, by the advice of his brother, who, as a miniſter of the Goſpel, and a fellow of Bennet College, in Cambridge, reſided in that Univerſity; a ſituation ſo near to the place choſen for Cowper's retirement, that it afforded to theſe affectionate brothers

brothers opportunities of eaſy and frequent intercourſe. "I regret," Mr. Hayley ſays, "that all the Letters which paſſed between them have periſhed; and the more ſo, as they ſometimes correſponded in verſe. John Cowper was alſo a poet. He had engaged to execute a tranſlation of Voltaire's Henriade; and in the courſe of the work, requeſted and obtained the aſſiſtance of William, who tranſlated, as he informed me himſelf, two entire cantos of the poem. This fraternal production is ſaid to have appeared in a Magazine of the year 1759. I have diſcovered a rival, and probably an inferior tranſlation, ſo publiſhed; but the joint work of the poetical brothers has hitherto eluded all my reſearches."

"In June, 1765, the reviving invalid removed to a private lodging in the town of Huntingdon; but Providence ſoon introduced him into a family, which afforded him one of the moſt ſingular and valuable friends, that ever watched an afflicted mortal in ſeaſons of overwhelming adverſity." Yet it was not love, in the common acceptation of the word, which inſpired the admirable eulogies beſtowed on this Lady in the poem of the Taſk. The attachment of Cowper to Mrs Unwin, the Mary of the poet! was an attachment perhaps unparalleled. Their domeſtic union, though not ſanctioned by the common forms of life, was ſupported with perfect innocence, and endeared to them both, by their having ſtruggled together through a ſeries of ſorrow. The introduction of Cowper to this Lady aroſe out of the following incident. On his firſt appearance in one of the churches at Huntingdon, he engaged the notice and reſpect of an amiable young man, William Cawthorne Unwin, then a ſtudent at Cambridge, who having obſerved, after divine ſervice, that the intereſting ſtranger was taking a ſolitary turn under a row of trees, was irreſiſtibly led to ſhare his walk, and to ſolicit his acquaintance. They were ſoon pleaſed with each other, and the intelligent youth, charmed with the acquiſition of ſuch a friend, was eager to communicate the treaſure to his parents, who had long reſided in Huntingdon. Mr. Unwin, the father, had for ſome ſome years been maſter of a Free School in the town: but, as he advanced in life, he quitted that laborious ſituation, and ſettling in a large convenient houſe in the High-ſtreet, contented himſelf with a few domeſtic pupils, whom he inſtructed in claſſical literature. This worthy divine, who was now far advanced in years, had been Lecturer to the two churches at Huntingdon before he obtained, from his college at Cambridge, the living of Grimſton. While he lived in expectation of this preferment, he had attached himſelf to a young lady of lively talents, and remarkably fond of reading. This lady, who, in the proceſs of time, and by a ſeries of ſingular events, became the friend and guardian of Cowper, was the daughter of Mr. Cawthorne, a draper in Ely. She was married to Mr. Unwin on his ſucceeding to the preferment, that he expected from his college, and ſettled with him on his living of Grimſton; but not liking the ſituation and ſociety of that ſequeſtered ſcene, ſhe prevailed on her huſband to eſtabliſh himſelf in Huntingdon,

where he was known and respected. An event highly pleasing and comfortable to Cowper soon followed this introduction; he was affectionately solicited by all the Unwins to relinquish his lonely lodging, and become a part of their family.

From this period, the narrative of Mr. Cowper's life is chiefly to be gathered from the perusal of Letters written by him and imparted by his various friends to Mr. Hayley; but, in fact, the narrative is very little. The Letters exhibit the portrait of a mind pure, pious, unaffected, endowed with extraordinary sensibility; not exempt from those irregularities which are termed whims, nor from the occasional influence of passions, but free from every shade of vice as ever human nature was found, and almost as much so, as angelic nature can be supposed.

In 1767, Mr. Unwin, the friend and guardian of the poet lost his life; the event and its consequences with respect to his arrangements and situation, he has thus described in a Letter to his cousin, Mrs. Cowper: "Poor Mr. Unwin being flung from his horse, as he was going to his church on Sunday morning, received a dreadful fracture on the back part of the scull, under which he languished till Thursday evening, and then died. The effect of it upon my circumstances will only be a change of the place of my abode. For I shall still, by God's leave, continue with Mrs. Unwin, whose behaviour to me has been that of a mother to a son. We know not yet where we shall settle, but we trust, that the Lord whom we seek, will go before us, and prepare a rest for us."

Time and chance now introduced to the notice of Cowper, the zealous and venerable friend, who became his intimate associate for many years, after having advised and assisted him in the important concern of fixing his future residence. Mr. Newton, then curate of Olney, in Buckinghamshire, had been requested by the late Dr. Conyers to seize an opportunity, as he was passing through Huntingdon, of making a visit to an exemplary Lady. This visit, (so important in its consequences to the destiny of Cowper!) happened to take place within a few days after the calamitous death of Mr. Unwin. As a change of scene appeared desirable, both to Mrs. Unwin, and to the interesting recluse, whom she had generously requested to continue under her care; Mr. Newton offered to assist them in removing to the pleasant and picturesque county in which he resided. They were willing to enter into the flock of a benevolent and animated pastor, whose ideas were so much in harmony with their own. He engaged for them a house at Olney, where they arrived on the fourteenth of October, 1767. The time of Cowper in his new situation, seems to have been chiefly devoted to religious contemplation, to social prayer, and to active charity. To this first of Christian virtues, his heart was eminently inclined, and Providence very graciously enabled him to exercise and enjoy it to an extent far superior to what his own scanty fortune appeared to allow. Before he quitted Saint Alban's,

he assumed the charge of a necessitous child, to extricate him from the perils of being educated by very profligate parents; he put him to school at Huntingdon, removed him, on his own removal, to Olney, and finally settled him as an apprentice at Oundle in Northamptonshire.

In 1770, the tender feelings of Cowper were called forth by family affliction, that pressed more immediately on himself; he was hurried to Cambridge by the dangerous illness of his brother. An affection truly fraternal had ever subsisted between them; and the sickness and death of this learned, pious, and affectionate relative, made a very strong impression on the tender heart and mind of Cowper; an impression so strong, that it induced him to write a narrative of the remarkable circumstances which occured at the time.

It is, however, the peculiar blessing of a religious turn of mind, that it serves as an antidote against the corrosive influence of sorrow. His extreme depression seems not to have recurred immediately on the shock of his brother's death. In his sequestered life, he seems to have been much consoled and entertained, by the society of his pious friend Mr. Newton, in whose religious pursuits he appears to have taken an active part, by the composition of sixty-eight hymns. Mr. Newton wished, and expected, him to have contributed a much larger number, as he has declared in the Preface to that collection of Hymns, which contains these devotional effusions of Cowper, distinguished by the initial letter of his name. The volume, composed for the inhabitants of Olney, was the joint production of the divine and poet.

The season, however, soon arrived, when the firm friendship of Mrs. Unwin was put to the severest of trials, and when her conduct was such, as to deserve those rare rewards of grateful attention and tenderness, which, when she herself became the victim of age and infirmity, she received from that exemplary being, who considered himself indebted to her friendly vigilance for his life, and who never forgot an obligation, when his mind was itself.

In 1773, he sunk into such severe paroxysms of religious despondency, that he required an attendant of the most gentle, vigilant, and inflexible spirit. Such an attendant he found in that faithful guardian, whom he had professed to love as a mother, and who watched over him, during this long fit of depressive malady, extended through several years, with that perfect mixture of tenderness and fortitude, which constitutes the inestimable influence of maternal protection. I wish, Mr. Haley says, to pass rapidly over this calamitous period, and shall only observe, that nothing could surpass the sufferings of the patient, or excel the care of the nurse. That meritorious care received from Heaven the most delightful rewards, in seeing the pure and powerful mind, to whose restoration it had contributed so much, not only gradually restored to the common enjoyments of life, but successively endowed with new and marvellous funds of diversified talents, and courageous application.

The spirit of Cowper, emerged by slow degrees from its very deep

dejection; and before his mind was sufficiently recovered to employ itself on literary composition, it sought, and found, much salutary amusement in educating a little group of tame hares. On his expressing a wish to divert himself by rearing a single leveret, the good nature of his neighbours supplied him with three. The variety of their dispositions became a source of great entertainment to his compassionate and contemplative spirit. One of the trio, he has celebrated in "*The Task*," and a very animated minute account of this singular family, humanized, and described most admirably by himself, in prose, appeared first in the Gentleman's Magazine, and has been recently inserted in the second volume of his poems. To these he soon added eight pair of tame pigeons.

The affectionate temper of Cowper, inclined him particularly to exert his talents, at the request of his friends; even in seasons, when such exertion could hardly have been made, without a painful degree of self command. At the suggestion of Mr. Newton, we have seen him writing a series of Hymns; at the request of Mr. Bull, he translated several spiritual songs, from the mystical poetry of Madame de la Mothe Guyon, the tender and fanciful enthusiast of France, whose talents and misfortunes drew upon her a long series of persecution from many acrimonious bigots, and secured to her the friendship of the mild and indulgent Fenelon! We shall perceive, as we advance, that the greater works of Cowper, were also written at the express desire of persons, whom he particularly regarded; and it may be remarked, to the honour of friendship, that he considered its influence, as the happiest inspiration; or to use his own expressive words,

> The poet's lyre, to fix his fame,
> Should be the poet's heart;
> Affection lights a brighter flame
> Than ever blaz'd by art.

At the age of fifty, Cowper amused himself with preparations to appear as an author. But he hoped to conduct those preparations with a modest secrecy, and was astonished to find one of his intimate friends apprized of his design. Mrs. Unwin strongly solicited him, on his recovery from a very long fit of mental dejection, to devote his thoughts to poetry of considerable extent. She suggested to him, at the same time, the first subject of his verse, "*The Progress of Error*," which is the second poem in his first volume. "You may suppose," he says in a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Unwin, dated the first of May, 1781, "by the size of the publication, that the greatest part of the poems have been long kept secret, because you yourself have never seen them; but the truth is, that they are most of them, except what you have in your possession, the produce of the last winter. Two thirds of the compilation will be occupied by four pieces, the first of which sprung up in the month of December, and the last of them in the month of March. They contain, I suppose, in all about two thousand and five hundred lines; are known, or to be known in due time, by the names of *Table Talk—The Progress of Error—Truth—Expostulation*. Mr. New-

Newton writes a Preface, and Johnſon is the publiſher. The principal, I may ſay the only reaſon, why I never mentioned to you, 'till now, an affair which I am juſt going to make known to all the world, (if *that* Mr. All-the-world ſhould think it worth his knowing) has been this; that 'till within theſe few days, I had not the honour to know it myſelf. This may ſeem ſtrange, but it is true, for not knowing where to find under-writers, who would chuſe to inſure them, and not finding it convenient to a purſe like mine, to run any hazard, even upon the credit of my own ingenuity, I was very much in doubt for ſome weeks, whether any bookſeller would be willing to ſubject himſelf to an ambiguity, that might prove very expenſive in caſe of a bad market. But Johnſon has heroically ſet all peradventures at defiance, and takes the whole charge upon himſelf." The immediate ſucceſs of his firſt volume was very far from being equal to its extraordinary merit. For ſome time, it ſeemed to be neglected by the public; though the firſt poem in the collection contains ſuch a powerful image of its author, as might be thought ſufficient not only to excite attention, but to ſecure attachment: for Cowper had undeſignedly executed a maſterly portrait of himſelf, in deſcribing the true poet in "*Table Talk*."

A new era opens in the Hiſtory of the poet, from an incident that gave freſh ardour and vivacity to his fertile imagination. In 1781, he became acquainted with a Lady, highly accompliſhed herſelf, and ſingularly happy in animating and directing the fancy of her poetical friends. The world, Mr. Hayley ſays, will perfectly agree with me in this eulogy, when I add, that to this Lady we are primarily indebted for the poem of the Taſk, for the ballad of John Gilpin, and for the tranſlation of Homer. A Lady, whoſe name was Jones, was one of the few neighbours admitted in the reſidence of the retired poet. She was the wife of a clergyman, who reſided at the village of Clifton, within a mile of Olney. Her ſiſter, the widow of Sir Robert Auſten, Bart. came to paſs ſome time with her in the ſummer of 1781; and as the two Ladies chanced to call at a ſhop in Olney, oppoſite to the houſe of Mrs. Unwin, Cowper obſerved them from his window. Although naturally ſhy, and now rendered more ſo by his very long illneſs, he was ſo ſtruck with the appearance of the ſtranger, that on hearing ſhe was ſiſter to Mrs. Jones, he requeſted Mrs. Unwin to invite them to tea. So ſtrong was his reluctance to admit the company of ſtrangers, that after he had occaſioned this invitation, he was for a long time unwilling to join the little party: but having forced himſelf at laſt to engage in converſation with Lady Auſten, he was ſo re-animated by her colloquial talents, that he attended the Ladies on their return to Clifton, and from that time continued to cultivate the regard of his new acquaintance with ſuch aſſiduous attention, that ſhe ſoon received from him the familiar and endearing title of ſiſter Ann.

The influence of Lady Auſten was very beneficially exerciſed over the ſpirits of Cowper. The manner

in which she occasioned the production of the far-famed John Gilpin, is thus related. "That admirable, and highly popular piece of pleasantry was composed at the period of which I am now speaking. An elegant and judicious writer, who has recently favoured the public with three interesting volumes relating to the early poets of our country, conjectures, that a poem, written by the celebrated Sir Thomas More in his Youth, (the merry jest of the Serjeant and Frere) may have suggested to Cowper his tale of John Gilpin; but that fascinating ballad had a different origin; and it is a very remarkable fact, that full of gaiety and humour as this favourite of the public has abundantly proved itself to be, it was really composed at a time, when the spirit of the poet, as he informed me himself, was very deeply tinged with his depressive malady. It happened one afternoon, in those years when his accomplished friend Lady Austen made a part of his little evening circle, that she observed him sinking into increasing dejection; it was her custom, on these occasions, to try all the resources of her sprightly powers for his immediate relief. She told him the story of John Gilpin (which had been treasured in her memory from her childhood) to dissipate the gloom of the passing hour. Its effect on the fancy of Cowper had the air of enchantment: he informed her the next morning, that convulsions of laughter, brought on by his recollection of her story, had kept him waking the greatest part of the night, and that he had turned it into a ballad. So arose the pleasant poem of John Gilpin; It was eagerly copied, and finding its way rapidly to the newspapers, it was seized by the lively spirit of Henderson the comedian, a man, like the Yorick described by Shakespeare, "of infinite jest, and most excellent fancy," it was seized by Henderson as a proper subject for the display of his own comic powers; and by reciting it in his public readings, he gave uncommon celebrity to the ballad, before the public suspected to what poet they were indebted for the sudden burst of ludicrous amusement. Many readers were astonished when the poem made its first authentic appearance in the second volume of Cowper."

The Task also derived its origin from Lady Austen. "This Lady," Mr. Hayley says, "happened as an admirer of Milton, to be partial to blank verse, and often solicited her poetical friend, to try his powers in that species of composition. After repeated solicitation, he promised her, if she would furnish the subject, to comply with her request.—"Oh!" she replied, "you can never be in want of a subject:—you can write upon any:—write upon this Sofa!" The poet observed her command, and from the lively repartee of familiar conversation, arose a poem of many thousand verses, unexampled perhaps both in its origin and excellence! A poem of such infinite variety, that it seems to include every subject, and every style, without any dissonance or disorder; and to have flowed, without effort, from inspired philanthropy, eager to impress upon the hearts of all readers, whatever may lead them, most happily, to the

the full enjoyment of human life, and to the final attainment of heaven."

In 1784, while the Task was in the press, the author engaged in another poem, entitled, Tirocinium, or a Review of Schools: the business and purport of it were, to censure the want of discipline, and the scandalous inattention to morals, that obtain in them; especially in the largest; and to recommend private tuition as a mode of education, preferable on all accounts; to call upon fathers to become tutors of their own sons, where that is practicable; to take home a domestic tutor, where it is not; and if neither can be done, to place them under the care of some rural parson, whose attention is limited to a few.

The year 1784, was a memorable period in the life of the poet, not only as it witnessed the completion of one extensive performance, and the commencement of another, (his translation of Homer) but as it terminated his intercourse with that highly pleasing and valuable friend, whose alacrity of attention and advice, had induced him to engage in both. Delightful and advantageous as his friendship with Lady Austen had proved, he now began to feel, that it grew impossible to preserve that triple cord, which his own pure heart had led him to suppose not speedily to be broken. Mrs. Unwin, though by no means destitute of mental accomplishments, was eclipsed by the brilliancy of the poet's new friend, and naturally became uneasy, under the apprehension of being so, for to a woman of sensibility, what evil can be more afflicting, than the fear of losing all mental influence over a man of genius and virtue, whom she has been long accustomed to inspirit and to guide? Cowper perceived the painful necessity of sacrificing a great portion of his present gratifications. He felt, that he must relinquish that ancient friend, whom he regarded as a venerable parent; or the new associate, whom he idolized, as a sister of a heart and mind peculiarly congenial to his own. His gratitude for past services of unexampled magnitude, and weight, would not allow him to hesitate; with a resolution and delicacy, that do the highest honour to his feelings, he wrote a farewell Letter to Lady Austen, explaining and lamenting the circumstances, that forced him to renounce the society of a friend, whose enchanting talents, and kindness, had proved so agreeably instrumental to the revival of his spirits, and to the exercise of his fancy.

The second volume of Cowper's Poems, of whose delay in the press he had complained most feelingly, was, in the summer of 1785, beginning to circulate with extensive rapidity. It not only raised him to the summit of poetical reputation, but obtained for him a blessing infinitely dearer to his affectionate heart, another female friend, and lively associate, now providentially led to contribute to his comfort, when the advanced age and infirmities of Mrs. Unwin made such an acquisition of new, or rather revived, friendship, a matter of infinite importance to the tranquility and welfare of the sequestered poet. The female alluded to, was Lady Hesketh, who had the advantage of being nearly related to Cowper. Their intercourse

courſe had been frequent, and endeared by reciprocal eſteem in their early years, but the whirlwinds of life had driven them far from the ſight of each other. During the poet's long retirement, his fair couſin had paſſed ſome years with her huſband abroad, and others, after her return, in a variety of mournful duties. She was at this time a widow, and her indelible regard for her poetical relation, being agreeably inſpirited by the publication of his recent works, ſhe wrote to him, on that occaſion, a very affectionate Letter.

In 1786, this Lady paid a viſit to Olney, which led, ſays the Biographer, to a very favourable change in the reſidence of Cowper. He had now paſſed nineteen years in a ſcene, that was far from ſuiting him. The houſe, he inhabited, looked on a market place, and once, in a ſeaſon of illneſs, he was ſo apprehenſive of being incommoded by the buſtle of a fair, that he requeſted to lodge, for a ſingle night under the roof of his friend Mr. Newton; and he was tempted by the more comfortable ſituation of the vicarage, to remain fourteen months in the houſe of his benevolent neighbour. His intimacy with this venerable divine was ſo great, that Mr. Newton has deſcribed it in the following remarkable terms, in Memoirs of the poet, which affection induced him to begin, but which the troubles and infirmities of very advanced life, have obliged him to relinquiſh. "For nearly twelve years we were ſeldom ſeparated for ſeven hours at a time, when we were awake, and at home:—The firſt ſix I paſſed in daily admiring, and aiming to imitate him: during the ſecond ſix, I walked penſively with him in the valley of the ſhadow of death." After the removal of Mr. Newton, to London, and the departure of Lady Auſten, Olney had no particular attractions for Cowper; and Lady Heſketh was happy in promoting the project, which had occurred to him, of removing, with Mrs. Unwin, to the near and pleaſant village of Weſton. A ſcene highly favourable to his health and amuſement! For, with a very comfortable manſion, it afforded him a garden and a field of conſiderable extent, which he delighted to cultivate and embelliſh. With theſe he had advantages ſtill more deſirable, eaſy, perpetual acceſs to the ſpacious and tranquil pleaſure grounds of his accompliſhed and benevolent landlord, Mr. Throckmorton, whoſe neighbouring houſe ſupplied him with ſociety, peculiarly ſuited to his gentle and delicate ſpirit. This removal took place in November 1786, and the ſociety of the poet was increaſed by the acceſſion of a Mr. Roſe, the barriſter, a gentleman in every reſpect, worthy of his regard.

The next event in the life of Cowper forms an epoch, and is juſtly diſtinguiſhed by his biographer. "After five years of intenſe and affectionate labour," he ſays, "in which nothing could withhold him from his intereſting work, except that oppreſſive and cruel malady, which ſuſpended his powers of application for ſeveral months, he publiſhed his complete verſion in two quarto volumes, on the firſt of July, 1791, having inſcribed the Iliad to his young noble kinſman, Earl

Earl Cowper; and the Odyſſey to the Dowager Counteſs Spencer; a Lady, for whoſe virtues he had long entertained a moſt cordial and affectionate veneration. The accompliſhed tranſlator had exerted no common powers of genius and of induſtry to ſatisfy both himſelf and the world; yet in his firſt edition of this long laboured work, he afforded complete ſatisfaction to neither, and I believe for this reaſon.—Homer is ſo exquiſitely beautiful in his own language, and he has been ſo long an idol in every literary mind, that any copy of him, which the beſt of modern poets can execute, muſt probably reſemble in its effects the portrait of a graceful woman, painted by an excellent artiſt for her lover:—The lover, indeed, will acknowledge great merit in the work, and think himſelf much indebted to the ſkill of ſuch an artiſt, but he will never acknowledge, as in truth he never can feel, that the beſt of reſemblances exhibits all the grace that he diſcerns in the beloved original. So fares it with the admirers of Homer; his very tranſlators themſelves feel ſo perfectly the power of this predominant affection, and they gradually grow diſcontented with their own labour, however approved in the moment of its ſuppoſed completion. This was ſo remarkably the caſe with Cowper, that in proceſs of time we ſhall ſee him employed upon what may almoſt be called his ſecond tranſlation; ſo great were the alterations he made in a deliberate reviſal of his work for a ſecond edition. And in the Preface which he prepared for that edition, he has ſpoken of his own labour with the moſt frank and ingenious veracity. Yet of the firſt edition it may, I think, be fairly ſaid, that it accompliſhed more than any of his poetical predeceſſors had achieved before him. It made the neareſt approach to that ſweet majeſtic ſimplicity which forms one of the moſt attractive features in the great prince and father of the poets.

Soon after this publication, he engaged, by deſire of his bookſeller, in a project to publiſh a ſplendid edition of Milton, with a life, and a tranſlation of his Latin and Italian poems. Mr. Hayley was already preparing a life of the ſame great poet for the preſs, and being mentioned in the public prints, as an antagoniſt of Cowper, he wrote to his ſuppoſed rival, in terms which generated a laſting friendſhip between them. In 1792, theſe new friends met, Mr. Hayley being Mr. Cowper's gueſt; and their friendſhip was carried to the higheſt pitch by Mr. Hayley's benevolent exertions for the recovery of Mrs. Unwin, who ſuffered under a paralytic attack. She recovered, though ſlowly, and was able in a few months to accompany Mr. Cowper, when he returned the viſit of his friend, and remained ſome time at Eartham. In the following year, Mr. Hayley's viſit was renewed, and he laboured earneſtly, though ineffectually, to perſuade Mr. Cowper to accept an invitation to Althorpe, where Lord Spencer deſired to ſee him, and where he would have met Mr. Gibbon. His ſtate, and that of his infirm friend and companion, Mrs. Unwin, are thus deſcribed. "He poſſeſſed completely at this period, all the admirable faculties of his mind; and all his native tenderneſs

derneſs of heart; but there was ſomething indeſcribable in his appearance, which led me to apprehend, that without ſome ſignal event in his favour, to re-animate his ſpirits, they would gradually ſink into hopeleſs dejection. The ſtate of his aged infirm companion afforded additional ground for increaſing ſolitude. Her cheerful and beneficent ſpirit could hardly reſiſt her own accumulated maladies, ſo far as to preſerve ability ſufficient to watch over the tender health of him, whom ſhe had watched and guarded ſo long. Imbecility of body and mind muſt gradually render this tender and heroic woman unfit for the charge which ſhe had ſo laudably ſuſtained. The ſigns of ſuch imbecility were beginning to be painfully viſible; nor can nature preſent a ſpectacle more truly pitiable than imbecility in ſuch a ſhape, eagerly graſping for dominion, which it knows not either how to retain, or how to relinquiſh."

Yet in theſe circumſtances, Cowper continued reviſing his Homer for a ſecond edition, writing occaſional poems on a great variety of ſubjects, and projected one in four books, to be called the Four Ages, and deſcribe the four diſtinct periods of life, infancy, youth, manhood, and old age. The increaſing infirmities of Cowper's aged companion, Mrs. Unwin, his filial ſolicitude to alleviate her ſufferings, and the gathering clouds of deeper deſpondency that began to ſettle on his mind, in the year 1794, not only rendered it impoſſible for him to advance in any great original performance, but to uſe his own expreſſive words, made all compoſition either of poetry or proſe impracticable. Imagination can hardly deviſe any human condition more truly affecting than the ſtate of the poet at this period. His generous and faithful guardian, Mrs. Unwin, who had preſerved him through ſeaſons of the ſevereſt calamity, was now, with her faculties and fortune impaired, ſinking faſt into ſecond childhood. The diſtreſs of heart that he felt in beholding the cruel change in a companion ſo juſtly dear to him, conſpiring with his conſtitutional melancholy, was gradually undermining the exquiſite faculties of his mind. But depreſt as he was by theſe complicated afflictions, Providence was far from deſerting this excellent man. His female relation, whoſe regard he had cultivated as his favourite correſpondent, now devoted herſelf very nobly to the ſuperintendance of a houſe, whoſe two intereſting inhabitants were rendered, by age and trouble, almoſt incapable of attending to the ordinary offices of life.

From this period, the narrative of the life of Cowper ceaſes to afford ſatisfaction or inſtruction. Recurring diſeaſe, with frequent privations of intellect; ſhort intervals of ſanity, and momentary gleams of talent; with hopes revived only to be diſappointed, and aſſiduities renewed even after the expectation of returning health had ceaſed, form the ſad characteriſtics of Cowper's remaining years. How much a mind ſo delicate as his, muſt have been ſuſtained by the gentle aids of his affectionate friends, during his long life of retirement, muſt be evident from the account already diſcloſed, but it is impoſſible for any, but thoſe who

who have clofely obferved a fimilar fcene, to judge of the conftant preffure on the mind and fpirits which is occafioned by the hourly needs and frequent fantafies of fuch a convalefcent. Even when moft in health, Cowper appears to have been little better than an invalid, and the perpetual foothing, which was neceffary to keep his mind in peace, would have exhaufted any but the moft affectionate and perfevering friendfhip. Mrs. Unwin was in 1794, reduced to the moft lamentable fituation of weaknefs, to Cowper the fkill of Dr. Willis was applied in vain, and Mr. Hayley, viewing his deplorable ftate, repeated in his behalf the prayer of Sampfon's friends in Milton, that God would turn his labours to peaceful end.

By the kindnefs of Lord Spencer, a penfion of 300l. was obtained for him from government, and his friends, confidering that change of fcene might be advantageous, conveyed him and Mrs. Unwin from Buckinghamfhire to North Tuddenham in Norfolk. They were afterward removed to various places in the neighbourhood, for change of air and fcene.

In June 1796, the preffure of Cowper's melancholy appeared, in fome degree, alleviated, for, on Mr. Johnfon's receiving the edition of Pope's Homer, publifhed by Mr. Wakefield, Cowper eagerly feized the book, and began to read the notes to himfelf with vifible intereft. They awakened his attention to his own verfion of Homer. In Auguft, he deliberately engaged in a revifal of the whole, and, for fome time, produced almoft fixty new lines a day. This mental occupation animated all his intimate friends with a moft lively hope of his fpeedy and perfect recovery. But Autumn repreffed the hope that fummer had excited. The long and exemplary life of Mrs. Unwin was drawing toward a clofe:—The powers of nature were gradually exhaufted, and on the feventeenth of December, fhe ended a troublefome exiftence, diftinguifhed by a fublime fpirit of piety and friendfhip, that fhone through long periods of calamity, and continued to glimmer through the diftrefsful twilight of her declining faculties. Her death was uncommonly tranquil. Cowper faw her about half an hour before the moment of expiration, which paffed without a ftruggle, or a groan, as the clock was ftriking one in the afternoon, at the age of feventy-fix.

Cowper continued, after this event, fometimes plunged in gloomy defpondency, from which he could not be arouſed by the greateft efforts of his friends, at others fufficiently poffeffed of his faculties to proceed in the revifal of his Homer, to write fhort poems, and to tranflate many compofitions into and from the dead languages. Thus he continued to exift till January, 1800, when a dropfical appearance in his legs induced Mr. Johnfon to have recourfe to freſh medical affiftance. In March his decline became more and more ftriking, and on the 25th of April he expired. The deplorable inquietude and darknefs of his latter years were mercifully terminated by a moft gentle and tranquil diffolution. He paffed through the awful moments of death fo mildly, that although five perfons were pre-

preſent, and obſerving him, in his chamber, not one of them perceived him to expire.

The perſon and mind of Cowper, Mr. Hayley obſerves, ſeem to have been formed with equal kindneſs by nature, and it may be queſtioned if ſhe ever beſtowed on any man with a fonder prodigality, all the requiſites to conciliate affection, and to inſpire reſpect. From his figure as it firſt appeared to me in his ſixty-ſecond year, I ſhould imagine that he muſt have been very comely in his youth; and little had time injured his countenance, ſince his features expreſſed at that period of life all the powers of his mind, and all the ſenſibilities of his heart. He was of a middle ſtature, rather ſtrong than delicate in the form of his limbs; the colour of his hair was a light brown, that of his eyes a bluiſh grey, and his complexion ruddy. In his dreſs he was neat, but not finical; in his diet temperate, and not dainty. He had an air of penſive reſerve in his deportment, and his extreme ſhyneſs ſometimes produced in his manners an indeſcribable mixture of awkwardneſs and dignity; but no being could be more truly graceful, when he was in perfect health, and perfectly pleaſed with his ſociety. Towards women in particular, his behaviour and converſation were delicate, and faſcinating in the higheſt degree. Nature had given him a warm conſtitution, and had he been proſperous in early love, it is probable that he might have enjoyed a more uniform and happy tenor of health. But a diſappointment of the heart, ariſing from the cruelty of fortune, threw a cloud on his juvenile ſpirit. Thwarted in love, the native fire of his temperament turned impetuouſly into the kindred channel of devotion. The ſmothered flames of deſire, uniting with the vapours of conſtitutional melancholy, and the fervency of religious zeal, produced altogether that irregularity of corporeal ſenſation, and of mental health, which gave ſuch extraordinary viciſſitudes of ſplendour, and of darkneſs to his mortal career, and made Cowper at times an idol of the pureſt admiration, and at times an object of the ſincereſt pity. As a ſufferer indeed, no man could be more intitled to compaſſion, for no man was ever more truly compaſſionate to the ſufferings of others. It was that rare portion of benevolent ſenſibility, in his nature, which endeared him to perſons of all ranks, who had opportunities of obſerving him in private life. He was beloved and revered with a ſort of idolatry in his family; not from any romantic ideas of his magical powers as a poet, but from that evangelical gentleneſs of manners, and purity of conduct, which illuminated the ſhade of his ſequeſtered life. His voice conſpired with his features to announce to all who ſaw and heard him, the extreme ſenſibility of his heart; and in reading aloud he furniſhed the chief delight of thoſe ſocial, enchanting winter evenings, which he has deſcribed ſo happily in the fourth book of the Taſk. Secluded from the world, as Cowper had long been, he yet retained, in advanced life, uncommon talents for converſation: and his converſation was diſtinguiſhed by mild and benevolent pleaſantry, by delicate humour peculiar to himſelf, or by a higher tone

tone of ſerious good ſenſe, and thoſe united charms of a cultivated mind. Cowper has been erroneouſly repreſented as a ſectary; he was deliberately attached to the eſtabliſhed religion of his country, and a moſt ardent friend to liberty, both civil and religious. He was alſo a good ſcholar, as he was verſed in Greek, and Latin, French and Italian; but the extraordinary incidents of his life precluded him from indulging himſelf in a multiplicity of books, and his reading was conformable to the rule of Pliny—"*Non multa, ſed multum.*"

Cowper poſſeſſed, in his original motives for appearing in the character of a poet, the beſt poſſible preſervative againſt this double infelicity of mind. His predominant deſire was to render his poetry an inſtrument of good to mankind: his love of fame was a ſecondary paſſion, and like all his paſſions in perfect ſubjection to the great principles of religious duty, which he made the rule of his life. Yet although he often lamented the ordinary malevolence of periodical criticiſm, as a diſgrace to literature, he looked with a noble contempt on ſuch malignity, when he ſaw it diſplayed againſt himſelf, and he exulted in the juſt idea that malice is ſometimes ſo extravagant, as to produce an effect directly oppoſite to its own baſe intention.

Such is the outline of the Memoirs of Cowper collected from the work of Mr. Hayley, but the volumes contain copious funds of inſtruction and entertainment, beyond what any extract can convey. If the mind of a man is worthy to be diſplayed, no means are ſo certain and ſo unexceptionable as his genuine Letters, written in plain ſincerity, and not deſigned for publication, connected by explanatory narrative. The Letters of Mr. Cowper, interſperſed with ſmall poems, and diſplaying all the varieties of ſerious and chaſtely humorous ſtyle, are a copious and uſeful addition to the ſtores of public information and delight. Nor are they ſo intirely confined to his own circumſtances, feelings and views, as might be expected from the Letters of a mere recluſe. That recluſe, it ſhould be remembered, had enlarged and liberal views of the world and its concerns, a grea acquaintance with books, and no ſmall knowledge of men; and accordingly, his Letters often contain juſt and ſomewhat ſurpriſing reflections on paſſing events, and almoſt always, when ancient or modern literature is mentioned, candid, learned and ingenious criticiſm. It is indeed moſt delightful to ſee a collection of Letters by an eminent author, compoſed during a long term of years, which contains not one phraſe or word which a pious or virtuous man would on his death bed regret to have written. Some opinions indeed may be diſputed, and particularly thoſe which ſo ſtrongly cenſure the education of youth in public ſchools, but the writer is, in general, nearly as free from error, and as largely endowed with religion and virtue as it is poſſible for mere man to be.

An Account of the Iſland of Ceylon, containing its Hiſtory, Geography, Natural Hiſtory, with the Manners and Cuſtoms of its various Inhabitants,

tants, to which is added, the Journal of an Embaſſy to the Court of Candy. By Captain Robert Percival, of his Majeſty's Eighteenth or Royal Iriſh Regiment.

IN dedicating this work to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, the author pays him the following well-merited compliment. "To your Royal Highneſs, any individual of the Britiſh armies addreſſes himſelf with peculiar confidence, ſince their welfare and encouragement have appeared the principal objects of your life, ever ſince the attainment of your preſent exalted ſituation. When I ſay that a ſteady diſcipline and a ſpirit of loyalty have been uniformly conſpicuous in the army; that the condition of the ſoldier has in every reſpect been improved, and that every comfort of which his ſituation is ſuſceptible is now attained: when I attribute all theſe advantages to the regulations and the cares of your Royal Highneſs, I only ſpeak the ſentiments of every officer and every private in his Majeſty's ſervice. To him therefore he recommends the deſcription of a Colony, the retention of which in our hands muſt prove of the greateſt benefit to our Eaſt India trade, and our commerce in general."

Captain Percival arrived in Ceylon ſoon after its capture, and made it his great endeavour to obtain all the information which an officer in his ſituation had it in his power to collect. It is with pleaſure we obſerve that, of late years, it has become uſual with Britiſh officers employed on expeditions, to ſurvey with attention the places to which they are ſent, and to record the reſult of their obſervations. The Engliſh officers being, as Mr. Windham has juſtly obſerved in a parliamentary debate of the preſent year, better gentlemen than thoſe in any other ſervice, this mode of ſhewing their literary acquirements, is at once honourable and advantageous. The benefit to themſelves and the country would be complete if it could be made a faſhion, and even a duty among them, to take military ſurveys, and to form plans and write memoirs on the fortification, attack and defence of every place where they are ſtationed, both at home and abroad. Such productions would not, indeed, find their way to the bookſellers, but beſide the benefit which the nation would derive from a ſelect collection of them at the war-office, the officers themſelves would be infinitely improved by the habit of buſineſs and of obſervation thus acquired. The officers in the French army never omit ſuch labours, and their operations, in whatever country they may be placed, are much facilitated by the documents and intelligence thus accumulated.

In the work now under conſideration, the author begins with a Hiſtory of the Iſland previous to its being taken poſſeſſion of by the Engliſh. He was induced, he ſays, by curioſity, and the contradictory and romantic accounts he had heard of this Iſland, to make particular inquiries with regard to its preſent ſtate; and found an agreeable amuſement in taking notes of ſuch facts and objects as appeared remarkable. In the proſecution of his inquiries, however, he found that they might be rendered conducive to objects of infinitely

finitely greater importance than temporary amuſement. The accounts hitherto publiſhed of this Iſland had been extremely imperfect; as the watchful jealouſy of the Dutch both excluded the reſearches of ſtrangers, and prevented their own people from publiſhing any obſervations which they might have made during their ſtay in the Iſland. Owing to theſe, and other cauſes, the information to be derived from the Dutch was very ſcanty and imperfect. "Previous to the arrival of the Portugueſe," Captain Percival obſerves, "little is known of the Iſland of Ceylon. It is ſaid to have been celebrated for its ſpices even in the earlieſt ages; and it is hence that Solomon is ſuppoſed to have brought the ſpiceries and precious ſtones, for the uſe and embelliſhment of his temple. Such vague traditions, however, are nowiſe to be depended upon; and the traditions of the natives throw no light whatever on the ancient ſtate of the Iſland. In the traditionary accounts which are current among the Ceyloneſe, we have nothing more than a mere catalogue of ſome of their princes accompanied by a long liſt of high ſounding titles, and ſome unintereſting details of their petty wars and commotions. From ſome of theſe accounts which have been committed to manuſcript, we learn that Lankaw Patti Mahadaſeyn, or much beloved offſpring of the always moving Sun, who lived at a diſtant period, was ſovereign of the whole Iſland. His two grandſons, however, quarrelled about the poſſeſſions which had been left them, and at laſt compromiſed their diſputes by dividing the Iſland between them; to the one were allotted the interior parts which form the preſent kingdom of Candy, and to the other all the low country bordering on the ſea coaſts. This diviſion of the iſland gave riſe to a long ſeries of civil wars, and was the cauſe of much blood-ſhed. It alſo ſet the example of partitioning the kingdom among the children of the ſovereign; and owing to this cauſe there were not leſs than ſix or ſeven princes who reigned at the ſame time over ſeparate diviſions of Ceylon. By this means a ſpirit of diſſenſion, and ideas of ſeparate intereſt, were introduced among the natives of the ſeveral provinces; and although they became afterwards united under the ſame monarch, yet they were rendered leſs zealous in the common cauſe, and more apt to be moved by the arts of their enemies, who found their intereſts in ſtirring up the civil commotions among them. After the Iſland had long been haraſſed by the perpetual quarrels of its Princes, Zinale Darma Seria Adaſeyn at laſt was enabled to ſubdue all his competitors, and to eſtabliſh himſelf firmly as its ſole monarch. He married his couſin, who was ſo famed for her perſonal charms, as to acquire the name of Roke Wandiggie, or the beautiful Queen. From this union ſprung the Princes who ruled over Ceylon when it was firſt viſited by the Portugueſe, in 1505."

An intereſting account follows of the ſtate of the Iſland, during the aſcendancy of the Portugueſe, which was ſucceeded by that of the Dutch. Theſe people having acquired poſſeſſion and power by the alternate uſe of fraud and

force, retained it till near the end of the laſt century. Such was the difficulty of approaching that iſland, except in a very few points, and ſuch was the ſtrength of the Dutch, and the weakneſs of moſt other nations in that quarter of the globe, that very few attempts were made to wreſt it from them. Soon after the expulſion of the Portugueſe, the French ſeemed inclined to diſpute the poſſeſſion of Ceylon. They appeared off the Iſland with a large fleet, entered into a treaty with the native Prince, and avowed their determination to drive out the Dutch. All theſe threatening movements however ended in nothing; an enterprize planned without wiſdom was executed without ſpirit, and imaginary obſtacles prevented the French from even attempting to gain a footing on the Iſland.

An attempt of the Engliſh, towards the concluſion of the American war, was likely to prove more formidable to the power of the Dutch in Ceylon. The vigorous enterprize of the Engliſh had already procured them a great aſcendancy in India; and they were at this time purſuing their conqueſts on the Coromandel coaſt. The ſtation of the Dutch at Ceylon proved a principal obſtacle to their enterprizes, as their enemies there found a ſecure ſhelter to their fleets at all ſeaſons of the year, and could readily tranſport from thence men and military ſtores to any part of the continent. A fleet under the command of Sir Edward Hughes, having on board a detachment of land forces, commanded by Sir Hector Munro, was therefore diſpatched towards the commencement of the year 1782, to attempt the reduction of this Iſland. On the ſecond of January they ſailed from Negapatnam, a Dutch ſettlement on the Coromandel coaſt, which they had previouſly reduced, and on the fourth they arrived in the bay of Trincomalee. Next day the troops landed without oppoſition; and on the following night, while the governor of the town was conſidering of terms of capitulation, a company of Engliſh marines ſuddenly made their way through one of the gates, and rendered themſelves maſters of the place without reſiſtance. Fort Oſtenburg, a ſtrong fort in the neighbourhood, ſituated on the top of a hill, and commanding the harbour, ſtill continued to hold out. In a few days, however, it was taken by aſſault; the garriſon, conſiſting of four hundred Europeans, after a feeble reſiſtance, threw down their arms, and were made priſoners of war. Such a proſperous commencement of the enterprize gave the happieſt proſpect of ſpeedily reducing the whole Iſland; and Lord Macartney, then governor of Madras, determined to loſe no time to ſecure and improve this valuable acquiſition. An officer of experience and judgment was appointed to command the fortreſs of Trincomalee; and he was charged to endeavour by every means to conciliate the natives to the Engliſh, and to neglect no meaſure which could tend to ſtrengthen the Britiſh intereſt in the Iſland. The moſt ſanguine hopes were entertained of the ſucceſs of this enterprize; but this fair proſpect was ſoon converted into a ſtriking leſſon, that dilatory

mea-

measures are utterly incompatible with success in military operations. It was retaken by Suffrein, and all further efforts against it were unavailing. In the last war it was captured by the English without any great effort, and their possession of it was confirmed by the Treaty of Amiens.

The author next gives a general description of the Island, its form, climate, rivers, and other characteristic circumstances, together with the dependent isles, which are in considerable number, and about which much new information is afforded. The pearl fishery, with its concomitant incidents is described with minuteness and with spirit. It abounds in curious particulars respecting the fishery itself, and the manners, superstitions and frauds of those employed in it. An account is next given of Putallom, remarkable for its salt pans. This place, before the arrival of Europeans on the Island, supplied the natives with salt; and on account of its convenient situation, was pitched upon by the Dutch for manufacturing the salt with which they supplied the King of Candy's dominions, according to the articles of their treaty with him. The salt pans are formed by an arm of the sea, which overflows part of the country between Putallom and Calpenteen. A very large quantity of salt was manufactured here by the Dutch; they looked upon it as of the highest importance to their interests in the Island, and the most formidable weapon which it was in their power to employ against the native King, as it was impossible for him to procure any but through their means. Since we have obtained possession of the Island this manufacture has been almost entirely neglected. It is capable however of being rendered very profitable, as it is the only one of the kind on this side of the Island, and the most conveniently situated for supplying the King of Candy's dominions. The Dutch enacted severe laws to prevent individuals from manufacturing or trading in this article, the government taking upon itself the management of the works, and the care of supplying both its own subjects and the Candians. In order to keep a constant check on the latter, the Dutch were careful not to allow them too great a quantity at once; and whatever remained at Putallom, after supplying the demand of each year, they destroyed, that it might not be seized upon by surprize. The village of Nigumbo is also noticed, and a narrative ensues of the capture of Colombo, the capital of the Island, by the English, together with a copious description of the town, its fort, harbour and in habitants.

Colombo, the capital of Ceylon, and the seat of Government, Mr. Percival observes, is a place of very considerable extent. Although Trincomalee, on account of its situation and harbour, be of more consequence to this nation to retain, yet Colombo in every other respect is greatly superior. The number of its inhabitants is much greater; its fort and Black town are much larger; the country where it is situated far more fertile, and the rich district depending upon it much wider, being not less than twenty leagues in length, and ten in breadth. It is situated

in the weſt, or rather towards the ſouth weſt part of the Iſland, in about 7° north latitude, and 78° eaſt longitude from London. He then copiouſly deſcribes the town and fort and harbour. "The houſes," he ſays, "are covered with indented tiles; very indifferently indeed, as I have had occaſion to remember from experience. During the rainy ſeaſon moſt of them admit water in ſuch a manner that it is difficult to find a dry ſpot to place one's head under. I have frequently been obliged to exert my ingenuity on ſuch occaſions; and after all, could barely make ſhift to ſleep a whole night in one place without getting drenched. The chief cauſe of theſe diſaſters to the tiles, ariſes from the crows who are in the habit of picking up bones and other things from the ſtreets and yards, and carrying them to the tops of the houſes, where a ſtout battle uſually enſues for the plunder, to the great annoyance of the people below, and the continual deſtruction of the tiles. The monkies alſo, a number of whom run wild about the fort, are often very troubleſome, and lend their aſſiſtance in demoliſhing the tiles. Both the crows and the monkies know how to avail themſelves of any entrance, which they find or make into the houſes; and it requires no ſmall attention to prevent them from picking up looſe articles. While I was at Colombo, I recollect a very miſchievous monkey who uſed to run wild about the fort, and was ſo very cunning, that it was impoſſible to catch him. One day he ſuddenly made his entrance into my apartment, carried off a loaf of bread from my table, and made his eſcape. I immediately gave the alarm to an officer I obſerved ſtanding at the next door; upon which he ran in to ſecure his own breakfaſt; but, to his great mortification, found that the monkey had been before-hand with him, and was already ſcrambling up to the roofs of the houſes with a loaf in each paw. Next day the ſame monkey ſnatched off a very fine parrot before the gentleman's face to which it belonged, tore it to pieces, and then held it out to the gentleman, with many expreſſions of ſatisfaction and triumph at the exploit."

The adjacent country, and the different claſſes of inhabitants next engage the attention of the author. The Dutch, he ſays, and indeed the Europeans of every other nation but our own, who are born and reſide in India, differ much in their habits and modes of life from thoſe of Europe. Our own countrymen alone, in whatever climate or ſituation they are placed, ſtill remain ſteady to the manners and cuſtoms of Great Britain; and though the prejudices of the people among whom they live, and the nature of the climate, may force them to make occaſional deviations, yet they never altogether loſe ſight of their native habits. The chief trait of the original Dutch character, which thoſe in Ceylon retain, is their fondneſs for gin and tobacco: in other reſpects they adopt the cuſtoms and liſtleſs habits of the country. As they make no effort to increaſe their knowledge, and even appear to have no curioſity, they are of courſe ignorant and ſtupid, without capacity, and without deſire of excelling by exertion.

Their

Their children are treated with the ſame neglect as other objects, and are uſually committed to the care of the ſlaves. Their ſelfiſh and contracted minds become equally callous to the feelings of humanity, and their poor ſlaves are treated with cruelty upon the ſlighteſt provocation, and often from mere caprice. The converſation of women, which has tended ſo much to humanize the world, forms very little of a Ceyloneſe Dutchman's entertainment. Although the ladies make part of the company, yet they experience none of that attention and politeneſs to which the fair ſex are accuſtomed in Europe. After the firſt ſalutations are over, the men ſeem to forget that the ladies are at all preſent; and will ſit a whole evening talking politics over their pipes, without once addreſſing the women, or taking the leaſt notice of them. When ſuch is the treatment which they experience from the men, it is not to be expected that the women can be very poliſhed or ſkilled in the arts of pleaſing. In the forenoons their dreſs is particularly ſlovenly. I have ſeen many in a morning with only a petticoat and a looſe gown or jacket upon them, their hair rolled up in a knot on the crown of their heads, and without either ſhoes or ſtockings; and yet theſe very women at their evening parties appeared dreſſed out in abundance of finery. Their minds are ſtill leſs cultivated than their bodies; and they are nearly as ignorant on their wedding day as in their infancy; they are early given up entirely to the management of the female ſlaves, from whom they imbibe manners, habits, and ſuperſtitious notions, of which they can never afterwards diveſt themſelves. As they find ſuch a cold reception among the men, they are glad to return to the attentions and obeiſance paid them in the ſociety of their ſlaves, to which they have been moſt accuſtomed. Their morals, being derived from the ſame ſource, are equally deſtitute of dignity or virtue, as their manners are of politeneſs.

A race known by the name of *Portugueſe* forms another part of the inhabitants of Ceylon. They are a mixture of the ſpurious deſcendants of the ſeveral European poſſeſſors of that Iſland by native women, joined to a number of Moors and Malabars. A colour more approaching to black than white, with a particular mode of dreſs, half Indian, and half European, is all that is neceſſary to procure the appellation of a Portugueſe. The manners of the Portugueſe inhabitants differ from thoſe of the Moors, Malabars, and other Mahometans. They affect rather to adopt thoſe of the Europeans; and wear hats inſtea of the turbans, and breeches inſtead of pieces of cloth which other Indians wear wrapped round their waiſts, and drawn together between their legs like looſe trowſers. Although the Black Portugueſe univerſally profeſs the Chriſtian religion, and are commonly Roman Catholics, yet they retain many pagan cuſtoms, and their religion may be conſidered as a compound of both.

The Malays form another race, and of them, their manners, propenſities and habits, a very full account is given. The particulars are too

long to be tranſcribed, but the ſtatement of the animoſity with which the Dutch had inſpired them againſt the Engliſh deſerves to be noticed. "The Dutch Government of Ceylon had always a regiment of Malays in their ſervice. That corps for a conſiderable time paſt ſeemed to form the ſtrength of their garriſons, and were the only troops which kept up diſcipline; or diſplayed any ſort of bravery in the field. I have already mentioned that it was from them alone that our troops met with any oppoſition either at Colombo or Trincomalee. They ſeemed, indeed, to have imbibed ſuch a rooted averſion for the Engliſh, that there was at firſt little appearance of their ever becoming our friends. This hatred had been inſpired by the ungenerous policy of the Dutch, who endeavoured to ſecure their colonies by cheriſhing among the natives an implacable deteſtation of the other European nations, and in particular by repreſenting the Engliſh as a nation of cruel and inhuman tyrants, who carried deſtruction and oppreſſion wherever they came. Theſe baſe and unjuſtifiable arts were not however always confined to mere miſrepreſentation; but the maſſacre of foreigners was at times had recourſe to as a meaſure of precaution. The infamous affair at Amboyna has through the whole world circulated the eternal diſgrace of the Dutch name. There is another inſtance of their abominable policy which is leſs known in Europe, but has excited general indignation in the eaſtern world. In the year 1798, Captain Packenham of the Reſiſtance, happening to be with his ſhip at Timar, one of the ſpice Iſlands which we have lately conquered, he was invited, along with his officers, by the Dutch Governor to an entertainment. Some circumſtances prevented the Captain from accepting the invitation: his officers however went, and found with aſtoniſhment and horror, that the Dutch had made hoſpitality a pretext to obtain an opportuuity of aſſaſſinating them. They were ſet upon without the leaſt warning, and the firſt Lieutenant and one or two more infamouſly murdered with ſome Sepoys, who attempted to defend their officers. The ſurgeon, however, who was a very ſtrong man, with the aſſiſtance of a couple of Sepoys fought his way to the beach, and made good his retreat to the ſhip. Upon the ſurgeon's repreſenting this barbarous conduct of the Dutch, Captain Packenham inſtantly gave orders to fire upon the town, and it was in conſequence ſoon reduced to aſhes. The Dutch inhabitants, and all thoſe who were concerned in the maſſacre, fled precipitately into the interior of the iſland. Several of the perpetrators of the crime were afterwards taken, and ſuffered for their treachery. By ſuch arts as I have deſcribed, the Dutch ſucceeded in inſpiring the Malays with the moſt rooted averſion to our countrymen; and there was no piece of atrocity which they were not ready to commit on our troops. Several of the Malays have ſince told me, that on our taking poſſeſſion of Ceylon, their minds had been exaſperated to ſuch a degree by miſrepreſen-

representation, and an assurance of the Dutch that the English would give them no quarter, as to determine them to do us all the mischief in their power. The cowardly and base conduct of the Dutch, however, both in yielding without resistance to our troops, and in abandoning the Malays, who fought their battles, to their fate, has completely alienated the Malays from their former masters. They now look upon the Dutch with contempt, and call to mind their former tyrannical behaviour; while the brave and open conduct of the English has gone far to do away their former prejudices against us. After the capture of Colombo, the Malays for the first time during our long intercourse with India entered into our service. The regiment stationed there in the service of the Dutch was brought over to the British, and the command given to Captain Whitlie, one of the East India Company's officers. By his assiduous exertions, and judicious conduct in the management of them during a considerable time, this corps was brought to a very excellent state of discipline, and rendered much attached to our Government. They have since behaved universally with great respect and obedience to their European officers, and from being always well used by us have contracted a sincere regard to our service."

The native Ceylonese are next described. Those under the dominion of Europeans retain their original appellation of *Cingleſe*, while those who live in those parts which acknowledge only the authority of their native Princes, are distinguished by the name of *Candians*, from the country they inhabit. The constant intercourse of the Cingleſe with Europeans, and the aversion which the Candians have uniformly entertained to their several invaders, have introduced considerable shades of difference into the manners of these two branches of the same people; but in most points they still continue to resemble each other. Their manners and customs are peculiar in many respects, and not without interest. Their language appears almost completely peculiar to this Island. It is spoken by none of the Malabars or other nations on the continent of India; nor can any of them be instructed in it without considerable difficulty. They divide their time nearly as we do, only their year commences on the 28th of March. The manner in which they make allowance for Leap year, and the odd portions of time which are not reducible to the regular calculation, is by beginning their year a day sooner or later, or in other words by adding a day to the former year. Their learning and arts are at a very low ebb.

Their religion is disfigured by the most absurd superstition. Omens regulate their whole conduct, and even decide on their destiny from their birth. When a child is born, the first step is to call the astrologer, and enquire of him whether it is destined to be fortunate or unfortunate. If the astrologer declares it was born to misfortune, they frequently anticipate its future evils by destroying it. On going out in a morning, they anxiously observe the first ob-

ject which occurs to them, and according to their opinion of its good or bad luck, they prognosticate whether the business they go about shall be prosperous or unsuccessful. A white man, or a woman with child, are looked upon as omens particularly fortunate; but to meet with a beggar or a deformed person, they account it a grievous mischance, and will not proceed for that day on their intended business if they can avoid it. Many, even of those who have been converted to Christianity, still labour under their original terrors; and look with regret and envy on the fortitude of the Europeans that are able to resist these delusions; for delusions they own and believe them to be, even while they groan under their influence. Their devotion is a mixed or rather multifarious worship. Beside the one Supreme Being, who is worshipped as the Creator and Ruler of heaven and earth, they have a number of inferior deities, as well as tormenting demons. The inferior deities, who watch over them for good, are supposed to be the souls of good men; while the demons are looked upon as the spirits of the wicked; and both are supposed to act by the permission of the Supreme Being. The next in dignity to him is their God Buddon, the Saviour of Souls. This idea of a Saviour seems in some degree to pervade every religion in the world, although tainted by a variety of different superstitions which are joined to it; and what is remarkable, the expectations formed from the interference of this Saviour are in almost every religion nearly the same. Buddon, according to the most general tradition, was originally the spirit of a good man, who was again sent to revisit the earth; and after having performed a prodigious number of virtuous actions, and been transformed into a hundred and ninety-nine different shapes, re-ascended into Heaven, and is still employed in procuring the pardon of his worshippers. The priests of Buddon are in Ceylon accounted superior to all others. They are called *Tirinanxes*, and are held in high estimation at the Court of Candy, where indeed they have the chief management of affairs. The king has no authority over them, but endeavours to gain their good-will by respecting their immunities, and loading them with distinctions. The priests of the inferior deities, called Gonies, though dressed in the same manner with the Tirinanxes, are easily distinguishable by the smaller degree of respect which is paid them. They are continually met in their wandering excursions over the island; and, like all these of the same class in India, are a set of lazy, impudent vagabonds, who, without any exertion or industry, are enabled to live well by the extortions which they practise on the people. The immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body, are tenets firmly believed among all the Ceyloneſe. They believe that the souls of the just are immediately after death admitted into the rank of Gods, and that their ancient prophets and good kings are long since employed in exercising the powers of this station: while on the other hand, the souls of the wicked, particularly of unjust tyrants

rants and impious prieſts, are ſuppoſed to have paſſed into wild beaſts and reptiles.

The dominions of Candy, with the civil and military eſtabliſhments of the Sovereign, are next deſcribed, and the differences between the Cingleſe and Candians particularly noticed.

In another chapter an extraordinary race of people called Bedahs or Vaddahs is deſcribed. They inhabit the deepeſt receſſes of the woods, and their origin has never been traced, as no other race can be found in the eaſtern world which correſponds with them. They are generally ſuppoſed to have been the aboriginal inhabitants of the Iſland, who, upon being overwhelmed by their Cingleſe invaders, preferred the independence of ſavages, to a tame ſubmiſſion. A current tradition, however, aſſigns them a different origin. It is related that they were caſt away on the iſland, and choſe to ſettle there; but refuſing, upon a certain occaſion, to aſſiſt the King in his wars againſt ſome foreign enemies, they were driven out from the ſociety of the natives, and forced to take up their abode in the moſt unfrequented foreſts. Some imagine that the Bedahs are merely a part of the native Candians, who choſe to retain their ancient ſavage freedom, when their brethren of the plains and vallies ſubmitted to the cultivation of the earth, and the reſtraints of ſociety. This opinion reſts intirely on thoſe Bedahs, who are moſt known, ſpeaking a broken dialect of the Cingleſe. It is, however, by no means aſcertained that this is the univerſal language of the Bedahs; nor is any account of their origin ſupported by the ſlighteſt ſhadow of proof. The Bedahs are ſcattered over the woods in different parts of Ceylon, but are moſt numerous in the province of Bintan, which lies to the north eaſt of Candy in the direction of Trincomalee and Batacolo. The tribe found in this quarter acknowledges no authority but that of its own chief and religious men. They are completely ſavage here, and have never entered into any intercourſe with the other natives, or ſcarcely ever ſeen by them. They ſubſiſt entirely by hunting deer and other animals, with which their foreſts ſupply them. The cultivation of the ground is an art which they never attempt to practiſe. They ſleep either on trees or at the foot of them: and in the latter caſe, they place thorns and other buſhes all around them to keep off wild beaſts, or by their ruſtling to give warning of their approach. As ſoon as the leaſt noiſe rouſes his apprehenſion, the Bedah climbs up the tree with the utmoſt expertneſs and celerity. As the Bedahs chiefly live by the produce of the chace, they acquire by habit an aſtoniſhing dexterity in this employment. They learn to ſteal through the buſhes ſo warily and ſilently, that they often come unperceived within reach of the deer; when they throw their little axes ſo dexterouſly, that the animal ſeldom eſcapes alive. The dogs of the Bedahs are remarkable for their ſagacity, and not only readily trace out game, but alſo diſtinguiſh one ſpecies of animal from another. On the approach of any carnivorous animal, or of a ſtranger, they immediately put their maſters upon their guard. Theſe faithful animals

mals are indeed invaluable to them, and conſtitute their chief riches. When their daughters are married, hunting dogs form their portion; and a Bedah is as unwilling to part with his dog as an Arabian with his horſe.

Thoſe Bedahs who venture to converſe with the other natives, are repreſented to be courteous, and in addreſs far beyond their ſtate of civilization. Their religion is little known. They have their inferior deities correſponding to the demons of the Cingleſe, and obſerve certain feſtivals. On theſe occaſions victuals of various ſorts are placed at the root of a tree, and the ceremonies of the feſtival conſiſt in dancing round them.

The animals of Ceylon are next deſcribed, beginning with the Elephant, concerning whom many new and curious particulars are diſcloſed. Horſes are little uſed for draft or burthen, thoſe labours are chiefly performed by oxen and buffaloes. Among the wild beaſts of the Iſland, are the tyger and the tyger-cat, the leopard, though not often found, the jackall, the hyena and the bear, a great variety of monkies, which are very deſtructive; porcupines, racoons, armadilloes, ſquirrels and mungooſes.

The Indian ichneumon is a ſmall creature, in appearance between a weazel and a mungooſe. It is of infinite uſe to the natives from its inveterate enmity to ſnakes, which would otherwiſe render every footſtep of the traveller dangerous. The proofs of ſagacity which I have ſeen in this little animal are truly ſurprizing, and afford a beautiful inſtance of the wiſdom with which Providence has fitted the powers of every animal to its particular ſituation on the globe. This diminutive creature, on ſeeing a ſnake ever ſo large, will inſtantly dart on it and ſeize it by the throat, provided he finds himſelf in an open place where he has an opportunity of running to a certain herb, which he knows inſtinctively to be an antidote againſt the poiſon of the bite, if he ſhould happen to receive one.

The flormouſe, or flying fox, like the bat, partakes of the appearance both of the bird and quadruped; and its name is derived from the great reſemblance of its head and body to the fox. Its body is about the ſize of an ordinary cat: the wings when extended meaſure from the tip of the one to that of the other upwards of ſix feet; and the length of the animal from the noſe to the tail, of which it has barely the name, is about two feet. The flormouſe lives in the woods, and perches on the talleſt trees. While aſleep or inactive theſe animals ſuſpend themſelves by the feet from the branches, and continue to hang in this manner as if they were dead. The night is the ſeaſon of their activity: at that time they fly about with a horrid noiſe, and devour all the fruit which they can come at. To prevent their ravages, ſtrong nets are thrown over the fruit trees, and a ſort of rattle made of pieces of board ſo contrived as to clap together and frighten them away with its noiſe. The flying foxes alſo ſee by day, and often fly about obſerving where fruit is to be found; but they defer their attack upon it till night, and generally keep among the thick woods till dark.

The

The rats are very numerous and exceedingly troublesome. There are species besides those common in Europe: the most observable are the blind-rat, the musk-rat, and the bandy-coot. The musk-rat, or perfuming-shrew, is very small, with a long snout, much extended beyond the under jaw. In running about it makes a squeaking noise like a squirrel, but much shriller and louder. From the intolerable smell of musk which accompanies, and remains behind, these animals wherever they go, they are very disagreeable inmates; and there is scarcely a house, in Colombo particularly, which has not been strongly scented by them in every corner. Many articles are rendered entirely useless by the smell of musk which they communicate in merely running over them. For it is a certain fact, that of so penetrating a nature is their effluvia, that if they even pass over a bottle of wine ever so well corked and sealed up, it becomes so strongly tainted with musk that it cannot be used; and a whole cask may be rendered useless in the same manner.

The birds of Ceylon are a very numerous class. All sorts of our domestic poultry, turkeys excepted, are natives of the island; and there are few birds found in our woods or marshes that do not here abound. Ducks, geese, pheasants, parrots, and parroquets, are all found in great numbers, both wild and tame; and usually in flocks. The *lowrie*, or *lory* is a species of parrot, and varies in its size. Snipes are found in great plenty in the hot season, which is the best time for shooting them. The florican is a species of the crane kind, about the size and weight of a large capon, and is esteemed excellent eating. The banks of the rivers and lakes abound with storks, cranes, herons, and water-fowls of various descriptions. Woodpeckers are found with beautiful top knots of a golden colour. Pigeons, both wild and tame, form a prominent part of the Island of Ceylon. The most remarkable species is the cinnamon pigeon, so called from being particularly partial to the cinnamon woods. It is of a beautiful green colour, and is as large as our common fowl. There are a few partridges, of the small red-legged kind, found on the west coasts between Nigumbo and Manaar.

Among a great variety of smaller birds, we particularly distinguish the honey-bird. It is so called from a peculiar instinct by which it discovers the honey concealed in trees. As if designed for the service of the human species, this bird continues to flutter about and make a great noise till it has attracted the notice of some person, and induced him to follow the course it points out to him. It then flutters before him, till it has led him to the tree where the bees have lodged their treasure. The man then carries off the honey, leaving a little for the use of the bird, which silently and contentedly watches till it is permitted to enjoy its reward. As soon as it has eaten up its portion, it renews its noise, and goes in quest of another tree, followed by the man, who finds a guide here provided for him by nature. The crows here, as in every other part of India, are exceedingly impudent and troublesome; and it is found very difficult to exclude them from the houses, which,

which, on account of the heat, are built open, and much expoſed to ſuch intruders. They are ſo audacious, that, like the fabled harpies, they will frequently ſnatch bread and meat from the dining table, even when it is ſurrounded with gueſts. In ſhape they exactly reſemble our common crow, but in ſize are generally ſmaller. They abound in every town, fort and village, on the iſland: as if particularly addicted to the ſociety of man, they are continually ſeen hopping about among the habitations, and are very rarely to be met with in woods or retired places. Theſe animals, however, though ſo exceedingly troubleſome, and continually on the watch to pick up every thing that comes within their reach, ſtill are not to be conſidered as an unneceſſary peſt entailed upon the inhabitants of that part of the globe. The crows, in fact, are very important benefactors to the Indians, and by their utility amply compenſate for their troubleſome knaveries. As they are all voracious devourers of carrion, and inſtantly eat up all ſorts of dirt, offal, and dead vermin as ſoon as they appear; they carry off thoſe ſubſtances which, if allowed to remain, would in this hot climate produce the moſt noxious ſmells, and probably give riſe to putrid diſorders. On this account the crows are much eſteemed by the natives, their miſchievous tricks and impudence are put up with, and they are never ſuffered to be ſhot or otherwiſe deſtroyed.

The kites and vultures are very deſtructive to the feathered tribes of the foreſt; but where troops are encamped, are, like the crows, very uſeful in removing all noiſome matters.

The Indian Roller is a bird remarkable for the beauty of its plumage: its tail is ornamented with two feathers of ſingular appearance and remarkable length.

The yellow crowned thruſh, which is here kept in cages, is remarkable for its powers of imitation, and can readily repeat every note which it hears. It is called in Ceylon, the Miner, and is blackiſh with a yellow bill and head.

The peculiarities of the Taylor-bird are well known. There are, beſides, in Ceylon, two ſpecies of fly-catchers, ſwallows which never migrate, two ſpecies of the peacock, and a bird called the jungle fowl.

The reptiles and inſects of Ceylon are exceedingly numerous, and there are ſeveral ſpecies very little known. Serpents particularly abound; among them are the covra-capello, the covra-marilla, the whip-ſnake, the graſs-ſnake, the water-ſnake, and the wood-ſnake. The rock-ſnake is an immenſe animal, extending to thirty-feet in length; it inhabits chiefly the rocky banks of rivers. Its colour is greyiſh with broad white ſtreaks. Theſe ſnakes, though formidable from their immenſe ſize, are perfectly free from poiſon. They are, however, deſtructive to ſome of the ſmaller animals, and will devour kids, goats, hogs, poultry, &c. firſt twiſting their tail round their prey, to break its bones and ſqueeze it to death. Before I arrived in the Iſland, ſays Mr. Percival, I had heard many ſtories of a monſtrous ſnake, ſo vaſt in ſize, as to be able to devour tigers and buffaloes, and ſo daring as even to attack

attack the Elephant. I made every enquiry on the ſpot concerning this terrible animal, but not one of the natives had ever heard of the monſter. Probably theſe fabulous ſtories took their riſe from an exaggerated account of the rock-ſnake.

Alligators of an immenſe ſize infeſt all the rivers of Ceylon, and render them every where very dangerous: many perſons continually fall victims to them.

The Guana in appearance very much reſembles the alligator. It is a very diſguſting animal to look at, but is perfectly harmleſs, and lives in holes in the ground. It is eſteemed good food by the natives, and makes excellent curry, or rich ſoup. The fleſh taſtes very like that of a rabbit.

An immenſe number of toads, lizards, blood-ſuckers, camelions, and a variety of others of the ſame claſs abound every where throughout the Iſland.

Beſides the leeches employed by the apothecaries, there is another ſpecies which infeſt in immenſe numbers the woods and ſwampy grounds of Ceylon, particularly in the rainy ſeaſon, to the great annoyance of every one who paſſes through them. The leeches of this ſpecies are very ſmall, not much larger than a pin; and are of a dark red colour, ſpeckled. In their motions they do not crawl like a worm, or like the leeches we are accuſtomed to ſee in Europe; but keep conſtantly ſpringing, by firſt fixing their head on a place, and then bringing their tail up to it with a ſudden jerk, while at the ſame time their head is thrown forwards for another hold. In this manner they move ſo exceedingly quick, that before they are perceived, they contrive to get upon one's clothes, when they immediately endeavour by ſome aperture to find an entrance to the ſkin. As ſoon as they reach it, they begin to draw blood; and as they can effect this even through the light clothing worn in this climate, it is almoſt impoſſible to paſs through the woods and ſwamps in rainy weather without being covered with blood. Other animals, as well as man, are ſubject to the attacks of theſe leeches. Horſes in particular, from their exceſſive plunging and kicking to get rid of theſe creatures when they faſten upon them, render it very unſafe for any one to ride through the woods of the interior.

A ſpecies of flying lizard is found here, furniſhed with membranes, extending along its ſides in the form of wings, with which it is enabled to take its flight from tree to tree. It is not above nine inches long, and is perfectly harmleſs, although it is the only animal known which reſembles the fabled dragon. The inſects of Ceylon are extremely numerous. There are ſeveral ſpecies of ſpiders found, of uncommon ſize and poiſonous. Flies, beetles, butterflies, muſkettoes, cockroaches, with almoſt every inſect known in Europe, are here found, of curious ſhapes, and ornamented with a variety of colours. Ground lice and ticks plague the dogs to ſuch a degree as almoſt to make them mad. Ants, which are here found of every ſpecies, are another peſt, in addition to the leeches; they are of various ſpecies, including the white ant, which in the ſpace of one night, will demoliſh and eat up all the boots, ſhoes and

and bottoms of trunks which come in their way, or are left on the ground. This is never done but by the careleſſneſs of the black ſervants. In camp, the furniture of the tents is placed on inverted bottles, with their necks planted in the ground, which, on account of the ſlippery nature of the glaſs, cannot be climbed up by the ants. In the dwelling houſes, the trunks, chairs and bed poſts are for the ſame reaſon placed in tin veſſels full of water.

There are beſides black ſcorpions and centipedes; a ſpider with legs not leſs than four inches long, and having the body covered with thick black hair. The webs which it makes are ſtrong enough to entangle and hold even ſmall birds, which form its uſual prey. There is alſo an inſect found here, which reſembles an immenſe overgrown beetle. It is called a carpenter, from its boring large holes in timber, of a regular form, and to the depth of ſeveral feet, in which when finiſhed it takes up its habitation.

Fiſh of every ſort in great abundance are found in the lakes and rivers of Ceylon, as well as in the ſurrounding ſeas. Thoſe found in the freſh water are much more remarkable for their vaſt numbers than their quality; but many excellent kinds of fiſh are caught all round the coaſts of the iſland, and form a principal article both of the traffic and food of the natives.

Ceylon is particularly prolific in plants. Almoſt all thoſe fruits which are peculiar to India and the countries within the tropical climates, are here found in great abundance and of a ſuperior quality. Except in one or two ſpecies, the mangoes of Maſſegon, and the mandarine orange of China, which has within theſe laſt few years been raiſed at Bombay, this iſland maintains an undeniable ſuperiority over all our ſettlements on the continent of India. Among the fruits which grow ſpontaneouſly in the woods of Ceylon, are found moſt of thoſe which conſtitute the moſt delicious deſerts of our European tables; ſuch as pine-apples, oranges, pomegranates, citrons, limes, melons, plums, pumpkins, water-melons, ſquaſhes, figs, almonds, mulberries, raiſins, bilberries, bogberries, &c. The mango is of an oblong cylindrical form, in ſhape and ſize reſembling an egg. Its taſte and flavour are peculiar, and it is reckoned one of the moſt delicious fruits in India. One remarkable circumſtance is, that no one mango reſembles another plucked from the ſame tree in taſte or flavour. The mangoſteen is a fruit very highly eſteemed, but one of the rareſt in Ceylon, being only found in one or two gardens belonging to Dutch gentlemen. In appearance this fruit reſembles the pomegranate, but the pulp is more like that of the mango, and conſiſts of fibres full of juice. It is eſteemed an excellent remedy in fluxes. There are many other fruits, as the Shaddock, Roſe-apple, Cuſhoo, Katapa, paupa, tamarind, plantain, and ſome others too often deſcribed to need any obſervation. There are two ſpecies of the bread-fruit tree. Of the cocoa-tree and its various uſes, a full account is given, and both for profit and pleaſure a more valuable vegetable can ſcarcely be found.

The plant which produces the Betel nut and leaf is alſo in high eſtimation. The other productions

are red pepper and black, cardamons, coffee; the palm, the ſugar tree, and tea-plant; the Talipot-tree, from the leaves of which the natives make umbrellas; the banyan and cotton-trees; ſeveral trees of uſe in making furniture, as the tick-wood, ſatin-wood, and calamander; ſeveral curious plants, particularly the ſindric-mal, which is employed by the natives to ſupply the want of clocks; as it has the quality of continuing open from four in the evening till four in the morning, and remaining ſhut during the other twelve hours; ebony and many plants uſed in dying and painting. Rice is alſo a very important produce, but Cinnamon is the ſtaple commodity, and in the deſcription of the growth, culture and other circumſtances relating to this valuable production, Captain Percival, with the aid of information derived from Dr. Thunberg, employs a whole chapter.

The minerals of Ceylon are numerous, and the Iſland has long been particularly famous for its precious ſtones, of which we find not leſs than about twenty different ſorts. The ruby, the topaz, and the diamond of Ceylon or Matura, are not by any means ſo valuable as thoſe of Golconda or the Brazils. The ſapphire, amethyſt, aqua marine, and tourmalin, are on the contrary equal to thoſe of any other country. Of the various ſtones deſcribed, an enumeration would be an uſeleſs labour; they are generally ſought for among the hills and rocks, and along the banks of the rivers, where they are frequently picked up. By the river which paſſes Sittivacca, and divides the King's country from ours, they are particularly found. The violent rains which frequently fall in the higher parts of the Iſland, waſh down theſe ſtones from the hills, and when the rivers begin to ſubſide, and get clear and low, they are found among the ſands of the channels which are then left dry.

Lead, tin, and iron ores are found in the interior, but they are never wrought or applied to any purpoſe. There were alſo ſeveral mines of *quickſilver* wrought by the Dutch in Ceylon.

There are alſo hot-ſprings in Ceylon, but they poſſeſs few mineral qualities, or any virtue beſide their heat, which is of a temperature not unfavourable for hot bathing.

The author concludes with a ſenſible chapter of general obſervations on the ſtate of the Iſland, and the advantages likely to be derived from it; and in an Appendix he has given a brief Journal of the Embaſſy ſent by Governor North in 1800, to the court of Candy.

Such is the abſtract of the information diſcloſed in this uſeful and valuable volume, a work equally creditable to the induſtry, and the judgment of the author.

CON-

THE

CONTENTS.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Causes of Dissatisfaction between England and France; French restraints on Commerce. Correspondence on the subject of the Fame packet. Further cases of seizure, in which no satisfaction was obtained from the French government. Other subjects of disagreement arise. Affairs of Switzerland. Conduct of France toward that Country during the war. French Troops withdrawn at the Peace. A Party sent to Paris to solicit the Interference of Bonaparte, which he at first declines. Diet at Berne. They form the Outline of a Constitution. Decree of Amnesty. Opposition of the provisional Government. The Deputies of the three smaller Cantons withdraw. Their Address to Bonaparte. His views on the Valais. Troops sent there under General Thurreau. Ineffectual Opposition of the late diet. General oppression of Switzerland. New constitutional body at Berne. Opposed by a Diet at Schwitz. Remonstrance of the latter to the French Minister. The constitutional body require French Troops. Their proclamations. Several cantons take up Arms in favour of Liberty. Their Success. General Enthusiasm. The executive Council driven from Berne. Vigorous Proceedings of the Patriots. Their Proclamation. They form a Plan of a Constitution. They dispatch Ministers to Paris. Apparent disposition of the French government. Delusive conduct of Talleyrand. Tyrannical Proclamation of Bonaparte. Ineffectual remonstrance of the Swiss Minister.

Activity

CONTENTS.

Activity of the new government. Arrival of general Rapp with Bonaparte's Proclamation. General Ney enters the country with an Army. The Swiss obliged to submit. Contributions levied by the French troops. Many of the Patriots imprisoned. [1

CHAP. II.

Ineffectual application of the Swiss minister to embassadors at Paris; he applies also to the English minister; who transmits a statement to London; Lord Hawkesbury's remonstrance; Mr. Moore dispatched to Switzerland; which country is subdued before his arrival; anger of the French government on the occasion. Severe animadversions of the press on the conduct of France; correspondence on that subject, and on that of emigrants; remonstrance of Talleyrand; Lord Hawkesbury's answer; publication of l'Ambigu; remonstrance of M. Otto on the subject of that and other papers; Peltier prosecuted and his publication discontinued; farther remonstrance of France; answer of Lord Hawkesbury. Abuse of England in French publications; English papers prohibited in France; publication of the Argus. Notice to Malta. Delay in restoring the Cape of Good Hope; sensation in Holland unfavourable to France; indignation of France against England, and avowed intention to exclude her from all interference with the Continent. [12

CHAP. III.

Meeting of Parliament. Mr. Abbott re-elected Speaker. The King's Speech. Debate on the address in the House of Lords—and in the House of Commons; Attack on Ministers; Defence of them by Mr. Fox; animadversions of Mr. Windham on the Conduct and principles of Mr. Fox. The subject renewed the following day. [22

CHAP. IV.

Debates on the Navy Estimates—a large Military establishment proposed—Debate on the Army Estimates. Statement of the Secretary at War. Opposition. Answers. Speech of Mr. Sheridan. Debate on the report of the Committee being brought up. Speech of Sir Francis Burdett. Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a Committee of Ways and Means. Debate on the State of the Nation in the House of Lords Protest on the Malt-Bill. Statement by the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the increase of British Shipping. Adjournment. [36

CONTENTS.

CHAP. V.

Difficult situation of ministers in the late debates. Progress of events to the end of the recess. Case of Captain D'Auvergne. Cession of the Cape of Good Hope. Dispute respecting the restoration of Goree. Decrees against British commerce enforced, in Switzerland, Holland, Piedmont and Spain. The French send squadrons to India, and Saint Domingo; their preparations to take possession of Louisiana; description of that province. Armament equipped at Helvoetsluys. Alarm of the United States of America. Proclamation of the Spanish government. Message of Mr. Jefferson to Congress; Louisiana ceded to the American government; terms of the cession. Further proceedings with respect to Switzerland; the deputies admitted to an interview with the first Consul; he directs them to form a federal government; but prohibits all connexion with England; Proclamation of general Ney; the new Constitution settled, and put in force. Indemnities in Germany completed. Further proceedings of France hostile to England. Mission of persons called commercial agents. Mission of Sebastiani to the Levant and Egypt; his proceedings at Tripoli; in Egypt; and at Zante; his report to his government. The English mediate for the Beys; and evacuate Egypt. General Brune sent ambassador to Constantinople; Lord Elgin returns to England; and is succeeded by Mr. Drummond. Affairs of England. Trial of Despard and his associates for High Treason; their execution. Trial of Peltier for a libel on Bonaparte; he is found guilty. This event gives no satisfaction to France. Numerous libels on England published in France; Sebastiani's report published. View of the state of the French republic published, wherein it is declared that England alone, cannot contend against France. [54

CHAP. VI.

Proceedings in Parliament after the recess. Address to the King on his escape from the Plot of Despard. Bank restriction continued; debate on the subject. Statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; opposition to the measure; defence of it; further debates on the Bill in its different stages; opposition to it in the House of Lords; observations of Earl Moira, Lord King and the Earl of Suffolk; answer of Ministers and their friends. Message from his majesty respecting the affairs of the Prince of Wales; debate on the subject in a Committee of the House of Commons; motion to grant to his royal highness, sixty thousand pounds per annum for three years; his royal highness renounces all claims for arrears of the duchy of Cornwall; Message from the Prince to the House of Commons; Mr. Calcraft's motion on the subject; debate; the motion negatived; a Bill passes according to the original proposition. [57

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. VII.

Meſſage from his Majeſty on the armaments in France and Holland; Addreſſes voted in both houſes without diviſion. Meſſage from the King for calling out the Militia; change in the conſtitution of that body. Motion for augmenting the number of ſeamen; debate; the motion carried. Anxiety of the public on the ſubject of the negotiation with France; Motions on the ſtate of the nation promiſed by the Earl of Carliſle and Mr. Patten. Eaſter receſs. Further notice of the negotiation in both Houſes; the French embaſſador applies for his paſſports; ſhort interval of uncertainty; frequent debates; Meſſage from his Majeſty, announcing the recal of Lord Whitworth, and promiſing that papers ſhould be laid before Parliament. [85

CHAP. VIII.

Statement of the diſpute between Great Britain and France, ſo far as it related to Malta. Stipulations in the Treaty of Amiens on that ſubject; ineffectual applications to the continental powers to guarantee the independence of the order; repreſentation of M. Otto on the ſubject; anſwer of Lord Hawkeſbury; evident anxiety of France to gain poſſeſſion of Ireland; ſtatement of the Britiſh Miniſtry on the ſubject; declaration of Talleyrand. Interview of Lord Whitworth with Bonaparte; explanations of Talleyrand; further remonſtrances of the Britiſh Government; publication of the French Expoſeé; the King's Meſſage to Parliament; peremptory demand of France reſpecting Malta; Note from General Andreoſſy to Lord Hawkeſbury; the King's, Meſſage communicated to Talleyrand; his ſtatement of the feelings of the Firſt Conſul; Note containing the intentions of France in caſe of armaments; behaviour of Bonaparte to Lord Whitworth at the court of the Thuilleries; remonſtrance of General Andreoſſy; reply of the Britiſh government; obſervations; further progreſs of the negotiation; various ineffectual propoſals; Lord Whitworth quits France; Declaration of his Majeſty. [97

CHAP. IX.

Demand of further Papers in both Houſes; explanations of Miniſters; The King's Meſſage diſcuſſed in the Houſe of Lords; an Addreſs moved by Lord Pelham; ſeconded by the Duke of Cumberland; principal topics urged in the debate; the Addreſs carried by a large majority. Debate in the Houſe of

Commons continued during two days; the Report on the first day defective; Address moved by Lord Hawkesbury; an amendment proposed by Mr. Grey; speech of Mr. Pitt, and of Mr. Wilberforce; course of the argument on the following day; speech of Mr. Fox; answer to it by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; animadversions on it by the Attorney General and Mr. Windham; the Address carried by a great majority. [116

CHAP. X.

Mr. Fox gives notice of a Motion for accepting the mediation of the Emperor of Russia; his Motion; his Speech; answer of Lord Hawkesbury; observations of Mr. Pitt; after some explanations the Motion is withdrawn. Motion of Earl Fitzwilliam for censuring Ministers; defence of their conduct; Motion of adjournment; observations of the Earl of Caernarvon; Lord Ellenborough; Earl Spencer; Lord Melville; Lord Hobart; Lord Grenville, and various other Peers; the Adjournment and vote of censure rejected. Motion to the same effect by Col. Patten in the House of Commons; Speech of Mr. T. Grenville; answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Pitt moves the other orders of the day; he is opposed by Lord Hawkesbury, and by Mr. Canning; his Motion negatived by a great majority; Col. Patten's Motion similarly rejected. [141

CHAP. XI.

Holland becomes a party in the War—The King's Message to Parliament on the Subject. Preparations in England for defence; the supplementary Militia called out; Message for an additional force; debate on it in the House of Lords; the Secretary at War proposes in the House of Commons to raise fifty thousand men as an army of reserve; opposed by Mr. Windham; the bill supported in principle, but opposed in many of its details by Mr. Pitt. Progress of the bill through the Upper House. Bill for enabling the King, to require the Military service of all his subjects, commonly called the levy en masse; observations of Mr. Windham; of Sir Francis Burdett; the bill is amended in the House of Lords; renewed debate in the House of Commons; observations of Mr. Windham, Mr. Sheridan, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Alteration in the Mutiny Act. Commissioners appointed to inquire into abuses in the Navy. [155

CHAP. XII.

Measures of Finance; the Chancellor of the Exchequer brings forward a Plan for consolidating various Duties in the Customs; Plan for completely establishing

eſtabliſhing the Bonding and Warehouſing Syſtem; Acts for conſolidating the Duties of Exciſe, Stamps, and the aſſeſſed taxes; Details reſpecting the Exciſe; the aſſeſſed taxes; and the Stamps. Budget; obſervations to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; tax on property; Diſcuſſions on that ſubject; obſervations of Mr. William Smith; and of Mr. Pitt; the Bill much altered; objections made againſt it by the Duke of Norfolk; who propoſes an amendment; which is rejected. Finance of Ireland; attempt to perpetuate the temporary taxes; retracted; the Bank of Ireland prohibited from paying in Caſh; Iriſh budget; reaſons for not laying a property tax on Ireland [173

CHAP. XIII.

Eaſt India Budget; ſpeech of Lord Caſtlereagh on introducing it; oppoſition to his ſtatements. A ſecond budget introduced at an advanced period of the Seſſion; ſtatement of Lord Caſtlereagh; obſervations of Mr. Francis; Mr. Johnſtone; and Mr. Prinſep; the report received. Further relief to the planters of St. Vincent's and Granada; penſion ſettled on Sir James Saumarez. Meſſage from his Majeſty for a compenſation to the Prince of Orange; Speech of Lord Hawkeſbury; obſervations of Mr. Canning; and of Sir Francis Burdett; the relief granted. Report of the Committee for improving the Highlands of Scotland; plan of a new Canal by the way of Fort William and Inverneſs; a ſum of twenty thouſand pounds voted. Meaſures reſpecting the clergy. Improvements in the law relating to arreſts, and in that againſt ſtabbing, cutting, and maiming. [189

CHAP. XIV.

State of Ireland; the people ſtill agitated in ſome meaſure by the claims of the Catholics, and by French agents; but public tranquillity preſerved by the moderation of Government; ſecret machinations; arms ſeized in various parts of the Country. Anger of Napper Tandy at ſome expreſſions uſed in debate by Lord Pelham; his Letter to that nobleman; ſimilar offence given by Mr. Elliott; whom he challenges to ſingle combat, theſe Letters treated with contempt; effect intended to be produced by them in Ireland. A ſecret conſpiracy formed in Dublin; intimations received by Government; explo-ſion in a houſe in Patrick Street; the conſpiracy carried into effect; a large mob collected, and armed from the depots; their violence; murder of Lord Kilwarden and his Nephew; a force collected to oppoſe the inſurgents; who are diſperſed without much difficulty; their depôts, plans and leaders diſcovered; Proclamation of the intended proviſional Government;

their Addreſs to the citizens of Dublin; Proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant. Meſſage from the King to Parliament reſpecting theſe tranſactions; Debate in the Houſe of Commons on the motion for an Addreſs; Bill brought in for ſuppreſſing rebellion in Ireland; which paſſes through both Houſes in one ſitting. Motion by Mr. Hutchinſon for an Addreſs to the King on the State of Ireland; which, after a ſtrong debate, is negatived without a diviſion. Cloſe of the Seſſion. Tranquillity of Ireland. Addreſs from the Citizens of Dublin to the King. Account of ſome principal perſons engaged in the late Conſpiracy; Mr. Emmett; Quigley; Dowdall, Information obtained by Government. A ſpecial Commiſſion framed for trying the rebels; Trial of Emmett. Account of his proceedings, as then diſcloſed; his ſpeech; execution; and character. Trials of Redmond, and Ruſſell; Quigley and Stafford taken but not proceeded againſt; general ſatisfaction at the conduct of Government. [213

CHAP. XV.

View of Affairs in Saint Domingo. Cruel treatment and death of Touſſaint in France. Cruelty and impolicy of Le Clerc; great mortality among his troops; falſe accounts of the ſtate of the Colony publiſhed in France; inſurrections of the negroes; horrible cruelties exerciſed on them; the French loſe ground; death of Le Clerc; he is ſucceeded by Rochambeau; who ſuſpends general Boyer; permits the importation of foreign merchandize; inſufficient reinforcements arrive from France; preparations for renewed hoſtilities; Deſſalines commander of the negroes; action near Cape François; the French murder their Priſoners; the negroes retaliate; the French defeated; effect of hoſtilities between Great Britain and France; increaſing cruelty of the French; they are blockaded in Cape François; Rochambeau opens a negotiation for ſurrender with Commodore Loring the commander of a Britiſh Squadron; the Cape attacked by Deſſalines; to whom Rochambeau ſurrenders; aſſiſtance afforded to the negroes by the Britiſh Squadron; duplicity of Rochambeau; the Iſland intirely given up to the negroes; who proclaim general freedom and independence. State of Guadaloupe; ſucceſsful enterprizes of Sir Samuel Hood; Capture of Sainte Lucie; Tobago; Berbice; Demarary and Iſſequibo; St. Pierre and Miquelon. [235

CHAP. XVI.

Scurrility of the French preſs; compulſory inſertion of an abuſive Manifeſto in the Hamburgh paper; official publications in anſwer to the Declaration of England; a form of Prayer in France againſt England; arreſt of Engliſh ſubjects travelling and reſident in France. Alliance between France, Italy and Holland. Spain and Portugal purchaſe neutrality. State of Turkey and

CONTENTS.

and Naples. Invasion and subjugation of Hanover by the French; the King of England refuses to ratify the Treaty entered into by the regency; further proceedings of the French; their rapacity and cruelty. Exertions against the commerce of England. Subscriptions throughout France for carrying on the War. Ships voted, and flat-boats built; a large force collected on the French coast. Offer of Bonaparte to Louis XVIII; nobly rejected. Bonaparte's journey; he reviews the troops on the coast; neglect and inactivity of Moreau. Proceedings in England. Blockade of the Elbe and Weser; of Genoa and Spezia; and of Havre-de-grace. Preparations against invasion; loyal Addresses; patriotic fund; measures for defence of the Metropolis; Volunteers. [246

CHRONICLE. *1—*81

Births for the Year 1803 — — — *49
Marriages — — — — — *52
Promotions — — — — — *54
Deaths — — — — — *72
Sheriffs appointed by his Majesty in Council — — *80

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Dispatch from Lieut. Gen. Grinfield, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Troops in the Windward and Leeward Charibbee Islands, to Lord Hobart, Principal Secretary at State for the War Department, dated at St. Lucia, June 22, — — — *82
Letter from Commodore Hood, Commander in Chief of the Leeward Islands, to Sir E. Nepean, Bart. dated on board the Centaur in Choque Bay, St. Lucia, June 22, — — — *83
Dispatch from Lieut. Gen. Grinfield, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Troops in the Windward and Leeward Islands, dated at Scarborough, Tobago, July 1, — — — — *84
Dispatch from Commodore Hood, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Leeward Islands, to Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. Dated the 1st of July, Centaur, Great Courland Bay — — *87
Letter from Captain Malben, commanding His Majesty's Ship Aurora *88
Dispatch from Lieut. Col. Nicholson, to Gen. Grinfield, Commander in Chief in the Windward and Leeward Charibbee Islands, New Amsterdam, Berbice, Sept. 25, — — — — *89
Extract of a Letter from Rear Admiral, Sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B. Shark, Port Royal, Jamaica, Sept. 29, — — *90
Letter from Capt. Bligh to Admiral Duckworth, on board the Theseus, Port Dauphin, St. Domingo, Sept. 3, — — — *91
Letter from Admiral Duckworth, detailing the particulars of a Negotiation with General Rochambean, for the Surrender of the French Force in

CONTENTS.

in St. Domingo, dated Sloop Shark, Port Royal, November the 30th. — — — — *92

Proceedings of the Meeting of the Subscribers to Lloyd's Coffee House, held the 20th of July, 1803, when the Patriotic Fund was established *98
Royal Correspondence — — — — *102
Correspondence between Bonaparte and the King of France *116
Trial of Edward Marcus Despard, Esq. and others for High Treason *119
Account of the Execution of Colonel Despard and his Associates for High Treason — — — — — *142
Trial of Jean Peltier for a Libel against Bonaparte — *146
A General Bill of all the Christenings and Burials in the Cities of London and Westminster, &c. for the year 1803, — — *164
Price of Stocks for 1803, — — — *165
Meteorological Table for 1803, — — — *166
An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from and imported into, England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the year ended the 5th of January, 1804, — — — *167
A list of the Public Acts passed in the Third Session of the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland — *169
Supplies granted by Parliament for the Year 1803. — *178

STATE PAPERS.

His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses, on opening the first Session of the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 13th of November, 1802 — — *191
His Majesty's Message to Parliament, recommending to their consideration, the Affairs of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales — *192
His Majesty's Message announcing the Armaments in France and Holland, 9th of March, 1803 — — — *ibid.
His Majesty's Message to Parliament for calling out the Militia, the 10th of March, 1803 — — — — *193
His Majesty's Message to Parliament respecting an Annuity to be settled on Sir James Saumarez, the 24th of March, 1803 — *ibid.
His Majesty's Message to Parliament announcing the Rupture with France, the 16th of May, 1803 — — — *ibid.
His Majesty's Message to Parliament announcing Hostilities against Holland, the 17th of June, 1803 — — — *194
His Majesty's Message to Parliament respecting an additional Force for Defence of the Country, the 18th of June, 1803 — *ibid.

His

CONTENTS.

*His Majesty's Message to Parliament requiring a Supply, the 20th of July, 1803 — — — — *195*

*His Majesty's Message to Parliament, on the Affairs of the Prince of Orange, the 20th of July, 1803 — — — *ibid.*

*His Majesty's Majesty's Message to Parliament, on the Insurrection in Ireland, the 28th of July, 1803 — — — *ibid.*

*Proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on the same Subject *ibid.*

*Addresses of the Speaker of the House of Commons to His Majesty at the close of the Session, the 12th of August, 1803 — — *197*

*The King's Most Gracious Speech, on proroguing the Parliament, the 12th of August, 1803 — — — — *198*

*Address of the First Consul to the Helvetic Deputies, published at Paris, the 28th of December, 1802 — — — *200*

*The Federal Constitution of the Swiss Cantons, as settled by the Mediation of the First Consul of France and the Deputies of the Cantons, dated Paris, Feb. 19, 1803 — — — *201*

*Convention concluded between Prussia and the Batavian Republic in November, 1802 — — — *207*

*Convention between Austria, Russia, and France, signed at Paris on the 26th of December, 1802 — — — *208*

*Paper presented to both Houses of Parliament, 18th May, 1803 *210*

APPENDIX.

*Report made to the First Consul by Colonel Sebastiani, extracted from the Moniteur of the 30th of January, 1803 --- — *298*

*Acts of the French Government — — — *303*

*View of the State of the French Republic — — *ibid.*

*Declaration of His Majesty — — — *323*

*Papers presented to both Houses of Parliament, 24th of May, 1803, *331*

*Paper presented, by His Majesty's Command, to both Houses of Parliament, 20th May, 1803 — — — *337*

*Papers presented, by His Majesty's Command, to both Houses of Parliament, 20th May, 1803, — — — *339*

*Papers presented to the House of Commons by Lord Hawkesbury, respecting the Discussions with France. Ordered to be printed 20th May, 1803, *341*

*Papers presented to the House of Commons by Lord Hawkesbury, respecting the Restitution of certain Conquered Places — — *353*

*Papers presented to the House of Commons by Lord Hawkesbury, respecting the continuance of the French Troops in Holland. Ordered to be printed 25th May, 1803 — — — *355*

*Papers presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, respecting the Guarantee of the Court of Russia. Ordered to be printed 26th May 1803 — — — *356*

*Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Sweden. Concluded at London on the 25th of July, 1803 — *361*

CONTENTS.

Official Declaration of Neutrality of the Court of Portugal, made by the Court of Lisbon, on the 4th of June, 1803, signed by the Prince Regent *362

Convention between Messrs. the civil and Military Deputies of the Regency of Hanover and Lieutenant General Mortier, Commander in Chief of the French Army — — — — *363

Arrete of the First Consul, prohibiting the Importation of British Merchandize. Dated Paris, June 20, 1803 — — *364

CHARACTERS.

Memoirs of Richard Earl Howe. Extracted from his Life by George Mason — — — — 1

Account of the Island of Staffa. From Stoddart's Remarks on Scenery and Manners in Scotland — — — — 11

Manners of the Western Islanders. From the same — 15

Account of the Abbé Sicard and the Institution in behalf of the Deaf and Dumb. From Lemaitre's rough sketch of Modern Paris — 18

Account of the Establishment for the Support and Employment of the Blind. From the same — — — — 20

Account of the young Savage of Aveyron. From the same — 21

Account of the People called Kookies. From Vol. 7. of Asiatic Researches — — — — 24

Description of the Island of Malta From Walsh's Journal of the Campaign in Egypt — — — — 30

Account of the Maroons. From Dallas's History of the Maroons 35

Description of the Spanish Chasseurs and Blood Hounds of the Island of Cuba. From the same — — — 40

Dr. Franklin's Plagiarisms. From Davis's Travels in America 43

Description of a Visit to the Grave of an Indian Warrior. From the same — — — — — 47

NATURAL HISTORY.

Account of a new Species of Delphinus, an Inhabitant of the Ganges. From the Asiatic Researches, Vol. 7. — — 50

The Palm Tree. From Winterbottom's Account of the Native Africans near Sierra Leone — — — 52

Account of the Cameleon. From Golbery's Travels — 55

USEFUL PROJECTS.

List of Patents for New Inventions, granted during the Year 1803 63

On the Nature of the Varieties of engrafted Fruit Trees, and a Plan for increasing the Number of new valuable Fruits. By Thomas Skyp Dyot Bucknal, Esq. From the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce — — 69

ANTI-

CONTENTS.

ANTIQUITIES.

Remarks on a Gimmal Ring, by Robert Smith, Esq. F. R. S. and F. A. S. From Archæologia, Vol. XIV. — — — 76
On the Cave of Trophonius. From Faber's Dissertation on the Mysteries of the Cabiri — — — — — 80
Antiquities of Siwah. From Horneman's Travels in Africa 82

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

On the Dialect of London. From Anecdotes on the English Language. In a Letter to an Antiquary. By Samuel Pegge, Esq. — 88
Hieroglyphic Characters. From the additional Notes on Darwin's Temple of Nature — — — — 98

POETRY.

Ode for the New Year, 1803. By Henry James Pye, Esq. Poet Laureat 100
Ode for His Majesty's Birth Day, June 4, 1803. By Henry James Pye, Esq. Poet Laureat — — — — 101
Elegy on the Death of a Young Lady. By John Greenshields, Esq. From the Poetical Register, for 1803 — — — 102
To ————. By R. A. Davenport, Esq. From the same — 104
To a Lady with a Present of Violets. By Thophilus Swift, Esq. From the same — — — — — 105
Hannah. Sacred to the Memory of her who is dead to me. By J. Montgomery, Esq. From the same — — — 106
Combat of Amadis and Abyses, King of Ireland. From "Amadis de Gaul; a Poem, in three Books, freely translated from the First Part of the French Version of Nicholas de Habezay. By W. J. Rose, Esq." — 108
The Cast-Away. By William Cowper, Esq. — — 110
The Snail. From the same — — — 112
Sonnet addressed by Mr. Cowper to Mrs. Unwin. From the same 113
Lines to a remonstrating Friend. From Poems, by Peter Bayley, Jun. Esq. *ibid.*
A Lyric Rhapsody. From Poems Lyrical and Miscellaneous, by the late Rev. Henry Moore, of Liskeard — — — 114
Ode occasioned by the Atheistical Tenets publicly avowed in France. From the same — — — — — 117
Translation of a Part of Boileau's 1st Epistle. From the Works of Richard Owen Cambridge, Esq. — — — 119
Youth and Age, an Ode. From the Swedish of Chevalier Edelcrantz. From Armine

CONTENTS.

Armine and Elvira. A legendary Tale. With other Poems. By Edmund Cartwright, M. A. — — — 120
Apostrophe to Aurelia. From "Scenes of Infancy descriptive of Trwiotdale By John Leyden." — — — — 122
Thomas the Rhymer. From the same. — — 123
The Soldier's Dream. From "The Pleasures of Hope, with other Poems. By T. Campbell." — — — — 125
German drinking Song. From the same. — — 123
Epigrams. From "Epigrams, in two Books." By William Barnes Rhodes. *ibid.*
The Inconstant. — — — — 127
Canzonet. From Poems from the Portuguese of Camoens. By Lord Viscount Strangford. — — — — 128
Stanzas. From the same. — — — — *ibid.*
Canzonet. From the same. — — — 129
Madrigal. From the same. — — — *ibid.*
Canzon. From the same. — — — 130

ACCOUNT OF BOOKS FOR 1803.

The Life and Letters, of William Cowper Esq. By William Hayley, Esq. 121
An Account of the Island of Ceylon, containing its History, Geography, Natural History, with the Manners and Customs of its various Inhabitants, to which is added, the Journal of an Embassy to the Court of Candy. By Captain Robert Percival, of His Majesty's Eighteenth or Royal Irish Regiment — — — — 148

Printed by Law and Gilbert, St. John's Square, London.

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
004577

Case D 2 .A55 1803 20346

The Annual register, a review of public events home and abroad

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM.

20346